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The Emma Goldman Papers

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The Emma Goldman Papers

A Microfilm Edition

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Correspondence

December 16, 1938, to March 15, 1939

Edited by
Candace Falk
Ronald J. Zboray
and
Alice L. Hall

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia Cambridge, England

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Introduction to Reels 38 through 45 (July 1, 1936, to March 15, 1939)

During July 1936, Goldman, still grieving over Berkman's death, redirected her energies toward the anarchist struggle in the Spanish Civil War. She devoted herself wholeheartedly to enlisting international support against Francisco Franco's Fascist forces and their allies among right-wing groups.

At first, Berkman's suicide left Goldman at a loss about the future direction of her life. "We burried [*sic*] him yesterday," she wrote to Liza and Semion Koldofsky, "and the largest part of my life was burried with him" (7/1/36). She was unable to work on her lectures with the deluge of expressions of condolence from family, friends, and comrades to respond to. In accordance with Berkman's last wishes, she helped his companion, Emmy Eckstein, relocate to her parents' home in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Goldman tried to get a passport to facilitate Eckstein's emigration to the United States.

Goldman had taken an interest in Spanish anarchism long before war began. She had visited Spain briefly in 1928 with Henry G. Alsberg, an associate from New York, to learn about the growing anarcho-syndicalist movement. There she met Federica Montseny, daughter of veteran anarchists and during the Civil War the first woman to serve in a Spanish cabinet. Throughout the 1930s, Goldman had been impressed with Spanish anarcho-syndicalist organizations, which were among the most successful in Europe.

After her return to Europe from Canada in 1935, Goldman began to follow events in Spain more closely. She learned about conditions there from several of her correspondents who had become involved with the Spanish anarchists: Augustin Souchy, Max Nettlau, Helmut Rüdiger, and Alexander Schapiro. As members of the anarcho-syndicalist International Working Men's Association (IWMA), they volunteered to work for the two affiliated Spanish organizations, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), the

association of anarcho-syndicalist trade unions, and the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI), the political organization of anarchist militants.

Throughout these years, however, and even for a few weeks into the war, Goldman saw little hope of an anarchist revolution in Spain. Indeed, on first hearing the news of the outbreak of fighting between the military forces of General Franco and the anarchist and socialist militia, Goldman worried that the people could become the victims of change, as they had during the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution, rather than its beneficiaries (to Therese Souchy, 7/22/36). In light of the early military victories by Republican forces, Goldman decided that she had been mistaken about the chances of an anarchist victory in Spain. "The awful pall that hung over me since Sashas untimely death has been broken," she wrote to her friend Arthur Leonard Ross. "It was due to the call I have received from my Spanish comrade[s] to help them in their heroic struggle" (8/29/36).

Soon after arriving in Spain in September 1936, Goldman decided to contribute her formidable public relations skills to the anarchist struggle. She would meet with important anarchists, gather information and documentary material, and then return to Great Britain to set up a press service and propaganda bureau. During her three-month tour of the areas under anarchist control, she visited agrarian collectives and worker-operated factories and utilities to learn as much as possible about economic conditions and labor organizations. Based in Barcelona, where she produced the English language version of the weekly *CNT-FAI Information Bulletin*, she traveled throughout Catalonia, the Levante, and Aragón and visited the Huesca and the Aragón fronts. She was hindered by her inability to speak Spanish, but with the help of interpreters and her fluency in French, the most commonly spoken foreign language in Spain, she was able to ascertain enough to be impressed by the level of organization that was maintained in most sectors of the economy. In her letters she repeatedly contrasted the innovativeness of Spanish

revolutionaries with her experience of the inability of their Russian counterparts to create new social institutions during the early 1920s.

Goldman's accounts of the Civil War, while naturally influenced by her partisanship, nevertheless provide some of the most thoughtful contemporary commentary on events in Spain. Her relatively balanced observations are all the more valuable because of the war's controversial nature, which produced grossly inaccurate reportage from the mass media and left-wing press alike. Goldman refrained from hasty assessments of a complex political situation about which she initially knew little. For example, she avoided publicly criticizing the CNT-FAI for issuing so much publicity about Soviet aid to the Republican forces. She suspected Stalin's motives in supplying arms and noted that the arms went only to troops controlled by the Spanish Communist party, Partido Comunista de España (PCE), leaving the anarchist-controlled militia in Catalonia very poorly supplied. Nevertheless, in a letter from Barcelona to an unnamed comrade (12/7/36), she warned against judgments based solely on theory: "Bear in mind that life is more exacting than theories. Not that I can agree with some of the steps taken by the CNT-FAI. But being on the spot I can understand them."

Another issue that Goldman faced was the extent to which anarchists should ally themselves with other parties of the Left. Accompanying the anarchists in their struggle against the Right were the PCE, the socialist Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), and the dissident (anti-Stalinist) Communist party, Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM). Caught in the cross fire between anarchist puristsof the IWMA, including Alexander Schapiro and Mollie Steimer (who opposed any anarchist alliances with other organizations), and generally uncritical supporters of CNT-FAI policies such as Max Nettlau, Goldman identified most with the pragmatic flexibility of Mariano Vázquez of the CNT-FAI. She believed that the demands of the military struggle against Franco forced anarchists to ally with other antifascist organizations. But she continually urged anarchists to expand their own

political activities in the liberated regions by holding public meetings, producing propaganda, and increasing mass participation in anarchist organizations. She warned that otherwise, in the competitive political dynamics of Civil War Spain, anarchist groups would lose their identity in mass organizations.

Returning to Britain in early 1937 as an official representative of the CNT-FAI, Goldman rose to the familiar challenge of defending a movement beset by critics from both the Right and the Left. While she had her own criticisms, she concentrated on publicizing the constructive work of the Spanish anarchist movement, emphasizing the revolutionary aspects of the struggle: the agrarian collectives, the new public schools, the worker-owned factories and utilities, the democratic structure of the anarchist militia. These new, democratic institutions, Goldman insisted, were replacing a corrupt system dominated by the landed aristocracy with its allies in the Catholic church and the army. This emphasis corrected both the conservatives' portrayal of Spanish anarchists as destroyers of civil order and traditional values and the pro-Soviet Left's dismissal of anarchists as undisciplined opportunists unwilling to do their share of fighting on the front lines.

Her role as a representative of an organization, the CNT-FAI, was a new one for her. Throughout her life she had worked as an independent activist, forming coalitions or *ad hoc* committees as the need arose. As the London representative for the CNT-FAI, she agreed to function as an official of a large organization, an organization that had the opportunity and the will to undertake governmental functions. Federica Montseny, for example, one of Goldman's associates in the CNT, was serving as the Minister of Health, along with three other anarchist ministers. Goldman faced this dilemma with an extensive understanding of the political dynamics in Spain. She knew that Spanish anarchists had to choose between two potentially damaging alternatives. On one hand, they could stay out of the Popular Front government and allow other parties to take power and risk having that power

used against them in the future. On the other hand, they could join the government and risk abandoning the central tenet of their political philosophy: that the functions of government are oppressive in all contexts. While Goldman did not take a definite position on this issue, she insisted that anarchists should never work to limit the freedom of other parties or individuals, except that of Fascists.

Her first project consisted of an effort to display her collection of photographs, posters, journals, newsletters, manifestos, and paintings from Spain as a way to demonstrate the importance of the anarchist contribution to the Spanish Revolution. Her exhibition of photographs of the bombardment of Madrid by Franco's forces was also an appeal for humanitarian aid for the casualties of an increasingly mechanized war that targeted civilian populations. She worked with Fenner Brockway and Roland Penrose of the Independent Labour Party on a joint exhibition of her collection and other materials from Republican Spain. And she was a prime mover behind the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children which raised about £500 during the winter and spring of 1937.

While her public meetings were well attended, usually attracting seven or eight hundred people, she frequently complained in her letters about the lack of response to her efforts in Britain. She may have been comparing the British response to her Spanish aid campaign with the huge crowds she drew in the United States in the similarly charged atmosphere of the years before World War I. As before, she was convinced that she could do more in the United States to aid the Spanish anarchists; in early 1937 she applied through Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union for another visa to lecture in the United States. This application, her last major effort to return, was rejected.

Goldman also set herself the formidable task of convincing the British labor movement to take direct action to force the government to end its arms embargo against Spain. Without foreign aid, except the small amounts of arms

and a few advisers from the Soviet Union and Mexico, the Republican forces were unable to hold ground against Franco's army, which was well supplied by the governments of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The British government's arms embargo continued throughout the Civil War, despite general public support for the Republican cause. The anticommunist sympathies of the leadership of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress prevented any rank-and-file challenge to the government's "neutrality". In addition, Goldman and her associates had few contacts with British labor unions. They were unable to attract more than a few individuals to the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union, which was formed primarily to provide support for the CNT-FAI.

Goldman's journalistic efforts on behalf of Spain were considerably more successful. She worked with Vernon Richards, the son of an Italian anarchist, and his companion Marie-Louise Berneri, the daughter of the Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri, a major figure in the CNT in Barcelona, on the fortnightly newspaper, *Spain and the World*. Although Goldman wrote several letters to the editors of major British dailies to try to correct their inaccurate reporting on the Civil War, she preferred to write for an anarchist journal. She was able to obtain financial support for *Spain and the World* from the CNT, and she recruited several British writers, including the poet and art critic Herbert Read, to write for the paper. In addition to providing an alternative to the mass media's distortion and the neglect of Spanish events, *Spain and the World* contributed to the sense of urgency about the Civil War that led hundreds of individuals to volunteer for the International Brigades, which were essential to the Republican military efforts.

Events in Spain became more complicated after the outbreak of street fighting in Barcelona between the CNT militia and the central Republican forces, which were increasingly dominated by troops loyal to the PCE, during the "May Days" of 1937. The fighting, which continued for several days, began when the central government attempted to remove the Barcelona telephone exchange, the primary center for communications for Catalonia, from CNT

control. Hundreds of CNT and POUM militants were killed and hundreds more arrested. After the negotiated settlement, in which Federica Montseny played a crucial role, Goldman changed her initial stance of muting her public criticism of the other leftist parties in Spain. She began to criticize the suppression of the workers' organizations and the arrest and detention of anarchist militants. She held the PCE responsible for the street fighting because she believed that the Republican government, dependent on Soviet aid, was being forced to eliminate the revolutionary programs of the CNT-FAI, that the desire to limit the revolutionary potential of the Civil War guided the Soviets' policy. They ostensibly wanted to maintain the participation of all levels of Spanish society in the Popular Front against Franco and to avoid offending the governments of Britain, France, and the United States, countries whose governments were opposed to a communist or anarchist revolution in Spain. When the left-wing socialist premier, Largo Caballero, who had resisted communist influence, was removed, along with the four anarchists in his cabinet, and procommunist Juan Negrín was installed in his place, Goldman's criticism became even harsher. In an article in *Spain and the World* of June 4, 1937 (see the Goldman Writings Series), she accused the Communists and right-wing socialists of plotting to end the social revolution in Spain. She also attributed the death of Camillo Berneri--found shot in the back after being arrested during the May Days--to agents of Stalin. Finally, she likened this campaign, which included attacks on agrarian collectives, to the repression of the anarchists and other noncommunist leftists in Russia under Lenin and Stalin.

The events of May 1937 shattered the solidarity of the Popular Front government in Spain but did not surprise Goldman who had been prepared for such an outcome by her disappointing experience in the Russian Revolution. She was angered by the conciliatory position of the CNT leaders who were trying to avoid a protracted battle between anarchists and the Republican government. But she was also angry at the insistent criticisms of Mollie

Steimer, Alexander Schapiro, and others in the international anarchist movement, who demanded that the anarchists cease all cooperation with the Republican government. She argued that the urgency of the war against Franco, in which the Republican forces were taking heavy losses, made such theoretical purity impossible. Goldman was also able to place what she saw as the mistakes of the CNT-FAI leaders in the context of the constructive efforts they were making.

During the months after the May Days, Goldman became impatient for reliable news from Spain. A comrade from New York, Abe Bluestein, after visiting her in London, wrote her several detailed reports from Barcelona, documenting the repression of the anarchist organizations by the Republican government. He also described the developing split between the leaders of the CNT-FAI and a new organization, Libertarian Youth, whose members wanted to resist the repressive governmental actions. Feeling the need to reassess the political situation for herself, Goldman returned to Spain in September 1937. She visited the Madrid front and was impressed by the high morale of the Republican troops. She found many of the agrarian collectives in Catalonia still thriving. She also visited the Modelo Prison in Madrid where she learned that fifteen hundred anarchists and several hundred members of POUM were being held as political prisoners. Outraged by these arrests and the recent disappearance of Kurt Landau, a member of the Executive Committee of POUM, Goldman attacked the Republican government in an article, "Political Persecution in Republican Spain," in *Spain and the World* (12/10/37, Goldman Writings Series). Mariano Vázquez and Pedro Herrera of the FAI, in a response to this article, advised Goldman to use more tact in her criticisms of the Republican government. Such complaints, they argued, could undermine the support the Republican government sought in its struggle against fascism.

Back in Britain by December 1937, Goldman continued to campaign for the CNT-FAI. She wrote for *Spain and the World*, organized a musical evening

for the benefit of Civil War refugees, and formed a British branch of a new organization, Solidaridad Internacional Anti-Fascista (SIA), founded in Spain by Federica Montseny to raise funds for humanitarian aid for Catalonia. By the spring of 1938, Goldman began to find it more difficult to arouse support for the Spanish cause as the attention of the public was drawn to Central Europe; Hitler occupied Austria in March and began to intensify his anti-Semitic propaganda campaign. Meanwhile, after the Soviet government's indictment of the Old Bolsheviks, Goldman focused increasingly on the links between Stalinism and fascism, an analysis that had limited appeal in Britain. Feeling that her work in Britain was failing, Goldman decided to visit Spain once more and then move to Canada, where she hoped to be more successful at raising funds for the CNT-FAI. As the military situation worsened and Franco's troops advanced toward Barcelona, she knew that the anarchist cause might be defeated in Spain. But she needed to draw inspiration once again from "the only people in the world who still love liberty passionately enough to be willing to die for it" (to Arthur Leonard Ross, 6/17/38).

At the same time she faced another personal crisis when her niece Stella Ballantine was hospitalized in New York for severe depression. For decades Goldman had been closer to Ballantine than to any other family member, relying on her even more for emotional support after Alexander Berkman's death. The loss of this support contributed to the growing feeling of isolation that Goldman experienced as her work in Britain brought fewer results.

By the time she reached Barcelona in September 1938 for her third and final visit, a deep split had developed within the anarchist movement over the issue of cooperation with the Republican government. Although she sympathized with the faction of the CNT-FAI, led by Pedro Herrera, that adhered to the classical anarchist principle of avoiding any cooperation with the state, she considered this an internal matter about which she was unwilling to comment. She nevertheless remained determined to call attention to the

Republican government's political repression of dissident leftists. She spoke out against the charges brought against a number of POUM activists accused of collaboration with the Fascists, declaring that it was the POUM's anti-Stalinism that had led to their arrests. And she expected CNT personnel like Mariano Vázquez to do more to obtain the release of the jailed anarchists.

After Goldman returned to London in November, she closed the CNT-FAI press office, as there was no one else in London able to carry on her work, and she convinced Ethel Mannin to take responsibility for the SIA. Before moving to Canada, where she planned to raise funds for the SIA, Goldman needed to find a safe repository for Berkman's papers, which were in storage in her house in St. Tropez. She chose the International Institute of Social History, located in Amsterdam, because of its reputation for independence from any government restrictions or monitoring. She spent most of January 1939 cataloguing his papers. Briefly absorbed again in her private life, perhaps effecting a final separation from Berkman and an integration of the experience of the decades she was associated with him, she thus insulated herself from the final defeat of the Spanish anarchists with the fall of Barcelona to Nationalist troops in late January.

The plight of the Spanish refugees detained in poorly supplied refugee camps in France, however, evoked an immediate response from Goldman. She began work to raise money to help them emigrate to North America. She also began a dispute with Mariano Vázquez about the cause of the defeat of anarchism in Spain. Goldman believed that the sabotage of the social revolution by the Communists was the deciding factor; their attacks on the programs and organizations that benefited the Spanish masses led to the demoralization of the groups that supported the Republican cause. Vázquez saw the failure of Western democracies to come to the aid of Republican Spain as the primary cause of the defeat because it left the Republican forces hopelessly outnumbered by the well-equipped Nationalist troops assisted by their German, Italian, and Moroccan units.

Each of these positions included differing assessments of the actions of the anarchists themselves. Goldman thought it was naive to ally with the Communists in the Popular Front government. She was aware of the importance of public morale in maintaining a protracted civil war with heavy casualties; therefore it was important to distinguish one's efforts from any organization that could act against the interests of the people. She could not see as clearly as Vázquez the importance of external, international forces in a conflict as complex as the Spanish Civil War. Vázquez believed that without support from an international anarchist movement, other labor organizations abroad, or democratic governments, the Spanish anarchists had no choice but to accept support from the Soviet Union. In late 1937, Goldman had been willing to admit that she may have been too optimistic in her assessment of the strength of the anarchist movement in Spain. This allowed her to accept the eventual defeat of the anarchists without losing hope for the future. She had come to realize that "it will take more than one revolution before our ideas will come to full growth. Untill then the steps will be feeble, our ideas no doubt fall from the heights many times and many will be the mistakes our comrades are bound to make.... I will die as I lived[,] with my burning faith in the ultimate triumph of our ideal" (to Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin, 9/7/37).

Editor's Note.

Many documents relating to Emma Goldman's involvement with the anarchist cause during the Spanish Civil War, including a large body of correspondence, were acquired too late to be incorporated in the chronologically organized Correspondence Series. Users of the microfilm are advised to consult reels 68 and 69, which consist of supplementary correspondence, for those documents, especially material from the

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives at the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

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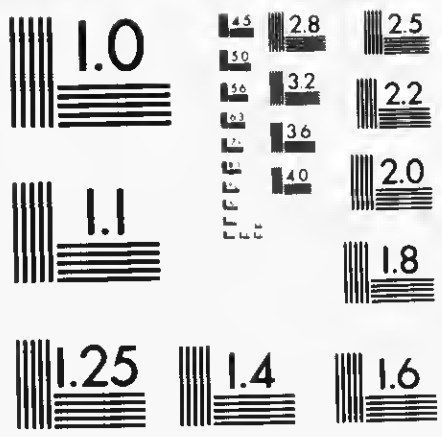

880207139

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Dec. 16, Stroud [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Lilian [Wolfe]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24615

Whiteway, Stroud, Glos
Dec 16/38

My dear Emma,

Many thanks for your letter — am so sorry you hurt yourself so badly but, no doubt, the enforced rest will make up for the harm done. I am packing up the letters tonight & will take to Stroud for posting in the morning — it just fits in nicely for your visit, doesnt it?— what a good thing I wrote when I did & had them all ready. I shall look forward to seeing your report about Spain — have been reading "Social Reconstruction in Spain" & am more interested than ever in that country. The Müller-Lehnings loved it there —

1

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2

124616

– by the way, Madeleine is Müller-Lehning's wife (you will like her – she is a charming girl) Tom's girl is José.

I thought you would like to have this photo – it is a very good one is it not? How pleased he would be at the prospect of his collection going where it will be cared for & appreciated – thank you so much for the part you have taken in bringing it to be a possibility.

You will find a postcard of Malatesta – you asked for his signature.

With much love & good wishes for a less nerve racking year for 1939

Lilian

870925380

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 Dec. 16 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. – 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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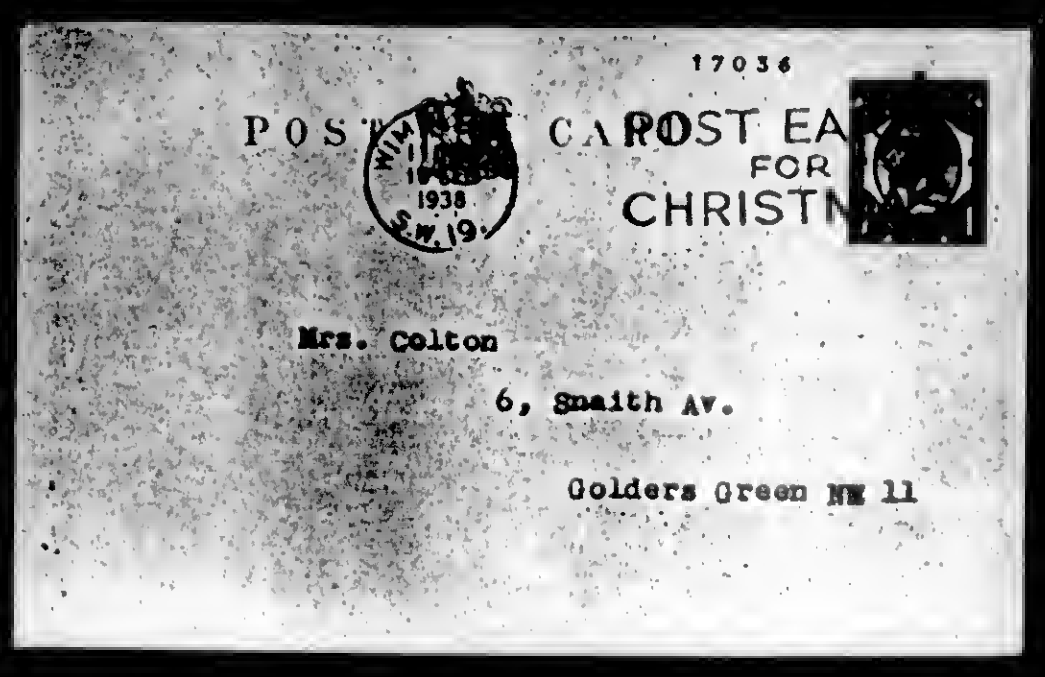

17036

POST CARD

POST EA
FOR
CHRISTM

1938
S.W.19

Mrs. Colton

6, Smaith Av.

Golders Green NW 11

870925380

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Friday 17037

Just had yours of today's date. It seems you'll never see it my way, that it has a shadow of mistrust, my wanting a detailed statement of the Marseilles purchases, & I know of no way of saying it more clearly, so we'll just have to leave it. As to my asking for a proof it can only be proved if you've still got my letters from Davos; if there's no mention of it in them, then it was in the letter I wrote there to Ralph.

Yes, I thought we agreed that Sonia should handle the film, and £1.10. is a reasonable fee.

Regarding Ralph I suggest you do it tactfully, to avoid wounding him; sugget that he is more useful on the accountancy side, etc. Why not wait till you have someone in view to take over the organising work ?For until you have he must be retained in that capacity surely. Haste. Love.

880207059

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 17 [London to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17th December 1938.

Dearest Dorothy,

I received your last letter in answer to mine, but unfortunately I left it in my room so will not be able to do justice to some of the questions you raise. I am frightfully busy- hard at work on the completion of my long report of my visit to Spain and getting ready to leave for Holland next Thursday the 22nd. I hope I can get through with the compiling of Sasha's material in two weeks, because I am most anxious to get back and make the final arrangements about the bureau before sailing for Canada. I have postponed it so many times that I fear that you and the other comrades will lose faith in my ever getting to you. I am between the devil and the deep sea. The longer I live in England the more I dislike it. Its indifference and placidity weighs like lead in my every nerve. Nothing we do brings response so I really want to get away if only for a change; but there is Spain with all its tragic greatness and all its fearfull suffering. It fairly paralyses me to put the ocean between me and our Spanish comrades. If only the European sky were not so black and not so ominou of war. The very thought of being so far removed from Spain should the hurricane break lose really makes me shudder, so you see why I have postponed my trip so long.

I am anxious about the visit of Chamberlain to Rome. Who knows what shady deals will be closed there which will mean the annihilation of our Spanish comrades. Some eventuality is coming off soon, so you will know, as far as this crooked politician will permit us to know, whether Spain is to continue to live and battle or whehher it is doomed to death from starvation. Anyway I think after the New Year it will be possible to decide definitely when to sail. I will keep you posted of course.

I have not headr yet from Joe in answer to the letter and a lot of other material. I am already used to his tardiness as a correspondent. When my report is finished and I can spare a copy I will send it to you. The Freie Arbeiter Stimmewill no doubt bring it serially so Joe will be able to read it. The panarama in Spain is so fast and every event so stirring one cannot possibly concentrate ones impressions in limited space. Too bad that we have not a weekly anarchist paper that can afford to also run the material serially. However perhaps comrade Abe Blustein of Challenge might want to do it. It would at least have something verile and alive in his paper.

I dont mean to say that my report is vivid though I have made it as vivid as I can; but it is more the marvelous life and work of the comrades I was priviledged to follow which should carry the reader

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away into doing something more than talk or write for Spain.

Well my dear this is a short as my letters go, but I am waiting for my stenographer who is to take the second instalment of the report so I cannot write any more. I merely do not want this year to go out without a greeting to you. I hope you will have a pleasant Christmas and a very eventfull new-year and absorbing new year.

There is one thing I forgot - Comrade Freedman sent me a cheque for 240 dollars of which 50 were sent him by Steinberg for the Jewish Group in Toronto. As I have not his address anymore I sent a note to Fre dman thanking him and through him the comrades for their contribution towards my travelling expenses to Canada.

After the New Year I will take a day off and write to every -one separately telling them to get together with the Libertarian Group and prepare for the work I hope they will want to help when I get to Canada.

Remember me affetionately to Dean and Tom, to Arthur Thornburgh and all the other comrades.

By the way will you ask Thornburgh if he has the address of Van Dassan. I was recently informed that he had sued "Time" for libel because it called hi an Anarchist. I confess I was insensed - for a man who has always pretended so much sympathy with Anarchists to feel libelled by being called one. I understand that the owner or editor which he is suing would be willing to pay a substantial sum. If Van Passan really was an anarchist he would use the money for the support of the Anarchism. I must say that I consider that more decent than Van passan suing for libel.

With much love.

880207116

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 18, Nice [to] Emma Goldman, London / Herman and Lissie Scheerer. — 2 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.
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2456

H. Scheerer
12 Bould Gambetta
Nice

18.Dec. 1938

Frau Emma Goldmann

care of Koldofsky 6 Sneath Ave

Golders Green London N.W 11

Sehr Geehrter Frau !

Es ist jetzt 4 Wochen her ,dass Emmy Eckstein , zum 3. Male operiert wurde . Meine Frau und ich haben darauf bestanden , dass sie endlich ernst damit macht , da sie nach der letzten keinerlei Besserung erfahren hatte , im Gegenteil , trotzdem die letzte Operation durchaus nötig gewesen , war , wie sich aus dem Befund während der jetzigen herausstellte, so war sie nicht einen einzigen Tag " normal" mit ihren Gedärmen Es spitzte sich der Zustand dermassen zu , dass sie dermassen angeschwollen war durch einen sogenannten Darmverschluss", dass absolute Lebensgefahr bestand.

Es stellte sich auch prompt heraus , dass es eine bereits zu lange bestehende Darmverschlingung war , die nur auf unser ernsthaftes Drängen zur Operation , ihr nicht das Leben gekostet hat !

Wir sind mit Emmy eng befreundet , und ersetzen ihr ihre eigenen Eltern , soweit es unsere Kräfte erlauben . Leider sind wir selbst Emigranten und haben keinerlei Mittel , ihr in dieser Beziehung die geringste Unterstützung werden zu lassen . Alles was wir machen konnten , ihr dabei zu helfen . dass sich befreundete Leute fanden die ihr die sofortige Aufnahme in der Belvedere Clinik ermöglichten, die dazu nötigen Gelder sind aber nunmehr verbraucht . Neue nicht zu haben , denn man hatte ja nicht mit solch langer Dauer der Sache gerechnet . Ein Telegram an Mr. Modest Stein hatte keinen Erfolg , er scheint wohl selbst nicht grade weder bei Casse noch ganz in Ordnung zu sein , sonst,sagt Emmy , hätte ganz bestimmt er von sich hören lassen . Sie können sich keine Vorstellung davon machen . was Emmy auszuhalten hat und was ihr noch an Schmerzen bevorsteht . Es ist der Dickdarm in 2 Teile zerschnitten und selbige funktionieren als künstlicher After durch die Bauchdecke seit der Operation , um den andern Därmen Ruhe zu geben zu heilen , da man alles entzündet und voll von Verwachsungen vorfand . Momentan hat sie eine Maschine im Leib , eine Art Zange, die die beiden Teile des Dickdarmes zusammenhält , um damit sie wieder zusammenwachsen sollen . Es ist aber damit nichts geworden und sie bekommt dieser Tage eine neue Operation , bestehend aus dem Zusammennähen der beiden Teile . Die Arme ist jeder Zoll ein Held . Emmy hat mich bestimmt Ihnen den Verlauf der Sache eingehend zu schreiben , da Sie , wie sie sagt , sicherlich Interesse daran haben werden Man kann aber garnicht alles schreiben ,der Operateur ,(wir bestanden auf den besten in ganz Südfrankreich) sagt es sei die schwierigste Op die er seit Jahren gemacht hat , 3 Stunden hat sie gedauert . Sie hat guten Appetit , mehr wie ihr lieb ist , denn das Verlassen der Nahrung aus dem Körper ist ja ihr grösstes Problem ,momentan eine Qual jede Minute des Tages.

880207116

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 18, Nice [to] Emma Goldman, London / Herman and Lissie Scheerer.— 2 p.; 30 × 22 cm.

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24568

Leider muss sie noch lange in der Klinik bleiben , denn sie istnicht transportfähig . Wir konnten nicht riskieren , sie wieder im Hospital operieren zu lassen , bei der Schwere des Falles , und der unvergleichlich besseren Plegeaussichten in der Klinik-.

Wir würden uns freuen , wenn Sie einige Zeilen an Emmy schreiben würden , denn sie braucht dringend Ablenkung . Sie sind auch uns durch Ihre politische Einstellung sehr sympathisch . Wir hoffen , dass Emmy durchkommt , wenn ihr auch noch viel Schweres bevorsteht , es muss wohl bei der ersten Operation in Paris etwas verbockt sein , denn es geht alles bei ihr falsch herum . Hoffen wir das beste.

Emmy lässt Sie auf das Herzlichste grüssen und wir schliessen uns an .

Ihre ergebenen

Hermann & Lissie Scheerer

Soeben komme ich von Emmy, da zeigt sie mir Ihren soeben erhaltenen Brief . Sie bittet, nicht böse zu sein wegen ihres Schweigens. Ich sollte Ihnen ja schon längst schreiben , aber das Leben ist so kompliciert , sobald was ausser dem alltäglichen Rahmen passiert , muss man sich doppelt anstrengen , und man arbeitet ja so schon so wie ein kleines Pferd.

Stellen Sie sich vor . Heute war ein Concilium , es wurde beschlossen, dass in ca 14 Tagen eine ganz neue Operation gemacht werden muss, nämlich alles, was in der Operation vor 8 Monaten gemacht worden ist muss wieder aufgemacht werden und die Sache " andersherum " neu eingerichtet werden , Denn es hat sich herausgestellt , dass es so wie der Chirurg es damals sich dachte , es keinesfalls functionieren will und kann !!!! Sie fühlt nämlich, trotz der jetzigen Operation, dass die linke Seite immer noch nicht normal arbeitet , das kommt von der letzten damaligen Operation . Ich werde Ihnen seinerzeit wieder ~~sch~~ schreiben , auch Emmy sobald sie etwas mehr Kraft hat . Ich ändere also Ihre Adresse , Emmy hat sich sehr gefreut von Ihnen zu hören und dankt für Ihr warmes Interesse herzlich . Wir sprachen öfters von Ihnen gnädige Frau, als mein Sohn , der sich für Ihre Ziele sehr interessierte noch hier war (auch Hitleropfer) Er ist jetzt an der Columbia Univ. New York als Professor der Phylosophie nach unsäglichen Leiden und Wartens . Die Emmy hat eine Bärenkraft & Lebenswillen, ganz erstaunlich. Herzlichst

Scheerer

870925381

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 Dec. 18 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].— 2 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

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Dec. 18th 1938 17039 Friday

I forgot to say when I wrote that you were perfectly right to speak your mind freely when I asked about P.R. and it has not prevented me organising a fund on his behalf; Laurence Housman gave me £5 to kick off with and Peace News is running my appeal. But I have asked PR about his daughter in Paris. I don't think you quite [illegible] Ramus' & the pacifist position generally about Spain, by the way. They do not say the Spanish Republicans and workers should have done nothing; they say it would have been possible to fight Franco by means of non-co-operation & sabotage, that had they not resisted the military coup there would have been no attack, no fighting, & thousands of lives & all the horror of Madrid & Guernica & Bilbao have been spared. They maintain (and it is now my point of view too) that no

9

870925381

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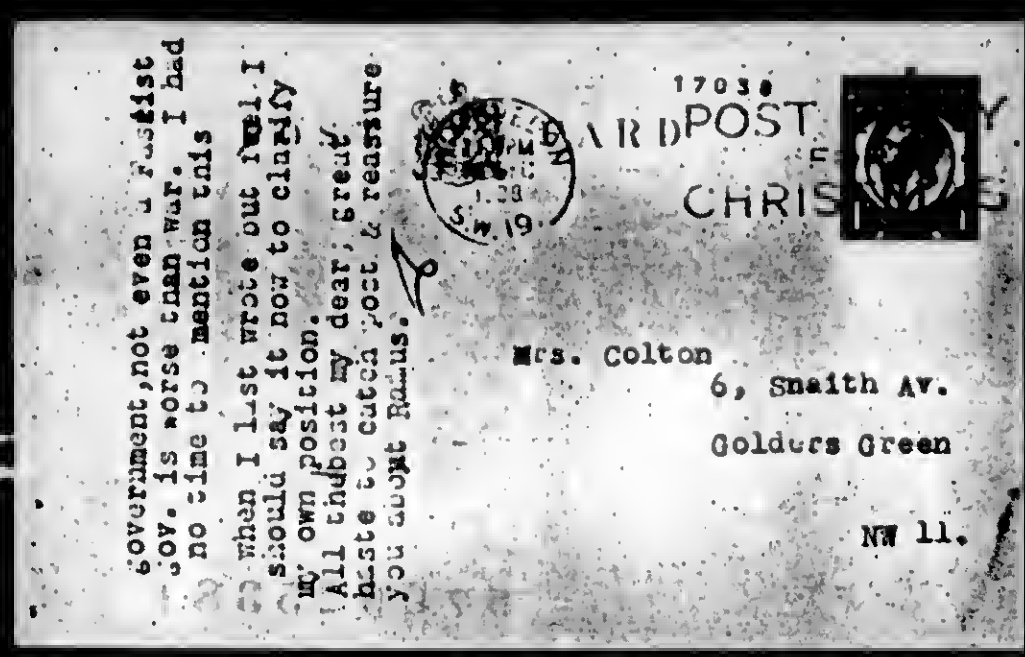

government, not even a fascist
gov. is worse than war. I had
no time to mention this
When I last wrote out well I
should say it now to clarify
my own position.
All thubert my dear, great
haste to catch post & reassure
you about Radus.

17038
CARD POST
CHRISTMAS

Mrs. Colton
6, Smaith Av.
Golders Green
NW 11.

880726262

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] Dec. 18, Haarlem [The Netherlands to Emma Goldman, London] / Wim Jong. – 1 p.; 30 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Wim Jong

Haarlem, Dec.18th

23908

Orchideeenlaan 23

Dear comrade,
Thanks for the letter and the various papers etc.
Mrs. Roops writes me that her present personal circumstances prevent her from offering you hospitality at her house, anyway, the Hague is too far from Amsterdam, an hour by train. But she has asked me to inform her when some kind of a gathering could be arranged in Amsterdam or here.
Now perhaps this would be the best. As soon as you have an address in Amsterdam let me know. Meanwhile I will try to find a comrade there at whose house we could meet each other, and who does not live too far from the centre, so that eventually friends from elsewhere could come there too. But it all depends ~~from~~ your time. What would you say about Tuesday or Wednesday after Xmas', in the evening? I am sure that I can find a comrade, I am thinking f.i. of Mrs. van Mierop, - you remember we went there before going to the Carlton, when you were in Amsterdam with your American friend?,
I do not know your plans for Xmas, are you going to work then, or are you going to spend it with friends in Amsterdam, Arthur M.L. f.i. Albert de Jong, would be glad to receive you here, he told me, he is my neighbour. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I won't be free myself, those days, so that I cannot ask you to come and visit me then.
Anyway, please let me know your address here as soon as you know it and whether you could be free any of the evenings after Xmas (Friday before Xmas, I suppose you prefer to be quiet after your journey)
I am going to ask Albert de Jong to communicate with you directly, in case you should like to come to Heemstede, it is only less than half an hour, either by train or by tram.
Thanks for bringing a copy of your book, I always wanted to have it.
meanwhile, hoping soon to see you again, yours truly

Wim Jong

Please note the postal address

23 Orchideeenlaan
Haarlem

(Heemstede is a suburb, but my post is not delivered from there)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

870929336

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 19 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20456

19th December 1938.

Dear Martin,

I do not know how to explain the strange thing of two letters apart nearly two weeks should be sent out at the same time, not unless your responsible courier at your end keeps the letters until he gets a whole collection it must be I who does it. Anyway your mail arrives most irregularly.

Before your two letters November 28th and December 8th arrived I received your letters of November 23rd and 25th. Needless to say I answered these letters almost at once as I usually do. Actually your two letters November 23rd and 25th were the first I received after my departure from Barcelona October 30th.

In your letter of November 28th you say you have received my letter of October 15th. Of course you meant November because as you know on October 15th I was still in Barcelona. You should have received other letters from me long before the one of November 15th. I have not the time to lay my hands on all the copies of the letters I wrote you since I got back to London. I will do that before I go to Holland next Thursday the 22nd this month, and I will also jot down the titles of the German material I have received.

This morning an additional part came and I have also received several sections of the Spanish text. I will write you fully about this I hope before I leave for Holland or when I get there. Your question regarding the receipt of material by comrade Barr is already answered by the acknowledgement of every parcel I received. Until my arrival he had only received two things which he turned over to a comrade for translation not knowing really what it was all about. What I still miss is the copy of the German paper which I left with you because of the most interesting article of the guerilla fight of the Spanish people. I want that very much and I also want not only the photographs of the Transport Syndicate but also those of the colony I visited with Mawa and which the photographer of the Ministry had taken. I have already mentioned this in a previous letter and have asked you to call up Mawa in case you do not have the photographs he should send me another set. While you will be talking with Mawa over the telephone tell him I must know whether the large fruit packet sent via the Spanish Consulate in Paris has ever reached him. The least he can do is to acknowledge it. If he has not received it he should make some enquiry of the Consulate in Paris through the Consul in Barcelona.

In neither of your letters do you mention whether you have received the food parcel I sent you through Ay. He acknowledged the

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100 francs in his letter to me and said he was attending to the parcel without delay. That is certainly at least three weeks ago if not longer. You should have had it by the 8th of this month or even earlier. I am anxious about it because I should hate the loss of 100 francs, and you should be deprived of the food which you and your friend need so badly.

On Monday I also sent money to Camara with directions to send you two parcels as my Christmas gift as you like to name it. Please be sure to write me when you get them. I have written to Lucia asking her to telephone you directly the food parcels arrive.

I have also sent 13 parcels for the Mon-Nou Colony in charge of the companion of comrade Puig Elias, Emily Roca. I have asked Lucia to telephone Mawa as he said hewould deliver these parcels to the Colony which is s long distance from Barcelona and in the very heights of the Pirynees.

Now to your last letters. Naturally I will not use any of the material of the F.A.I. which you sent out in German and in Spanish, at least not until some important psychological moment arrives although I can tell you it requires a lot of self control not to make known the activities of Stalin's gang during 1937 and part ofthis year; but it will never betoo late I am sure of that.

You are quite right regarding the P.O.U.M. people outside of Spain. I did not realise they ere such a rotten lot - that they would keep on attacking the C.N.T. in spite of thefact that it was our people the C.N.T. whichsaved the lives of Gorkin and the others. I saw a copy of a confused and stupid sheet published by a so called comrade in Glasgow. The paper is full of quotations from the Indenpendent News published in Paris. These Poumists actually use Santillan to back them in their charge against the C.N.T. as being responsible for the prosecution of left elements because it has a member in the government. When I get time I am going to write John McNair and I will ask him whether he thinks it fair that his comrades should spread all sorts of lies about the C.N.T. after the latter had done so much to safeguard the lives of Gorkin and his comrades; but there the Poumists are Marxists and no matter what particular branch they arebelong they are unreliable and a utterly unscrupulous gang.

My dear old young comrade. I was amused to read that you found the stuff you read in Spain & The World as an interview with me too mild on the Negrin Government and Judges. Please remember never to take for granted anything you see credited to me which does not contain my signature. The comrade who took the interview while I was in bed with an aching bruised head made so many mistakes that I had to send in corrections for Spain & The World to publish in their last issue and which you will have received by the time this letter reaches you. The issue also contains my article on Grynspan. Vanguard which wasto have my article on the P.O.U.M. trial has not yet arrived. I take it that you are getting it. Nevertheless I will send you a copy of the manuscript to be quite sure that you have it. You will then see that I am not as gentle as you gather from the interview either with the Negrin Government or the judges. It is true that I have always made it a rule

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to give people their just due. I consider all trials inhuman and unfair; but also I have to admit that as far as justice goes those who presided over the trial of the P.O.U.M. people were exceedingly objective. If that is "mildness" I will have to stand the charge.

If I am mild in dealing with the Negrin Government you my dear are certainly naivety in taking it for granted that we were shown every part of the prisons we visited. If you remember we were told that the 1100 prisoners of the seminary were at work and therefore not in the prison. That seemed rather suspicious to me at the time and the more I thoughtof it the more suspicious I became. If they had really been at work why did they not tell us where they were working so we could have checked them up?. I am quite willing to believe that none of the prisons we visited had political prisoners. They are, and you and I agreed, in concentration camps and we only visited one. No, it is reasonably certain that there are political prisoners in Republican prisons. The fact that the comrades in the Modela sent a protest to the Plenum and mentioned the fact that one comrade was condemned to death shows that people are made to suffer for their revolutionary ideas.

Another thing is the story of the concentration camp mentioned in Man and also in the Glasgow sheet "Solidarity" that twelve had been shot by their communist jailor because two of them had escaped. You must have that copy of Man. I wonder if you could make an investigation of this matter and let me know what is truth and what is gossip. At any rate I was delighted to hear that Frederica and comrades of the Peninsular will go to the authorities to demand the release of all political prisoners. It is absurd to arrest people for having a gun and to keep them in prison for months and months when they could be employed in useful labours.

I was terribly sorry to hear that comrade Kille died in prison. He must have been ill for a long time and it is a shame he was not released and sent to hospital or given medical care outside. You say he had been nursed by Engels and Klose. I thought we were told that Klose is in a concentration camp on the other side of the Ebro and that is why we could not get to see him. Do you mean to say that he has been released or transferred to Barcelona. Please do not forget to let me know next time.

You made mention of the name of an Italian comrade, but that does no seem the same that was in the SIM secret prison and whom we had no way of seeing. The name is Pizano. Can you find out what has become of him?.

Dear Martin I cannot repeat too often and too emphatically how necessary it is for us in our propaganda to be able to say that there are no political prisoners in anti-fascist jails and concentration camps. It is for this reason that I cannot be too emphatic in asking that something drastic should be done to get them out.

I am glad the copy of "My Disillusionment" which comrade Barr sent ages ago has finally reached you. I told you already that Pedro had another volume which I sent to the Bureau in Paris. I also sent him c/o Camara a copy of "Anti Climax" I hope it reached Pedro

870929336

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 19 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

before he left for Spain or has been sent on by Camara. 20459

About the "Bolshevik Myth". I am almost certain to find a copy in Holland. I would not mind sending my personal copy but I know that Spain is a bottomless thing - one is never sure whether a thing will reach you and the others and one is even less sure whether one will get it back. I hope I will not have to part with one of the few things precious to me that has been left by comrade Berkman.

You will be very glad to know that the film made for me in Paris arrived in good order except that it contained a long blank strip which we had to cut away as it would otherwise interfere with the effect of the film. I could not imagine what was on that strip. However it hangs together and with the exception of the priests counting money and the many dead bodies piled up on each other it represents all that was in the original negative. Stupid of the Government censor to have gone to the extent of cutting everthing out as he did.

I am sorry to report that our meeting was not as largely attended as we had hoped. The fact is that there are so many meetings by various societies for Spain and now for the refugee jews that it is not very surprising that our was not full to capacity, nevertheless it was worth while if only for the impression the film made. We are also hoping to clear some money for S.I.A. after we have gathered all the expenses of the meeting which unfortunately comes very high. This will probably be my last public appearance in London before I leave for Canada sometime in February.

As you see I keep on postponing my trip to Canada, firstly because I am still haning in the air as to what is to be done about our Bureau. I must say I cannot understand why it takes so long to get definite information from the Committee of the C.N.T. and the Peninsular Surely they must be able to decide whether the Bureau is to continue in my absence, whether it is to be on a smaller scale, or whether it is to be given up altogether. I wish I could know. Another reason for my not wanting to get away so far from Spain is the European situation. Every day the clouds of war galther blacker and thicker. The hurricane may break loeseany moment. I coild not bare to be separated from Spain and all of you my dear comrades in the case of such a eventuallity. Yes I know I could not help you, but still it would not make the sitution so harrowing. Well I only hope I will hear soon from Vasquez.

You will forgive me my dear that I have delayed sending the cheque for £17-0-0 odd to Mascarel for your office. I have already written him about it and just as soon as the letter is put in proper type I will send off the amount to him and I will also ask him to send me a receipt. The dealy has been caused by a number of reasons - I have been at work on my report on my visit this year. It is growing into a veritable book. Unfortunately we have few publications that could take up the space even serially of the report except Freie Arbiter Stimme and possibly Vanguard will be able to use a small section. I have such a vast panorama to cover. I think you and the comrades will be pleased with what I have written. I have tried my best to be objective and fair to the comrades of the F.A.I. as well as to Vasquez and the Committee; but I could not entirely keep silent on the differences of opinion regarding means and tactics that exist among the comrades even

870929336

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 19 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

though they have come closer together since I left. I feel [illegible] that they have done so because it would have been [illegible] any split at the present grand and tragic side of the [illegible]

This is all for the present.

I know it is ludicrous to wish you a pleasant [illegible] while the bleakness on the Spanish horizon increases rather [illegible] diminishes. After all the living must go on living in the [illegible] and to be able to do so they must also have minutes of forgetfulness and minutes of joy. I wish that for you and your comrades for the new year and I wish with all my heart that 1939 may [illegible] vibtory over fascism.

Please remember me to all the comrades and to your [illegible] Be sure to give my best fraternal greetings to Simon.

By the way when you will receive the two Christmas [illegible] please give something to Simon with my affectionate remembrances [illegible]

Affectionately

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870929573

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 19, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[anuel] Mascarell.— 1 p.; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20841

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
Y
Federación Anarquista Ibérica
—
Relaciones Exteriores
—
N° I.549/131/BC.

París, le I9 Décembre I938.

Emma G O L D M A N N
2I Frith Street
Shaftesbury Avenue
L O N D O N, W. I.

Chère Emma,

J'ai bien reçu ta lettre du I5 courant, ainsi que les deux chèques qui y étaient joints et qui sont destinés, tous deux, à la OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR, à BARCELONE.

Nous suivrons tes instructions et mettrons l'équivalence en francs au compte de Martin CUDELL.

Je prends note de ton départ pour la Hollande le 2I du mois en cours et espère que tu me donneras de tes nouvelles pendant ton court séjour dans ce pays.

En ce qui concerne ton impatience de savoir si nous avons souvent occasion de téléphoner en Espagne, je dois te prévenir que nous évitons, le plus possible et pour des raisons que tu peux supposer, de téléphoner à Mariano. Néammoins, je te répète que le jour même que nous avons reçu ta lettre dans laquelle tu nous demandais de leur faire part de tes intentions et de ta situation, nous leur avons écrit en leur demandant de nous répondre dès que possible. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'étant donné les circonstances actuelles de l'Espagne, tout à fait spéciales, le courrier n'est pas si rapide qu'en temps normal. Bien que nous n'employions pas le courrier ordinaire pour cé genre de correspondance, il existe toujours des difficultés à surmonter qui font que cela ne va pas toujours aussi vite que l'on voudrait.

Sois sans crainte, dès que nous recevrons une lettre à ce sujet, nous te la ferons parvenir.

Je suis content que le film ait produit une grande impression sur les personnes qui assistaient à la représentantion. Peut-être pourras-tu obtenir quelques bénéfices.

Dans l'attente de tes nouvelles, reçois, Chère Emma, mes cordiales salutations.

POUR LA DELEGATION PERMANENTE DE LA C.N.T.-F.A.I. PARIS.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
C.N.T.
DELEGACION PERMANENTE DE PARIS
SECRETARIA

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870929499

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 19, Marseille [France to] Emma Goldman, London / I. da Camara Pires. — 1 p. ; 26 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. E. C. I.

ENTRE D'EXPANSION COMMERCIALE INTERNATIONALE

Société a Responsabilité Limitée au Capital de 50.000 Francs

Bureaux : 40, LA CANEBIÈRE - MARSEILLE

TÉLÉPH. : DRAGON 59-03 & 64-53

Adresse Télégraphique : CECI-MARSEILLE

ALL Codes Used

R.C. MARSEILLE 133.150

Obl.

Marseille, le 19 Décembre 1938

Camarede Emma Goldman
21, Frith Street
Shaftesbury Avenue
London, W.1.

Chère Camarade,

J'ai bien reçu ta lettre du 8 Ct. ainsi que le chèque de frs.908,75.

Les colis que tu demandes seront envoyés ponctuellement, et suivant toutes tes instructions.

Le montant total de ta commande est de Frs.595. Il reste donc à ton credit la somme de frs.313,75.

Fraternelles salutations.

Entre d'Expansion Commerciale Internationale
Le Gérant.

900626026

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 19, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez.— 1 p. ; 23 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

A.I.T.
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo.
- -
Comité Nacional.
- -

Nº 1.131. E.

BARCELONA, a 19 de diciembre 1.938.

A la Dalegación Permanente de la C.N.T. an Inglaterra.
L o n d r e s.

Estimada compañara Emma Goldman:

Ya sabae qua al Comité Nacional da Ayuda a España ha creado un servicio de paquatas "standard", por el cual, cualquier ciudadano puede mandar a quien desee de España, un paquata de alimentos.

Dasde al comienzo, hamos considarado que un problema importante para nosotros, desde el punto da vista de Organización y para facilitar el sostenimiento de nuestra lucha, era lograr que se hiciaran envíos de estos paquetes a los obreros de nuestras Federaciones da Industria. A tenor da allo, hemos pedido a las mismas nos preparen listas de trabajadores para mandarlas al extranjero a las Federaciones de Industria afines, por entender qua por este procedimianto puede lograrse algo de lo qua parseguimos. Pero como que si nos limitamos a mandarlas, se corre al riasgo de qua no se adalante nada, por quedar en un rincón o por partidismo, procademos a mandártelas a tí, para que, parsonal y directamenta, las entreguas y trabajes para qua se conceda lo qua padimos: Qua se manden paquetes a los obreros.

Adjuntamos a la presente la primera ralación y la carta correspondienta de la Fadaración de la Industria Sidarometalúrgica.

Como al asunto as claro, no dudamos lo comprenderás y te interesarás al máximun por lograr un éxito en esta tarea. Ta seguiremos mandando listas y cartas da diversas Fadaraciones.

Para realizar asta trabajo, qua repetimos tiena una importancia enorma bajo el punto de vista da Organización y dal antifascismo, debas de movilizarte, así como los compañeros que tú craea puaden ayudarta en asta tarea. Todos los procedimientos; todas las amistadas; todos los resortes y todas las influencias deben de ser movidas con el propósito de lograr el fin perseguido.

Si alguna sugerencia eficaz ae te ocurre para facilitar más el trabajo, hazla, que, por nuestra parte, dispuestos estamos a ponerla en práctica con tal de alcanzar lo qua persaguimos. Pero, debes partir siempre del principio que en lo qua posible sea, DEBE REALIZARSE EL ENVIO A LOS NUESTROS, A LOS OBREROS DE LA C.N.T. Y DE LA C.N.T.-U.G.T. qua se detallan.

No dudando de tu éxito en la gastión, te saluda fraternalmente

POR EL COMITE NACIONAL.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

Secretario.

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880207079

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Dec. 20?] Haarlem [The Netherlands to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Albert de Jong. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24491

Liebe Frau Goldman!

Fahren Sie mit einem der folgenden Zügen von Amsterdam:

16.58 17.28, 18.24, und nehmen Sie ein Billet bis HEEMSTEDE. Dieser Bahnhof ist ~~XXX~~ drei Minuten ~~XX~~ von unsrem Hause. Es ist der zweite nach Amsterdam, der erste nach Haarlem. Mit 16.58 und 17.28 brauchen Sie nicht umzusteigen; Mit 18.24 muss man in Haarlem umsteigen.

Schreiben Sie bitte welchen Zug Sie nehmen werden, damit ich Sie abholen kann. Gleich posten bitte und ich werde es früh genug wissen.

Wir haben Gen. Fijstra wieder eingeladen und der an. Genosse Lebeau u Frau, ein Maler, und einen Arzt, einen gegenseitigen Freund von Lebeau und uns. Auch die Frau Aerztin ist mit eingeladen. Sie können wenn Sie wollen in meinem ~~XXXX~~ geheizten Zimmer schlafen wo ein ganz gutes Bett steht. Wollten Sie bestimmt noch nach Hause fahren, so verlangen Sie "Retour" Heemstede. Sonst "enkele reis". Es werden wohl spätere Züge fahren als sonst; jedenfalls ~~XXXX~~ war das vorigen Jahre so. Aber es scheint uns ruhiger für Sie, dass Sie bei uns schlafen; am Sonntag können Sie

880207079

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Dec. 20?] Haarlem [The Netherlands to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Albert de Jong. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24492.

zurückfahren wenn Sie nur wollen.

Also bis Morgenabend! Es grüsst herzlichst

Albert de Jong

Die Adresse ist nicht mehr ~~H. de Grootlaan 6 Heemstede,~~ sondern Azalealaan 14 Haarlem

Für die Post genügt Haarlem

880908000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 20, London [to] Samuel [Freedman, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 18 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

C.N.T. A.I.T. F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:
34 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, 20th December 1938.

Telegrams: GERrard 2888

Dear Samuel,

I have written you recently nearly with every sailing. I am sending you the balance of my report. As you see it has grown into a substantial manuscript. It is understood that you and Mark can use as much as you want for the paper. At the same time I am writing the comrades of Vanguard to find out whether they had made use of the first part of my report which I sent you nearly three weeks ago. It certainly should have arrived for the 20th of this month which one of the comrades wrote me was their zero date. I repeat what I told you in my last letterthat if Vanguard has not taken the manuscript for publication you can give it to Abe for publication after you have had it translated for Freie Arbiter Stimme and Abe can use what he wants for Challenge. The same holds good for the manuscript that is going to you to-day.

I dont know what you will think of me making such a blunder about the name of the Toronto comrade, referring to him as Goldstein, when his name is Steinbergh. You will probably think I am getting senile It would not be surprising with all disappointments one has in the work here, not to speak of the distressing news I get about the condition of my beautifull child Stella. As it happens I have Steinbergh's address, but I have not the time now to write him separately since I enclosed a few lines to him in your letter I wrote to you on Saturday.

I am leaving this Thursday, day after tomorrow, for Holland and will be gone about two weeks. You can reach me at this office as mail will be forwarded should I be detained a little longer.

for Give my fraternal greetings to all the comrades. I wish that/you and them and all of us the new year may bring victory to the heroic Spanish people and our comrades.

Fraternally,

Emma

PS Unfortunately I did not get Vanguard. The last chapter dealing with the Germans will come later I leave for Holland day after tomorrow write me to above address. Have changed the

870925372

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 20 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17020

20th December, 1938.

Dearest Ethel,

I sent off a short note and Bulletins which I received from the S.I.A. people in Barcelona. While I am frightfully busy I must write you again. It concerns the enclosed letter from Nancy Cunard in response to mine explaining how it happened that her name appeared in the Bulletin again when it had been taken off from our stationery. I never came across such petty business. The fact of the matter is she is insistent about her name coming off, over the meeting the S.I.A. in Paris arranged as a protest against the attempt to send the seven P.O.U.M. comrades to their death. I actually did not know of the meeting until I came out of Spain, and should of course have approved it if I had known. The idea of dictating to people what meetings they should organise or for what pruposes, of course this is merely a lame excuse. No doubt she was called on the carpet by her miserable communist comrades. Well, here is my answer - not very polite, I admit, but I really am furious over the whole unfortunate business. Actually the one responsible is Brian Howard. It would never have occurred to me to take her name, which by the way did not bring in an extra copper, but that fool kept on assuring me that he could vouch for her - she is his friend. As you see, I have suggested to her that I will insert a note that her name ~~[illegible]~~ remained by mistake and will never again be put on. If that does not satisy her we will have to throw the balance of our Bulletins in the wastepaper basket - for Nancy Cunard seems to be capable of dragging us into Court for libel. Stalin's followers have been guilty of worse actions than this.

I did not want to bother you, but I thought it just as well to let you know.

I had a man in the office whom I had never met before. He came to offer to collect money for S.I.A., but as he could give no references of any sort, we could not of course entrust him with such a responsible thing. I merely submit it to you that you should know what happens in the office.

870925372

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 20 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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U

17021

Ralph is sending you a list of the people who have brought or sent clothes - some of them brand new. As it was addressed to you, please acknowledge the packages. He will also send you a copy of the statement I received to-day from the Paris C.N.T. bureau - comrades who have made the copies of the film for us. It develops that the amount is much larger than I thought. Naturally the cost will be divided in two parts, one for the film which remains here and the other which I will take along to Canada. The amount in pounds is about £40, that means £20 for the film I am leaving here which includes the shipment and Customs clearance. As we will charge £1/10 for the use of the film that money could be put to the cost of it and later if more is made divide it between the S.I.A. and the C.N.T. I have already spoken to Sonia. When James comes back from the south of France, they will get up a letter to all sorts of branches, including the Independent Labour Party, givingma synopsis of the film and asking them to display it. I have told Sonia to have a talk with Fenner about my suggestion that all those affiliated with the I.L.P. would do well to use the film for raising money for food for Gorkin and his comrades. They ought to be able to get quite a handsome sum. It would mean a lot to the men.

Good-bye once more, mydear. I am leaving at 9.30 a.m. on Thursday. I will write to you about the other matter from Amsterdam.

With all my love,

880726261

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 20 [London to] Arthur [Müller-Lehning, Amsterdam] / [Emma Goldman].– 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23907

20th December, 1938.

Dear Arthur,

I was terribly sorry to hear of your being so much under the weather. I wondered why I did not hear from you in reply to my letter. I have written the lady with a long name and I received an answer that she would meet me in Flshing. So if Madelien does not feel fit to meet me I think she had better not ' it. I am sure the lady will keep her promise, since her instruct as are from Professor Posthumus. I wish I know where I am going to stay, but I suppose this, too, will adjust itself. By the way, I received a letter pruporting to be an invitation and also to safeguard the material I am bringing, from Professor Postuhumuus, so that's all right. I am leaving Thursday at 9.30 in the morning. I have no idea when the train arrives in Amsterdam. Perhaps Madeleine would meet me there, but as I dais she must not do so if she is not entirely recovered from la grippe. It is too dangerous, and I will be all right I am sure.

Last Friday a letter was received in the office signed by A. The postmark was supposed toxbe France. I was not in the office so the letter w s forwarded. It must have been lost in the heavy Christmas mail because it never reached me. I thought that the letter must be from you, because I know no one else with the initial A. Now that I have your letter from Amsterdame I cannot imagine from whom the other one was. As I will see you and Madelien in a few days, I will say nothing more now. I am looking forward to the visit and to my work in the Institute.

Affectionate greetings to Madeleine and yourself,

880726263

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 20 [London to unknown recipient, Amsterdam?] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23909

20th December, 1938.

Dear Comrade,

Thank you for your letter which reached me to-day. I did not really mean for Mrs. Coots to invite me to stay with her. After all she has not seen me for years and much may have been changed in her life and her surroundings.

I am leaving here definitely Thursday morning at 9.30 via Flushing. The Librarian of the Institute is to meet me in Flushing and to take me to Amsterdam. I wonder if you could meet the train in Amsterdam. You see I do not know at this writing where I am going to stay. I must have a warm place suitable to work in, and as far as I remember the comrade whom we visited in Amsterdam, it was very cold in her apartment. However, if you could meet the train I may be able to tell you how to get in touch with me, as it may well be that Professor Posthumus has made arrangements for a room for me. If you cannot then write me to the International Institute for Social History, Kaizergracht 264, Amsterdam C; or I will drop you a line directly I reach Amsterdam. I have made no arrangements for Christmas or any other day, so I really do not know anybody in Amsterdam. Perhaps I may spend Christmas with AM.L. I have just heard from him. He and his companion have been ill with the grippe, so I do not know whether they are in condition to have company A gathering can be arranged for some evening the week after Christmas either at the home of Albert de Jong or any other place you decide upon.

Hoping to see you at the train if possible, or to find a letter from you at the Institute,

Fraternally,

880207099

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 20, Barcelona [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Mawa.— 2 p.; 17 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24528

MINISTERIO DE INSTRUCCIÓN PÚBLICA
Y SANIDAD

PARTICULAR

Barcelona, den 20. Dezember 1938.

Liebe Frau Goldman!

Ich habe Jhre geschätzten Schreiben vom 11. November und 1. Dezember richtig erhalten. Vor allem bitte ich Sie um Verzeihung, dass ich Jhnen nicht sofort geantwortet habe, was nicht wieder vorkommen wird. Die Gründe sind folgende: Jeden Tag wartete ich darauf, Jhnen sagen zu können, dass ich die in Frage kommenden Filme bereits habe; ich wurde damit von Tag zu Tag vertröstet. Anderseits wartete ich jeden Tag auf das Paket, um Jhnen eine Bestätigung zu geben. Und ausserdem bin ich in der letzten Zeit sehr viel auf Dienstreisen gewesen.

Heute bin nunmehr in der angenehmen Lage, Jhnen mitteilen zu können, dass ich gestern das Paket erhalten habe, wofür ich Jhnen herzlichst danke, und heute habe ich die beiden Filme bekommen. Ich werde morgen sofort zur Zensur gehen und hoffe ich, Jhnen die Filme diese Woche bestimmt abzuschicken. Ausserdem werde ich Jhnen noch zwei kolloktionen der Bilder von Mon Nou schicken.

Und nun möchte ich Jhnen noch sagen, dass ich sehr betrübt war, über den Unfall, den Sie gahabt haben und freue mich jetzt

880207099

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 20, Barcelona [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Mawa.— 2 p.; 17 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ausserordentlich, dass es Ihnen wieder gut geht.

Die mir in so liebenswürdige Weise geschickten Lebensmittel werde ich mir nunmehr auf Ihr persönliches Wohl zu Gemüte ziehen.

Sobald die Filme und die Bilder von hier abfliegen, werde ich Sie dann sofort benachrichtigen.

Der polnische Delegierte Freund Pilarski hatte mir erzählt, dass er mit Ihnen in Paris gesprochen hat und überbrachte mir Ihre freundlichen Grüsse. Auch habe ich Ihre Grüsse unserm Freunde Puig Elias und in Mon Nou bestellt.

Und nun meine liebe Frau Goldman, will ich mich heute von Ihnen verabschieden, indem ich Ihnen wiederhole, dass für alles was Sie benötigen könnten, Sie Ihren Freund Mawa jederzeit in Anspruch nehmen dürfen.

Mit herzlichen Grüssen

Ihr sehr ergebener.

Mawa

880207084

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Dec. 20 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 23 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24499

5, RUE DELAIZEMENT - XVIIe
TÉL. : ÉTOILE 33-77

20-12-38

Liebste Emma,

vor all a wür eben wir Ihnen fro-
he Weihnachten und ein gesundes neues Jah
Hoffentlich haben Sie sich inzwischen vor
Ihrem Sturz erholt.

Von uns ist ausschliesslich nur zu
sagen, dass wir jämmerlich frieren. Ist
es dort auch so kalt?

Der Bakunin geht ganz gut. Anbei
eine Seite aus dem Libertaire über ihn.
Sonst sind noch nicht viel Kritiken er-
schienen, aber es ist ja auch kein Buch,
das sich schnell liest. Sobald wir wieder
zum Verleger gehen, werden wir dafür sor-
gen, dass Ihnen noch ein Exemplar geschic
wird. Es ist sehr freundlich, dass Sie
sich bemühen wollen, uns Kritiken und so-
gar Verleger für England und Amerika zu
verschaffen.

Von der allgemeinen Lage wollen wir
lieber nicht schreiben. Was hilft es, im-
mer nur zu klagen, und Lichtblicke gibt
es ja leider nirgends. Wir haben furcht-
bare Sorgen wegen unserer Angehörigen, di
noch in Deutschland sind, das Persönliche
geht so mit dem Allgemeinen ineinander
über.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Dec. 20 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. – 2 p. ; 23 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24500

Da Sie nächstens nach Holland fahren, kommen Sie vielleicht bei der Gelegenheit auch nach Paris. Allerdings sind Sie eine so beschäftigte Frau, dass Sie hierx niemals viel Zeit für uns haben.

Die Spanier wollen tatsächlich den Bakunin übersetzen, hoffentlich wird etwas daraus. Glauben Sie aber nicht, dass wir uns nur mit unsern bakunistischen Hoffnungen befassen. Wir sind bereits beim nächsten Buch, es handelt von den seltsamen und interessanten Beziehungen Lassalles und der Gräfin Hatzfeldt, auch wenn es leider nur langsam fortschreitet, denn wir sind beide etwas überarbeitet und erholungsbedürftig. Wir werden die Zeit zwischen Weihnachten und Neujahr benutzen, um uns auszuruhen.

Schreiben Sie uns recht bald, vor allem sobald Sie den Bakunin gelesen haben, damit wir hören, was Sie darüber denken.

Viele herzliche Grüsse von uns beiden

Ihre

Anita & Hans

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 20, New York [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Will[iam] and Lillian Mendelsohn. – 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

545 West End Avenue
New York City

December 20, 1938

Dear Emma Goldman:

In the vernacular of American baseball, I am pinch hitting for Lillian. I hope you won't mind. Although she writes ever so much better than I do, she is a most active young lady at this moment and since we are leaving for her home in Kentucky tomorrow and from there to Chicago to spend New Years, she has asked me to write to you for both of us.

First, we were both very much pleased to hear from you on your return from Spain. You will remember that you told us you would be in Spain for two or three weeks and then when you stayed seven weeks, we became rather anxious and worried. It seems, however, that Angelica Balabanoff, who was up to our house for dinner a few weeks ago, knew that you were staying for the trials and so she felt you would be gone for longer than two or three weeks.

We both want to read your report on Spain and we hope you will forward us a copy as soon as you have them so we may learn in detail of your visit there. America is beginning to wake up to the travesty of the "Neutrality Act" and there is very broadspread demand for action on the part of Congress when it reconvenes in January. We are all hoping that some action will be taken to repeal the act and allow food and other needs to go forward to the Spanish Government. We have been attending meeting after meeting here in New York and, of course, the greatest opposition comes from the Catholic Church here. The acts of Mr. Hitler against Catholicism have in some measure caught their attention, but they lose no opportunity to link Germany, Spain and Russia all in the same breath when they condemn those who persecute the minorities.

As you can well imagine, America is as one in its condemnation of Nazi Germany and there is much talk of breaking relations, etc. In this latest terror, the Spanish question was lost track of for some time, but now that Congress is about to meet, we are doing everything possible in the way of sending petitions and making other demands upon those venerable gentlemen.

Jeanne and Jay have both been in New York. When Jeanne was here several weeks ago, Angelica, Rudolph Rocker and his wife, Eugene Lyons and his wife, as well as Miss Fitzgerald were all up at our home. We spent a very interesting evening, as you can well imagine. Lyons saw that beautiful book of colored pictures you gave us when we were in London; the one on the Spanish struggle. He expressed a desire for one and I said I would mention it to you when next we wrote to you. So if you can get one, perhaps you will send it on to us and we will deliver it to Lyons.

One of the items in your letter mentions an appeal by a Spanish scientist and you ask for a list of American Scientists. This is really a job of no small proportion because there are thousands and thousands of scientists in medicine, dentistry, physics and chemistry and others. How many names do you want and in what particular field of endeavor? If you will tell us just about how many names you would like and the special fields of science I am sure we could get such a list from the library. Of course, we know the names of some outstanding men such as Compton in Physics, and Mayo in medicine, and Furnas in chemistry, etc, but I am not sure that you want such names. Please tell us in detail and we will be glad to get just what you want if it is at all possible.

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I said before that we are going home to Kentucky (Lillian's family lives there) for Christmas and then to Chicago for New Years. When we return to New York about January 3rd, we shall then get in touch with Mr. Weinberger about whom you wrote and also Miss Turkel, and perhaps by that time we may have a reply from you in regard to the list you want and we shall get to work on that.

We shall find out from Jeanne what has been done about your visit, although the agitation is now so great in the American press against anything that even bears a resemblance to liberalism that the time is hardly propitious to approach the subject. Of course, if you come to Canada we shall try and get there to see you. Perhaps we can arrange a group visit. I am sure Jeanne is planning something of the sort.

Please write to Lillian at your convenience. We are always both glad to hear from you and thanks a lot for the interesting copies of letters you have been enclosing. We enjoy them very much.

Since this is the time of the year when wishes are in order, being the start of the year chronologically, we sincerely wish that the coming year will bring about a decided change for the better for the Loyalists in Spain and the victory they so much deserve. For you, we wish good health and all those things you have always worked and hoped for. Our love and greetings.

Lillian and Will Mendelsohn

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 20, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Lucía Sánchez Saornil. — 2 p. ; 27 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Barcelone, le 20 Décembre, 1938.

Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista

Consejo General

CAMARADE EMMA GOLDMAN.
Section Anglaise de S.I.A.
21, Frith Street- Shaftesbury Avenue-
L O N D O N - W.1.

Chère Emma:

Nous avons reçu la tienne du 6 Décembre après avoir répondu à ta précedente.

Tu ne nous dit rien, si tu es déjà completement rétablie de ton accident, dont le fait de ne pas le mentionner nous fait croire que es mieux.

Nous attendons beaucoup de ton Bulletin et cette fois, non seulement comme moyen de propagande en Angleterre, mais aussi à ce qu'il peut favoriser en Australie et en Chine; nous désirons, que tes espérances, mises dans le manifeste du Dr. Paulis, soient couronnées d'un vrai succès; qu'au moins une fois, les Anglais se laissent émouvoir pour le bien de notre Espagne.

Nous tenons compte de tes indications sur le manteau de fourrure, que nous offrirons à Mercedes. Quant à elle, nous te dirons qu'elle mène le même rythme de vie que les hivers passés: un effort, quelques jours d'activité et à la fin quelques autres jours de lit. Précisément maintenant elle se trouve quelques jours sans se lever.

Ce n'étaient pas seulement les difficultés de son passeport qui ne lui permettaient partir jusqu'à présent, mais aussi le désir d'emmener avec elle deux camarades pour faire la propagande dans le Midi de France pour notre Organisation. C'est cela précisément que lui a fait perdre beaucoup de temps.

Nous sommes au courant déjà de l'envoi de 130 livres Sterling envoyées par Ethel Manin, produit de sa lettre d'appel, somme qui vite transformera en boites de lait condensé pour nos petits. Nous vous enverrons bientot le reçu correspondant.

Nous passons maintenant à la reorganisation ou mieux dit ce que tu apelles réorganisation du Bureau C.N.T.-F.A.I. de laquelle nous parlerons à travers les manifestations de nature "officielle", faites par le Camarade Herrera.

C'est sûr, chère Emma, que le Bureau va disparaitre et nous étions précisément en train de t'écrire pour te mettre au courant, quand nous avions reçu la tienne.

Nous devrions nous mettre d'accord sur la manière que cette disparition nuise le moins possible à S.I.A. Il parait que votre Conseil National occupe le même local que le Bureau mentionné. C'est seulement toi qui pourra savoir si la S.I.A. Anglaise pourra le soutenir, dan les cas contraire, il faudrait penser de réduire notre Bureau, jusqu'à établir s'il n'y a pas d'autre issue, le Bureau dans un local particulier de quelque Camarade, naturellement, avant que disparaitre.

Il y a intérêt pour S.I.A. en général de soutenir la Section Anglaise et tu peut compter pour cela sur l'aide de nat

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Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista
Consejo General

Barcelona, le 20 Décembre, 1938.

Conseil Général. Nous te donnons donc la liberté pour que tu prennes les résolutions, que tu croit convenables.

Il n'y a pas à doute quà la tête ou noh de S.I.A., en Angleterre ou à Canada, nous resterons toujours en contact avec toi, et tenant des relations à la fois avec Ethel Mannin.

En ce qui concerne les films, on est en train de faire les copies de 16mm. mais à cause du manque du materiel indispensable, celles-ci seront muettes. Nous verrons si c'est possible de les rendre sonores en France; dans ce but nous ferons la traduction des textes originaux en anglais.

Nous t'enverrons aussi une copie de l'état de compte qui t'intéresse pourque tu puisses l'utiliser dans les cas que tu crois opportuns.

Comme tu vois, malgré toutes les horreurs de l'aviation, nous continuons heureusement à notre poste.

Le peuple moral ment, loin d'être abattu, s'élève et le survol fréquent de quelques avions sur notre ville, lui donne une telle confiance, qu'il se préoccupe à peine des bombardements.

Nous sommes déjà en contact avec Barr et attendons que à cause de ton absence S.I.A. ne sera abandonnée, S.I.A., à laquelle tu a donné l'impulsion de ton esprit militant.

Pour finir, il ne nous reste que te dire, que les paquets aussitôt arrivés, nous aurons le souci de mettre immédiatement au courant les destinateurs.

Bien cordialement à toi.

POUR LE CONSEIL GENERAL DE S.I.A.
Lucía Sanchez Saornil-Secrétaire

Lucía Sanchez Saornil

S. I. A.
CONSEJO GENERAL
N.º 1302
22-12-38

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Dec. 20, Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Lucía Sánchez Saornil].— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20865

Dear Emma,

We received your letter of the 6th dec. after having replied to the preceding one.

You do not say if you are already recovered from your accident the fact that you do not mention it makes us believe that you are.

We expect much from your bulétin and this time, not inly as a means of propaga nda in England but also the service it can do in Australia and in China;

We wish that your hopes put in the manifesto may be crowned by true success; that at least once in a way the English may arouse their emotions for the good of our Spain.

We note your indications as to the fur cloakwhich we will offer to Mercedes.

As for her we must tell you that she leads the same rythm of life as in past winters; an effort,some days of activity and at the end other days in bed.

Just now she has been in bed several days.

I t was not only the difficulties of her passport which did not allow her to leave up to now but also her wish to take with her two comrades to make propaganda in the south of France for our organisation. It is just that which has made her lose a great of time

We have received already the £130 sent by Ethel Mannin the result of her letters of appeal; the sum which will soon be trans formed into cases of condenced milk for our little ones. We will soon send you the corresponding receipt.

We now pass to the re-organisation or rather what you call re-organisation of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.Bureau of which we speak in the course of disclosures of official nature made by Com. Herrera

It iscertain dear Emma that the Bureau is going to disap pear and we were actually writing to you to inform you when we received your letter,

We should come to an agreement as to the manner of its disapearance so that it shall be as little indurious as possible to S I.A.

It appears that your national council occupies the same premises as the aforesaid bureau. Only you can know if the English S.I.A. could keep the premises up, if the contrary is the case we should haveto think of cutting it down even to the extent if there is no other way out of establishing the bureau in the personal premises of some comrade. Anything of course rather than it should disappear

It is to the interest of S.I.A. in general to support the English section and you can count for that on the help of our general council. We therefore leave it to you to make the dicisions you think suitable.

Do not doubt that whether or not you are at the head of S.I.A. in England or Canada we will always remain in contact with you andkeep up relations at the same time with Ethel Mannin.

As to the Film we are having copiesof I6mm made, But owing to the lack of indispensible material these will be soundless. We shall see if it is possible to make them sound films in France; with this end we will translate the original text into English.

We will also send you a copy of the state of the account which concerns you so that you may make use of it in those cases

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Dec. 20, Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Lucía Sánchez Saornil]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

you think opportune. 20866

As you see in spite of all the horrors of the aviation we continue ha pily at our post.

The morale of the people of far from being lowered is raised and the frequent flight of planes over our towngives them such confidence that they hardly take any notice of the bombardments.

We are already in contact with Barr and expect that S.I.A. will not be abandoned on account of your absence. S.I.A. to which you have given the impulse of you millitant spirit.

In conclusion we have only to say that as soon as the parcels arrive we will be careful to inform those to whom they are destined, immediately.

Very cordially yours for the General Council of S.I.A.

36

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Dec. 20, Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Lucía Sánchez Saornil]. — 1 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20864
N.º

Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista

Consejo General

Barcelona 20th. Dec. 1938.

Comrade Reginald Reynolds
English Section of S.I.A.
21, Frith Street, Shaftesbury Avenue
London. W.I.

Dear comrade,

We have received your letter on behalf of Ethel Mannin regarding S.I.A.'s matters.

We trust you have received our last Circulars number 21 and 22, as also the Minutes of the Paris Conference.

It is to be hoped that the absence of Emma Goldman as also that of Ethel, will not injure S.I.A.'s activities, and that you will put all your interest for the benefit of our cause.

We should advise you to keep in constant touch with us and to communicate inmediately any news that may occur relating our organization.

We have heard that C.N.T.-F.A.I. are closing their offices there and, as we understand that our Section is established in the same rooms, we presume there is not any obstacle in the normal functioning of our organization. If it is required to reduce our office, it can be done, but it must be sustained above everything even if it has to be done from the private house of any of our comrades. The main thing is to get on with the work.

We await our news on the subject and remain,

Cordially yours,

FOR THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF S.I.A.
Lucia Sanchez Saornil - Secretary,

Lucía Sánchez Saornil

S. I. A.
CONSEJO GENERAL
N.º 1298
Sello 22-12-38

SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA
S.I.A.
CONSEJO GENERAL

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Dec. 21 [London to Albert Jensen, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24486

Dec 21st 38

Dear Comrade,

Inclosed I am sending you my report minus one chapter which will deal with the Plenums I have attended and the visit of a number of prisons and one concentration camp. I had hoped to have it all done before leaving for Holland tomorrow.But it was impossible. I will be able to do the chapter in Amsterdam I am sure.

You are at liberty to use as much as you want from the report.Only if you only use part I would like you to send back the English text when it is translated. We have many comrades who are very eager to get an idea about Spain,in Australia,Palestine and other countires where they have no chance of knowing anything being so far away. There is no hurry of course just when the translation is done.

Alright dear comrade if you can pay something I will acdept with thanks.By the way do you think the comrades pf SAC would like me to act as their correspondent when I get to Canada? Lwt me know and also what would interest you for Arbetaren. I really should have said the paper and not the organisation. There is a bare possibility that I may also be readmitted to the States. I would have much to write about then. At any rate you may send me a credential as your

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

correspondent if you wish.

I expect to be back in London not later than Jan 15th. I will then make arrangements for my sailing to Cabada which I hope to do early in Feb. There is plenty of time about the credential. But what I would like you to do is to drop me a line under E.G.Colton c/o The International Institute for Social History Kaizergracht 264. Amsterdam C. I will work there arranging the papers and correspondence of comrade Alexander Berkman.

The world is in such turmoil and life so uncertain one hardly dares wish anybody a pleasant Christmas and happy New Year. But as one lives only from day to day one must grab every minute to forget the tragedy of the world,or one would also go mad. So I do hope you will have a few pleasant moments over the holidays.

Fraternally.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Dec. 21 [London to John Andersson, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24494

Dec.21st 38

Lieber Genosse. Ich habe soeeben Genosse Albert Jensen geschrieben und habe ihm meinen Bericht uber meinen Aufent/halt in Spanine geschic Er ist zwar ziemlich lang geworden ~~dxxxxx~~ aber ich hoffe er ist in teressant.Ubrigens fehlt noch der lezte Kapital den ich erst in Holland zu schreiben gedenke. Albert meinte der Bericht konnte even tuel in "SYNDIKALISMUS" erscheihen oder Arbetaren.Ich furchte nur er ist zu lng fur diese Zeitung.Na Albert kann ja schliesslich soviel gebrauchen asl er es als nutzlich finded.

Danke Dir fur den Appel und Bericht uber die I.A.A. Wenn nur der Appel helfen wurde. Unser aremes Spanin verblutet und kein Mensch kummer sich um diese grosse Tragoedie. Ja ich weiss unsere Kamaraden haben viel zu kruttlen. Si haben ja auch in gewisser Be ziehung recht.Die Kompomisse die the CNT macht hat unsere Bewegung soweit sie uberhaupt ausser Spanine und Sweden existiert ausserst viel geschadet. Aber ich sehe nicht wie unsere Spanier die von der ganzen Welt vernachlassigt worden sind hatten tun sollen.Ich habe es jezt wieder erlebt dass die FAI die die CNT scharf kritisierte ja sogar verdammt doch im lezten Moment zur Ubrezeugung gekommen ist ~~txxx~~ dass in dem lezten furchtbar kritieschem ~~Mxxx~~ Augenblick ~~xxx~~ wo sie nicht nur gegen Franco zu kampfen haben sonder auch vor der Gefahr sind das hungerende Volk gegen sich zu haben ~~keinexSpaltungx~~ eine Spaltung direckt ein Verbrechen waere. Die Fahigkeit der Soanier Angesichts einer Gefahr soffort ihre Reihen zu schliessen ist fur mich gerade das bewunderenste. Nie haben es Anarchisten ausserhalb Spanien fertig gebracht.Und gerade deswegen galube ich heilig an den Erfolg der CNT-FAI.

Es fallt mir jezt ein dass Du vielleicht einiges aus meinem Bericht fur das Bulletin der I.A.A gebrauchen konntest,aber nur wenn es gerade passt. Setze Dich deswegen mit Albert in Verbindung.

Ich hoffe dass die Spanier einen Genossen fur das Secretaria wahlen werden der fahiger ist als es Mascarell war,oder Galve.Es ist ganz sicher dass unsere Spanische Kamaraden leider nicht sehr reich sind an fahige Kopfe wohl unterichtet ~~inxxxx~~ vom Aussland. Ich wunschte man wurde Dir Esgleas senden der beim Kongress der I.A.A war.Das ist ein sehr feiner Mensch und einer der fahigsten unter unsere Genossen. Wie ist es mit Helmut Rudiger,wirt es Dir gelinegn ihn nach Schweden zu bringen? Er konnte viel helfen wenn auch nicht offiziell. Er kenn Spanine grundlich und er kenn Europa,ist ausserdem sehr tuchtig und ein ausserst feiner un gorssanglegter Mensch ubd es waere ein Losung fur ihn. Ich mochte es gerne wissen

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Mit dem Mandat hat es noch zeit da ich erst Anfang Feb nach Kanada reisen werde. Ich dakne die Genossen dass sie beschlossen hube mir ein soclhes Mandat auszustellen. Selbstverstandlich kann das Sekret,riat der I.A.A. beschliessen was sie mit dem Gelde dass ich zum Zeck der Hulfe fur den Solidaritatsfuhd zu verwenden wie es als r chtig befindet. Naturlich kann ich nicht vorausagen dass es mir gelingen wird Gelder fur den Fund zu sammeln da ich ja auch fur SIA und CNT-FAI arbeiten werde. Aber ich will mir gewiss die beste Muhe geben.

Angenehme Wiehnacohten und moge das Neue Jahr den ~~Trauch~~ Triumpf unserer Spanische Helden bringen,ich weiss Du und ich sowohl alle unsre Kamaraden kein grosseres Gluck fur das Neue Jahrn ersehnen

Grusse bitt Deine Gaefartin.

xx~~Iaki~~xxx Kaparadschaftlich

880207107

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 21 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger].– 1 p. ; 30 × 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24545

Am 21. Dezember 1938

Liebe Emma, in einigen Tagen sende ich Dir die neuen Kopien. Und herzlichen Dank für Deinen Brief mit den zwei Dollars, die wir wie angegeben verwenden werden.

Dein Bericht über Spanien wird mich interessieren; was nicht drin steht, weiss ich ja durch Deine Erzählungen auch. Im übrigen will ich Dir noch versichern: selbstverständlich werde ich mit Vazquez nicht über dieses Material sprechen. Ich meinte es allgemein: man müsste es den Genossen nahelegen, eine Sammelstelle antikommunistischen Materials anzulegen, dies dauernd zu bearbeiten und später einmal damit herauszukommen. Heute ist alles verstreut, man kann es schwer benutzen. Für eine derartige Veröffentlichung, die eine Generalanklage und Abrechnung sein müsste mit den schlimmsten Feinden der revolutionären Sache, müsste man in jedem Moment bereit sein – wenn man schon zugeben soll, dass es für die Spanier jetzt nicht der gegebene Moment für einen totalen Bruch ist.

In meiner kleinen Galve-Geschichte hast Du – zum Glück – eine Stelle falsch verstanden. Der Genosse, den ich als Opfer der Tscheka bezeichne, ist nicht von ihr ermordet, sondern nur gefangengenommen und dann ebenso grundlos wie er verhaftet wurde, aus Spanien hinausgeworfen worden, wo er seit 1933 legal wohnte. Es ist Lewin. Er ist nicht gerade mein Freund, ein grosser Quatschkopf und Konfusionist, aber ein redlicher Unglückswurm, dem man viel Unrecht getan hat; ich kenne ihn seit 15 Jahren. Als Galve ihn mir noch als Gestapoagenten hinstellte, da lief mir die Galle über. Dann will ich selber einer sein! Falls Du das Manuskript noch hast, so setze doch bitte in Klammern hinter das Wort Opfer: "Grundlos verhaftet Juni 1937, lange im Gefängnis gehalten und grundlos aus Spanien ausgewiesen, wo seit 1933 legal ansässig." Auch in das Ex. für Rudolf.

Was macht denn unser Rudolf, ich hörte lange nichts von ihm. Hoffentlich ist er wohlauf, trotz der dauernden Scherereien mit den Behörden und auch "werten Genossen" à la Glasgow.

Simon? Das dürfte Simon Radowitzki sein, der solange gefangen war nachdem er einen argentinischen Polizeipräsidenten niedergeschossen; wir führten schon in Deutschland eine Kampagne für ihn, als Souchy noch die IAA hatte. Ich werde Dir später einen Lebenslauf SRs schicken, aus ARBETAREN übersetzt, sehr interessant.

Andersson hat die Arbeit für die IAA schon begonnen, trotzdem die CNT noch keinen Vertreter gewählt hat! Er macht es gut und hilft sich mit Uebersetzern.

Jetzt läuft in Schweden meine "Demande", in drei Wochen werde ich Antwort haben. Andersson setzt sich für mich ein. Drei Wochen "Hangen und Bangen in schwebender Pein"! Hoffen wir das es klappt, sonst ist meine Zukunft etwas dunkel! Halte mir den Daumen, wenn Du dazu Zeit hast... Aber das tust Du ja schon; und Andersson tut auch was er kann, also sehe ich der Sache mit einem gewissen "gemässigten Optimismus" entgegen.

Sehr weihnachtlich ists ja nicht in der Welt, ich meine was den Frieden auf Erden und den Nazarener-Geist betrifft... Aber dass die Menschheit die Hoffnung nicht aufgibt, ist immerhin auch ein gutes Zeichen... Von Weihnachten haben wir hier nur die Kälte, denn es sind jetzt hier sogar tagsüber gegen 12° Kälte.

Liebe Emma, ich schicke Dir den Brief, und die Abschriften, da noch nicht ganz fertig, etwas später, als eingeschriebene Geschäftspapiere; damit Du vor Deiner Abreise den Brief und einen recht herzlichen Weihnachtsgruss von uns hast.

Dein Helmut

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 21 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.— 4 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17337

Ethel Mannin
Oak Cottage,
Burghley Road,
Wimbledon Common, SW19.

Dec. 21st 1938

Dear Emma, I am very distressed to hear from Ralph that I am supposed to have told you that he was never at the office when you were away. I don't know how you could possibly have got this impression - if Ralph has understood you correctly - as far from telling you this, when we dined together I actually contradicted this statement when you made it to me then. (You told me, if you remember, that various comrades had said that Ralph was never at the office)and said that Ralph was at the office, that I used to ring him up there, frequently, and if I failed to get him in the morning I always got him in the afternoon. If he had sat there solidly from 10 to 6 it would have been merely wasting heating and lighting, I can assure ypu. I know you considered we could have done something during the crisis, but I don't think you have any idea of the atmosphere that prevailed not merely during those four days but for weeks beforehand. But all this it not the point; the point is that I certainly did not tell you that Ralph was never at the office, that on the contrary I vehemently defended him against this charge when you made it. In a one-man office anyone is likely to go along and

(over)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 21 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.— 4 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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find the person in charge out at lunch, or gone out on some errand; perhaps some comrades did come along and find the office shut; it doesn't mean that it was shut all day. My own view is that Ralph stuck to a thankless job pretty loyally in your absence, and was as completely at my service as I could wish any loyal comrade to be.

I rang Ralph up this morning and told him that you had evidently completely misunderstood me (to say the least of it!) and that I was writing to you at once. He said he would forward the letter. I'm not ringing you as I can't bicker on the telephone, particularly over a thing like this. I am really upset about it. Its not a question of not hurting Ralph's feelings, but of the truth. If I had thought it advisable that Ralph should be there all the time, 6 hours a day, I would have suggested it to him and we would have made some arrangement for someone to be there solidly all day; but I didn't think it necessary.

When we dined you said something about we could at least have brought out a leaflet of protest during the crisis. I told you then and I repeat now,— Gollancz and Co. had half a million leaflets out and great press campaigns screaming for peace in terms of war, standing by Czechoslavakia at-all-costs. Apart from the fact that a tiny organisation such as ours could have added nothing to such a campaign, I personally would never have been a party to it, for I saw it all as dangerous war-mongering and held the view I expressed in SPAIN AND THE WORLD (and in which Recchioni supported me.) that Hitler had a 'case' over Sudetenland -that the Czechs had no more right to it than the French to Alsace-

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Loraine. The only leaflet I should have been moved to bring out would have been not an anti-Fascist leaflet but a purely anti-war one. I could not regard the stand-by-Czechoslavakia slogan as an anti-war campaign but one directly leading to war. And a purely anti-war leaflet would hardly have come within the provinces of the SIA. The only meetings we could have organised at that time would have been standby-Czechoslavakia ones - and such I would not have sponsored. And again anyhow Gollancz 'so-called International Peace Campaign crowd were doing all that on a far bigger scale than we could have attempted.

Increasingly I regard the anti-Fascist slogan as highly dangerous, likely to fan up the embers of the old anti-German hate of 1914. I do not ~~believe~~ the menace to civilisation to be Fascism but war, and you will not end war by smashing Fascism; the war to smash Fascism is as fallacious as the war to end war, the war to save democracy.

Did you say on the platform at the Conway Hall that though you had always opposed Imperialist war you would support a war to smash Fascism ? There is a feeling among some people that you did, and this was my own impression, but I cannot recall your except words - I have an idea you said to crush Hitler, but could not swear to it... as I swear to denying ~~I even implied~~ that Ralph was not at the office, or even implying to you that he wasn't.
Returning to the question of the office - if you are able to find

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someone with the organising drive and initiative which I freely admit I entirely lack(and have no leisure to develop) and which Ralph maynot possess in sufficient quantity (though its difficult for me, anyhow, to see what more he could do - though he himself feels that we already have the nucleus of a movement , as evidenced by the response we have had to our various appeals) - if as I say you can find someone who could prganise more effectively (always bearing in mind our lack of resources !) I am sure that both Ralph and I would co-operate with such a comrade only too gladly .

It is very easy to critisise, you know, without offering any specific suggestions (like the people who attack Chamberlain withoutsaying what they would have done in his place - short of sounding by Cz. and plunging all Europe into war) A comrade asked me impatiently during the crisis wh, didn't the office do something, when were we going to bring out the Bulletin. I told her, shortly, when the time was propitious, which I did not then consider it to be. I take full responsibility for holding up the Bulletin until you returned. I wanted the material from you, for one thing, and for its production now to be futile, for another (as it would have been brought out during those black days when everything in the country was at a standstill except ARP)

I would very much like to be freed of the SIA work, being so much more preoccupied with anti-war than with anti-Fascism, but so long as my name is useful in getting response to appeals for food and clothes for Spain(though Chinese needs are greater in fact)

I will go on until the Spanish war finished, but not a day after that. You will like all this Emma, but it had to be written. As always,

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Ethel Mannin
Oak Cottage.
Burghley Road.
Wimbledon Common.SW19.

17338

Dec. 22nd 1938

Dear Emma, I am sorry you wrote to Nancy Cunard as you did, for after all she was entirely in the right, and her letter to you was entirely courteous. I felt that as I am anyhow nominally the English repr.of the SIA I should write and apologise to her for your rude letter, and give her my personal assurance that her name will be deleted in every copy of the Bulletin that goes out in future; also that in any subsequent Bulletin we may issue an errata notice will be inserted regarding the wrongful inclusion of her name as a sponsor in the previous one.

But I don't know why you ever wrote to her about the matter in the first place - if you hadn't the idea were against her ever spotting the Bulletin, surely ? There is no need to insert any errata notice in the Bulletin, no need to go to that expense, her name can easily be deleted with a stroke of the pen in every issue sent out.

I do , of course, acknowledge personally all money and all cothes sent; Ralph sends me all letters, and names & addresses when no letters

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are enclosed.

I feel worried about the Mancy C. business. I feel that the way you wrote to her is the very way to get her back up and make her demand that we destroy the rest of the Bulletins.

Oh dear, you'll say I'm finding fault with you again, this coming on top of the Ralph Barr business. But I am involved in these things Emma dear, and they must be discussed, though it grieves me to think of you getting too seemingly cross letters in succession - I say seemingly cross because 'cross' doesn't describe my feeling at all; I feel sort of 'oh dear, now look what she's din and gone and done ! !!

--

You'll have had my card saying I am going ahead with the Ramus fund. I have found out that his daughter is in a very bad way in Paris, doing only casual work, and that she does help when she can, as also does the wife's brother, who allows them £4 a month - for the two of them. I have now received several letters from him and am convinced that he is not merely completely genuine in his trouble but a valiant worker for the peace cause I have so passionately at heart. He is long-winded, yes, and probably not likeable in person, but neither, of course, affect his 'deservingness' as a comrade in distress.

I must get this into the mail. I hope it's less cold with you than with us; we are due in snow; I hope too that going through those papers is not proving too arrowing an ordeal. I think of this heart bleeds for you when I think of this task you have before you, the ghosts that must be raised—as always St. Tropez. As always

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22 de diciembre de 1938.

[illegible] GOLDMAN.
Londres.

Estimada compañera:

Para avalorar más aún "TIMON" podemos intentar dar mensualmente, en sección especial, una idea de la situación del movimiento obrero internacional.

Dando crónicas, noticias o informes de diversos países en que se abordaran los temas: Organizaciones en que está encuadrado el proletariado.- Tendencias revolucionarias o reformistas que existen y sus actividades.- Luchas y contiendas sostenidas contra el capital y contra el Estado.- Participación activa o pasiva del movimiento obrero en los acontecimientos políticos.- Actitud observada ante la Revolución y la Guerra españolas.- Su solidaridad con la España Antifascista, etc., podríamos sostener una Sección permanente de sumo interés.

Para lograrlo, hemos de procurarnos la colaboración de compañeros que hagan de corresponsales en: Francia; Inglaterra; Países escandinavos; otros países europeos; Asia, Norteamérica, Sudamérica; etc..

Si te parece interesante la iniciativa, puedes mejorarla con tu opinión y aconsejar a que compañero o compañeros podemos recurrir que tu conozcas de alguno de estos países o de otros que no se citan.

Espera tu pronta respuesta y te saluda fraternalmente,

P. Herrera

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 22, Svendborg, Denmark [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Hans Rasmussen. — 2 p. ; 16 × 20 cm.

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Dec. 22. 1938.

Emma Goldmann.

Dear Comrade.

Your letter of 6th this month recieved, and I am very thankfully that you would take time to write me such a long letter. I wonder how you get the time to do it.

I sure will subscribe on the W.&S, and will send the payment Jan 1st, hope you will remember to ask Van: guard (what do it mean) to send a sample copy when you write to the editor next time.

I finaly got „Living my life" and am very glad you wrote that book, now I know you.

- Have you written any books since you wrote L.m.L., then please let me know where to get them, also in the future.

Also do I thank you because sending me the letter copyes I have read those with great interest, and hope in due time to recieve some more if you have any to spare.

Karen Michaelis is going to write a book on the american prisons, she

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have been in U.S.A. and is very pleased with what she has seen there. I wonder who has been fooling her! I will keep you in touch with the matter.

— Now in conclusion I will wish you a merry X mas and a happy new year, hoping you will succeed in getting the papers for the trip to Canada.

Hope this will reach you before you leave.

With fraternal greetings yours Hans Rasmussen

Korsgade 16
Svendborg Denmark

E.G. on her flight upwards.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Dec. 23, Amsterdam [to] Liza [Koldofsky, London] / Emma Goldman. – 1 p. ; 25 × 17 cm.

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Amsterdam Dec.23rd 38

Dearest Liza. I know how anxious you are and dear Lubia about my trip.Well I arrived safely but four hours late~~r~~ in a cold train from flushing to Amstedam and starved. Besides the nice sandwiches you gave me and the hot coffe I had tea on the boat.That was four ~~a~~ ~~clock~~ A/C You can imagine I was hungry when I got here. The trip in the train to Harwrich was pleasant so was the boat,actually too overheated, but the train to Amsterdam was murderous,the snow drifting in though the couch window.

My good friends here put me in a nice anough hotel but I fear too costly for me.its 5,1/2 Gilders a day.I do not yet know how much it is in English currency. I will find out to day.I fear it is too steep for me so I will have to move after Christmas there is no time to do it to day or tomorrow. One should always follow ones instinct.I felt I should take my coffee machine with me. It will cost a fortune to have coffee sent up,or even have it in the Hotel restaurant. I could have saved me that much and I would have had better cofffee. I am sorry ~~xxxxxxx~~ not to have followed my first inclination. You found my fur collor did you not? It is always that way when one hurrys the last minute.Actually,we had lots of time, we got to the station about ten minutes after nine,besides the train did not start until nearly ten o/o which of course we could not know. Well, the collor is not important. I am warm~~ly~~ clad anyhow. The snow here is very deep but I have not yet been out so I do not know how cold it is. It was so hot from the radiator last night I had to turn it off.Man is an animal of habit.I am used to the English unheated rooms,or poorly heated and the cold hallways. So now I find central heating too hot. Still its preferable.

Since mail is delivered Sunday perhaps this will reach your with my Christmas greetings and my love. Love to Luba who is a ~~Jewel~~ Jewel,so thoughtful and so considerate.

Give my greetings to Phylis.

Much much love to you my own Lizotska. Emma

My address is o/o The Internationa Institute for Social History ~~Kai~~ Keizergracht 264.Amsterdam C. Holland Send mail to me at this address.

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Roc

Barcelona 23. Dezember 1938

Liebe Emma! Ich wünsche und hoffe, dass Du wieder vollkommen bei Gesundheit bist, wenn Du dies erhältst, und Dich erholt hast von dem Unfall den Du bei Deiner Ankunft in London hattest.
Infolge des grossen Verzögerung mit der ich Dir antworte, wird dieser Brief Dich sicher nicht in London erreichen, wenn Du Deinen Plan verwirklicht hast, einige Tage in Holland zu verbringen. Ich hoffe Du verzeihst mir diese unentschuldbare Verzögerung. Sie wurde verursacht durch den Seelenzustand in dem ich mich befand seit einigen Wochen und aus dem ich nur mit grosser Mühe herausfinde, trotz aller Anstrengungen die ich dazu mache. Ich flüchte in die Arbeit für den Verlag und "Timon", um den Verdruss und die schlechte Stimmung zu fliehen, aber ich werde sie nicht los.
Durch einige meiner früheren Briefe wirst Du Dich davon überzeugt haben dass ich mich nicht ohne Grund in diesem Zustand befinde. Angesichts des traditionellen Feindes: Kapitalismus, Autoritarismus, Faschismus, hat man keine Angst, noch Feigheit, im Gegenteil, je heftiger seine Angriffe sind, um so mehr steigt unser Mut ihn zu bekämpfen. Aber so geht es nicht wenn man den Kampf zu bestehen hat mit (... hier ein nicht existierendes, wohl durch Verschreiben entstandenes Wort; vielleicht: so-[redacted]?) Genossen; mich wenigstens reizt er nicht, und er erschöpft mich moralisch sehr schnell.
Obwohl ein wenig spät, antworte ich noch auf die Punkte die Dein geschätzter Brief vom 28 November enthielt, und dann werde ich Dir einige persönliche Eindrücke von der Lage geben. Ich werde das mit aller Aufrichtigkeit tun, obwohl es etwas rauh sein wird, da ich ja zu Dir mit offenem Herzen schreiben kann und darf.
Wie Du vermutetest, kehrte ich nach Spanien zurück über Marseille, aber Freund Camara übergab mir nicht "Anticlimax", Beweis dafür, dass er es noch nicht erhalten hat. Bis heute hat er mir es auch noch nicht geschickt was ich sehr bedaure, denn ich konnte es schon in der Dezembernummer von "Timon" bringen, und wenn es noch etwas länger dauert, dann kann ich es nicht einmal mehr in die Januarnummer setzen.
Ich sprach mit Ilse von dem Buch von Herbert Read, weil sie es mir in einem ihrer Briefe zitiert hatte, und ich musste ihr etwas sagen über einen Punkt nach dem sie mich gefragt hatte. Ich akzeptiere Deinen Vorwurf, aber es sei festgestellt, dass ich nicht einen Moment an Dir zweifelte, und dass ich vollständig sicher war und bin dass Deins Versprechen erfüllt werden. Ich möchte, dass in Dir nicht das geringste Gefühl davon zurückbleibe und so hoffe ich, dass Du diese meine Erklärung annimmst als treue Widergabe der Wahrheit.
Als ich Martin dienmeinem Briefe beigelegten Brief für ihn übergab, wagte ich ihm was Du mir gesagt über das unerklärliche Schweigen. Ich nehme an, dass er Dir aufdiesen erwähnten Brief Antwort gegeben hat und dass er Dir geschrieben hat über alle Einzelheiten, von denen er sagt, dass er Dir schon früher darüber schrieb.
Ueber das Material das Dir Maryin schicken sollte, hat er mir versichert dass es bereits gesandt wurde und sicherlich jetzt schon in Deinen Händen sein würde. Das hoffe ich, denn es wäre sehr schade wenn es verlorengegangen wäre. Wir bereiten mehr Material vor, und ich werde sehen dass es in Deine Hände kommt damit Du es so benutzt wie Du es für richtig hältst.
Leider wird das was Du mir über diese Gina Madam schreibst in allen Teilen der Welt durch so und so viele Ginas getan die im Solde der Moskoviter stehen und anders maskiert sind. Dies zwingt uns zu einer dokumentierten Antwort die die Dinge an den richtigen Platz rückt und bewirkt, dass die internationale Meinung besser orientiert ist. Wir in Spanien tun schon

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soviel uns erlaubt ist. Im Auslande muss es getan werden durch Euch, die ihr entschlossen seid und den Mut dazu habt. Mariano hat mir nichts gesagt über den Brief den Du ihm geschrieben hast um ihm alle diese Kampagnen dieser schlechten "Verwandten" mitzuteilen. Aber mir scheint dass die Zeit verloren wird die man gegenüber diesem Genossen verwendet. Es ist nutzlos, und statt sich zu ermüden bei dem Versuch ihn zu überzeugen, sollten wir die enorme Anstrengung die das kosten würde selbst benutzen um zu tun was uns nötig scheint - ohne seine Autorisierung und seine Zustimmung abzuwarten.

Ich vermute, dass Du einen kleinen Brief erhalten hast, unterzeichnet von der Vertretung beider Organisationen, in dem mitgeteilt wird dass ~~ihre Vertretung~~ in London verschwinden soll. Ausser der offiziellen Mitteilung /das Büro/ - diese ist in dem erwähnten Brief enthalten - schulde ich Dir eine besondere Erklerung. Tatsachlich ist die erwähnte Ursache, unsere schlechte finanzielle Lage, das was im Grunde unsere Entscheidung für die Abschaffung des Büros der CNT-FAI in London verursachte. Gut, ich habemehrere Briefe von Dir erhalten in denen Du mich unterrichtest über die Notwendigkeit dass wir etwas tun, um öffentlich vertreten zu sein, und ich hatte mich infolgedessen gegen diese wirtschaftlichen Schwierigkeiten wenden koennen, damit die Sache erhalten geblieben waere. Ich weiss nicht ob wir es erreicht hatten, aber vielleicht waere etwas gelungen. Trotzdem habe ich nichts in diesem Sinne getan, da ich der Meinung war, dass es wenig Zweck hatte. Siehst Du: Die Spannung, die zwischen beiden Organisationen besteht, und die bleiben wird solange jene nicht ihre Meinung aendern die sie haben ueber Negrin; die Kommunisten, die Beteiligung an der Regierung, und vor allem solange sich ihre Haltung nicht aendert, diese Spannung macht es unmoeglich auf wirksame Weise gemischte Koerperschaften zu unterhalten. Die Spannung in der du dich befindest auf Grund voellig berechtigter Gewissenskrupel, und die es Dir unmoeglich macht die Propaganda und die Agitation durchzufuehren die Du wuenschstest und die wir fuer angebracht halten; musste eines Tages damit enden dass Du mit Deiner Unabhaengigkeit Deine volle Ausdrucksfreiheit wiedererlangtest. Ich bin sicher dass Du, nachdem Du die lage in Spanien so kennen gelernt hast, nicht den mindesten Missbrauch von dieser Freiheit machen wirst, welche Du, glaube ich, unbedingt fuer Deine Propaganda brauchst. Da ausserdem die Auffassung unserer anarchistischen Organisation voellig mit der Deinigen zusammenfaellt, so ist es ungerecht, dass Du darauf verzichten sollst sie oeffentlich zu sagen, nur weil eine andere Organisation besteht, die nicht dieser Meinung ist.

Aus all diesen Gruenden und weil es an der Zeit ist, dass die Anachisten handeln sowie es die heiligen Interessen ihrer Ideen ratsam machen, habe ich, obwohlich die Abschaffung eines Organismus oeffentlicher Taetigkeit in England bedauerte, doch keine Anstrengungen gemacht um ihn zu erhalten. Wenn wir in England arbeiten wollen _ und dafuer muesstest Du Form und Ausmass angeben- so werden wir es nicht unterlassen als Anarchisten und koennen ausserdem mit der Hilfe und der Zustimmung der FAI rechnen. Ueber die Einzelheiten koennen wir etwas abmachen vor deiner Abreise nach Kanada, oder selbst von dort aus. Wir alle sind entschlossen direkt von der FAI aus zu arbeiten, und ohne dass unsere Aktion im In- oder Auslande beeinflusst wird durch sogenannte Anarchisten die sich festgesetzt haben in den leitenden Posten der Konfoederation.

Wie Du es wuenschtest, uebermittelte ich Deine herzlichen Gruesse an alle Freunde und Genossen die Du in Deinem Briefe nanntest. Auch teilte ich den Genossinen von der SIA alles mit was Du mir schriebst ueber Deine dortige Taetigkeit zu Gunsten unserer geliebten Solidaritaets-internationale.

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Die innere Lage der Bewegung hat sich nicht im geringsten geaendert, seit Du das letzte mal unter uns warst und sie selbst beurteilen konntest. Das Plenum, wie wir vorausgesehen hatten, hat nichts geloest. Seine Beschluesse sind vieldeutig und koennen nach jedem Geschmack ausgelegt werden; Sie sind Fisch und Fleisch zugleich und jeder kann aus ihnen Fisch oder Fleisch nehmen wie es ihm Passt.

Ich moechte Dir optimistischere Eindruecke mitteilen, aber die Wirklichkeit verhindert es. Obwohl auf dem Plenum der allgemeine Wiederwille gegen die Kommunisten sehr gut zum Ausdruck kam, bleiben doch die Freunde von der CNT im Bannkreis der bolschewistischen Politik; Sie machen antistalinistische Erklaerungen, aber es sind nur Worte. Eng an Negrin gebunden, verteidigen sie weiter eine Politik die uns zur Katastrofe gefuehrt haette, wenn nicht der herrliche Heldenmut der Kaempfer waere.

Das Verbindungskomitee dessen Bildung beschlossen wurde, hat dreimal Sitzung gehabt, aber es hat nur seine voellige Unwirksamkeit bewiesen. Es werden in ihm weder tiefgehende Probleme angeschnitten noch ist man gewillt zu einer Uebereinstimmung zu gelangen. Man erhaelt die alten Positionen aufrecht wie vor dem Plenum und will aus diesem Verbindungskomitee nichts anderes machen als man aus der traurig beruehmten Politischen Sektion gemacht hat. Klar dass das Grundproblem nicht in diesen kleinen Fragen der Form liegt. Das Wesentliche ist das persoenliche Verhalten. Und das Verhalten wird nicht freiwillig von denen geaendert werden, die haesslich und kritisierbar handeln (unklare Stelle. HR.) ; einerseits weil man bei der s echlechten Handlungsweise schon einen kraeftigen Impuls erworben hat, andererseits weil man das bishergetane rechtfertigen will.

Das ernste Problem ist der schreckliche Korruptionsprozess der sich vollzogen hat. Er bedarf eiligen Eingreifens, und man muss dabei die ihm entgegengesetzten Mittel anwenden. Eine Organisation kann nicht ihre grundlegenden revolutionaeren Forderungen erfuellen, wenn an ihrer Spitze Menschen stehen, die gleich wie die Jesuiten und ihre Schueler die Kommunisten der Meinung sind dass der Zweck die Mittel heiligt. Gegen diese Korruption muss ein Kreuzzug unternommen werden, welche die Ethik als etwas grundlegendes fuer die Anarchisten betrachten , welche sie nicht ansehen als einen Luksusartikel oder als etwas stoerendes. Kaum von der FAI aus koennen wir das wieder in Ordnung bringen, und es wird uns viel Arbeit kosten wieder den Kopf als Befreiungsbewegung zu erheben. Es war furchtbar. Auf dem Plenum der Freiheitlichen Bewegung erklaerten sich Menschen als Schueler von Loyola die bei dieser Erklaerung im Namen des Nationalkomitees d der CNT in die Diskussion eingriffen. Ein anderes Problem von ebensolcher Bedeutung wie das vorige ist der Mangel an Ideen durch welchen sich die auszeichnen, welche zu unserem Ungluck noch an der Spitze einer Bewegung stehen, die idealistisch und revolutionaer par excellence ist. Vielleicht waren sie niemals Anarchisten, und selbst wenn wir annehmen dass sie zu gewissen Zeiten als solche handelten, so muessen wir jetzt feststellen dass sie es nicht sind und dass sie ausserdem keinerlei Anstrengungen machen um es zu scheinen. Hier hast du einige von den bedeutungsvollsten Saetzen vom Plenum der Freiheitlichen Bewegung. Da kommt man uns mit Maerchen von Theorien und Theoretikern! Diese alten Ideen sind nur ein unnuetzes geistiges Gepaeck, der schwere Packen den wir auf dem Ruecken tragen und der uns hindert auszuschreiten! Keine Maerchen, Realitaeten, Realitaeten

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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- Alle diese hier mit Bewunderung aufgenommenen Saetze und noch einige kraeftigere dazu wurden ausgesprochen vor den bevollmaechtigten Delegierten der Freiheitlichen Bewegung durch denjenigen, der die hoechste Stelle in der CNT innehat. Schmerz und Scham empfanden wir bei der Feststellung dass dies alles geduldet wurde und das kaum eine Delegation uns half derartige Aeusserungen und die aus ihnen hervorgehenden Prozeduren abzuwehren.

Unser einziger Trost ist die Hoffnung dass die Beschluesse durchgefuehrt werden, die auf dem Plenum der Regionalen der FAI angenommen wurden, dass waehrend der Tage vor und nach der Abhaltung des gemeinsamen Plenums stattfand. Es waren ziemlich vielversprechende Beschluesse, und wenn sie verwirklicht werden, werden sie aus der FAI die anarchistische Organisation machen, die wir brauchen; sowohl um die einigermassen verdorbene Atmosphaere zu reinigen, die durch allzuviel Beruerung mit unerwuenschten Leuten entstanden ist, als auch um die CNT auf den revolutionaeren Boden zurueckzufuehren.

x x x

Ich vermute dass unser Freund Martin Dir schon ein Exemplar des Buches geschickt hat, das wir in ETYL neu herausgebracht haben: Madrid Rojo y Negro, von Eduardo de Guzman. das ist eine herrliche Sache. Das beste was bisher gemacht worden ist. Es ist ein Lied auf das Heldentum unserer Militantenschaft und eine ebenso farbige wie erschuetternde Darstellung der Aufstandsaktion des grossartigen Volkes. Ein herrliches Werk fuer unsere Propaganda, welches ihr sicherlich benutzen werdet wie es ihm zukommt. Wenn du es nicht erhalten hast, sage es mir, und man wird es dir schicken. Ausserdem ist es eine grossartige Antwort auf das Buch, das unter dem Titel Centraataque geschrieben wurde von dem Desertuer unserer Bewegung, jetzigen Komunistenfreund R.J.Sender.

Wir bereiten einige Monographien vor ueber konkrete Angelegenheiten unserer Revolution und des Krieges, die dazu dienen moegen, dokumentarisch die Geschichte dieser groessen Bewegung zu rekonstruieren, die wir erlebt haben und erleben. Unter gewissen Themen werden Sammlungen von Dokumenten angelegt werden die sich auf jedes einzelne Thema beziehen, gebuehrend geordnet und mt mit einander verbunden. Der Zweck ist; einige Exemplare in vertrauenswuerdige Haende gelangen zu lassen wo sie aufbewahrt und benutzt werdenkoennen von verschiedenen Stellen der Erde aus, sobald es notwendig ist;klar und kraeftig zu sprechen. I ch habe an Dich gedacgt als eine der Personen, denen wir Kopien anvertrauen werden. Du wirst schon die entsprechenden Angaben machen, damit dir nach Fertigstellung ein Exemplar zugestellt werden kann.

Wie uns Santillan sagt, sprach er Dir schon von unseren Plaenen, um unsere Organisation in einem gewissen Sinne vorzubereiten, und von den Notwendigkeiten, die wir fuer ihre Durchfuehrung empfanden. Da das keine S Sache ist die man brieflich im eizelnen behandeln kann, fuehre ich sie hier nur an um dir zu sagen, dass das was Dir Santi erklaerte, von groesster Aktualitaet ist, und das wir den Willen und die Moeglichkeiten zu seiner Durchfuehrung haben, wenn uns die Mittel dazu erreichbarsind. Wir erwarten viel von dem, was Du in diesem Sinne tun kannst, zusammen mit Rocker, mit dem du wohl gesprochen hastsowie es Dir Santi nach seiner Angabe empfahl. Natuerlich ist alle Arbeit, die wir in diesem Sinne

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Roc

machen, von derSanti Dir sprach und an die ich Dich erinnere, eine ausschliessliche Sache der FAI; das heisst die bestehenden gemischten Koerperschaften hatten nichts damit zu tun.

x x x

Dieser Tage haben wir eine herrliche Lektion erhalten von unsern lieben Genossinnen (companeritas ...). Unsere lieben Genossinnen von Mujeres Libres haben mit viel Energie und Mut dem Streich zu widerstehen gewusst, zu dessen Opfer sie das Finanzministerium ersehen hatte. Der Fall ist der folgende:

Du weisst dass die Genossinnen von Mujeres Libres das Casal de la Dona Treballadora organisiert hatten, wo unterricht in verschiedenen Faechern an eine grosse Menge von Arbeiterinnen gegeben wird. Nun, das Finanzministerium hatte se in Auge auf das Haus geworfen, in dem das genannte Casal sich befindet, und wollte es den Genossinnen wegnehmen, um es der Bank von Spanien zu geben. Sie haben einen legalen Mietsvertrag fuer das Haus und zahlen puenktlich ihre Miete. Deshalb weigerten die s sich, sich aus ihrem Organisationslokal herrauswerfen zu lassen, und wandten sich an alle unsere Organisationen mit der Bitte um Hilfe in ihrer gerechten Sache. Unsere Organisationen unternahmen verschiedenes um den Streich zu vermeiden, aber wie in fast allen Sachen die von der Staatsburokratie erledigt werden, ergab sich kein positives Resultat. Vor einigen tagen erschienen in dem Organisationslokal unserer Genossinnen die Carabineros, um sie hinauszuwerfen. Sie verschanzten sich jedoch und wollten nicht hinausgehen. Mit dieser Haltung vermieden sie, dass dem Finanzministerium seine erste Gewaltdrohungen gut gelang, sie riefen einen Skandal hervor, in dem sie der Oeffentlichkeit den Streich kundgaben, zu dessen Opfern man sie machen wollte. Sie waren so energisch und widerstanden mit solcher Zaehigkeit, dass sie die Carabineros wieder aus dem Lokal entfernten; es hatten sich vor dem Lokal mehrex hundert von den Genossinnen versammelt, welche den Unterricht nehmen, und sieprotestierten heftig gegen den Gewaltstreich. Sie haben richtig die direkte Aktion angewandt. Bei dieser Gelegenheit ist uns von den Frauen das B eispiel gekommen um zu lernen, wie wir die Etappe der konzessionen beenden muessen. Lucia, Meroedes, Amparo und sie alle haben sich betragen wie es angebracht ist. Und die liess man auf dem gemeinsamen Plenum nicht herein.

Die Laenge dieses Briefes veranlasst mich den Schlusspunkt zu machen, um Dich nicht noch mehr zuermueden. Ich erwarte ungeduldig Nachrichten von Dir, vor allem ueber die Frage, von der Santi Dir sprach.

Empfange viele Gruesse von meiner Genossin und allen Freunden hier.
Bruederlich

P. Herrera

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[Letter] 1938 Dec. 23, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mark [Mratchny]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Freie Arbeiter Stimme

JEWISH WEEKLY

45 WEST 17th STREET

New York City

December 23, 1938

Dear Emma:

I know I should have answered you before..but as usual, I was very busy and then again Johanna hasn't been feeling well for the past six weeks and I had to devote quite a bit of my time with her.

Rudolf showed me your letter. It is very interesting indeed to know about the inner workings in our movement in Spain. Some of it I gathered from letters which I received from Helmut and even the always quiet and reserved Augustine wrote a few words which showed me that everything was not in the best of states. After all, it would have been foolish to condemnate or critisize our friends in Spain. They are now and for the last two and one half years the vanguard of the fight for Freedom in Europe and at the same time they have to do their part for the national independence of their own country and they are surrounded by enemies in and outside the so-called United Front.

In times like ours we are getting humble and we learn not to ask too much. Is it a question of getting older or are we losing our daring of yesteryear? For instance, I'm truly glad to read the declaration given out by our State Secretary, Mr. Ickes. His opinion of the beautiful Adolph and about Lindbergh and Ford who got medals from him. You see, there was a time when some of our friends thought it necessary to take the "New York Times" and to say the opposite of what the Times said. But after the „Beobachter" became the official organ of the former Germany I am almost in love with the Times. It is understandable why I would never dare to critisize in unfriendly manner certain actions of our friends in Spain.

Now about your articles. They are in the hands of the comrades of CHALLENGE and the VANGUARD. Our friends of the abovementioned publications do not like the idea of having these articles printed first in the F.A.S...and they are right. After all, the bulk of their readers or the people contributing towards these journals are mostly readers of the F.A.S. especially in New York and it hinders them partly when the same articles appears in the F.A.S. At the same time it seems very important that everything about Spain should be spread as much as possible here in the U.S. I therefore don't mind them having the privilege of printing it first as most of our readers read and understand the English language, especially when it is written by E.G.

And now I have to quarrel with you. You don't like my handwriting in Russian and Hebrew.....it is your sacred right. I do not object. But for Pete's sake when you send me a copy of a letter

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Freie Arbeiter Stimme
JEWISH WEEKLY
45 WEST 17th STREET
New York City

and I can't read a word of it because it is the nth carbon copy I fume. Especially when you yourself told me it was an interesting letter addressed to Ben Capes.

Millie and Rudolf spent a night with us a few days ago before leaving for Towanda and naturally we spoke a great deal about you. Didn't the world change since we met all together 15 years ago in Berlin under a Christmas tree? And who knows maybe a few years from now we will have to think longingly about the present day. It's growing worse and worse. Better not to think about our Hitlerized world, otherwise I'll have to use certain expressions which are not fit to print. Especially hard is it for us Jewish libertarians. After all, we can't and shouldn't be so "objective", cool and smug as Mr. H.G. Wells is when he condescends to talk about the plight of the Jewish people. You see, when our Spanish comrades declare "our Revolution is a Spanish Revolution" it is not only a pro-forma announcement. They are speaking from the bottom of their hearts...they are saying something which every Spanish worker and peasant feel. We Jewish libertarians can't say and shouldn't even think that our fight against Fascism is a purely Jewish question but the suffering of the Jews - the anti-Jewish politics of the Polish, Hungarian and Czechs not to speak of the German is such that it is our duty to think and work in the direction of saving hundreds of thousands of Jewish men, women and children. There are many things which I would have liked to talk over with you. Checkow once said "it is a pleasure to talk with a good man". With a clever and good person such as you are it is good to sit down quietly and not say a word. Who knows maybe there is still hope that we will meet if not in the U.S., then in Canada - and I hope that my compartment in Hell won't be too far from yours.

I don't ask you to write me since I know how busy you are and how much you have to do. As long as you allow Rudolf to show me your letters I am quite satisfied and as long as you don't forget about me totally I am happy---under the circumstances---the expression they use so frequently in the U.S.

Our best wishes to you for a Happier New Year

From Your Johanna and Mark. Mark

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 25, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / L[ouis] Frank.— 1 p.; 29 × 21 cm.

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return please

24310

68 West 10th Street
New York City

Dec. 25th 1938.

Dear Emma,

I have had no news from you at the F.A.S.- and only recently learned of your return to London, and your accident from which I trust you have recovered. You have not addressed yourself to me at all about the query you have received from Barcelona to look into the matter of the film, as to possible returns. How you could possibly think that I left any powers of attorney with anyone to deal with these matters- is beyond my understanding. Everything there was to know I told you, and I believed my responsibility had been sufficiently established to all responsible parties in this matter.

I must say that I resent irresponsibility- in its every form. And in matters of money, one does not alone ask for accountings but also renders accountings. I delivered 'Fury over Spain' to you- a year and a half ago- free of charge. The freight and customs alone amounted to about 30 pounds. Ethel Mannin mentioned to you in my presence that you might pay over the balance of about 30 pounds on account of my expenses. You remained silent on the suggestion. - When I arrived in London this year- the film sent by air from Barcelona- was already waiting in London about ten days. I had to take it out of the Customs- and pay again out of my personal funds. During five weeks of negotiations - you did not concern yourself in the least with the constant expenses incurred. At our meeting in Paris you mentioned that you would have paid the costs- if and when the film showed results-- And now when you hear that the film has been shown in the Forum- you are concerned about the returns. The facts are that about 50 pounds are still due me on my outlays in negotiating Dawn - during my stay in London. When there are further returns - in case of further showings- I shall duly account to our friends in Barcelona- directly. And that is the end of the matter.

I only regret that I should have to go into all these details, at all- but since you have raised a question, I have been obliged to answer it to the point.

With best New Year wishes, I remain

Cordially,

L Frank

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 26, Marseille [France to] E[mma] G[oldman], Amsterdam / I. da Camara Pires. — 1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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C. E. C. I.

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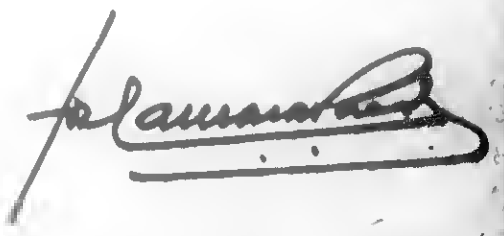
Chère camarade,

Efectivement ta lettre du 8 Ct. contenait des indications bien differentes de celle que nous venons de recevoir aujourd'hui, en date du 2[illegible]. La première, ecrite en français contenait une commande de 5 colis C. et 4 E. pour Mon Nou et 1 B. E. pour Martin Gudel dont le total était de 550 frs. Ta deuxième lettre en anglais nous indique qu'il s'agit en réalité de 9 colis C. et 4 E. pour Mon Nou, et de 1 C. E. pour Martin Gudel, dont le total est en effet de 910 frs.

En ce qui concerne Mon Nou il y a donc une difference de 4 C. que nous enverrons par le plus prochain depart. Pour Martin Gudel, à qui nous avons envoyé B. E. il reste donc à sa faveur la difference entre B. et C. soit 20 frs. Nous croyons bien faire en lui envoyant par notre prochain depart, un bidon de deux litres d'huile, au prix de 22 frs. Nous pensons que de cette façon nous serons bien d'accord, et que tu sera satisfaite.

Nous esperons que ta santé est toujours bonne, et que tu te trouve bien à Amsterdam.

Dans l'attente de te lire nous t'envoyons nos fraternelles salutations.



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[Letter] 1938 Dec. 27, Towanda, Pa. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker]. – 3 p. ; 31 × 24 cm.

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24553

Towanda, Pa. December 27th 1938.

Dearest Emma:

Wir sind hier auf einige Tage in Towanda mit Polly und den übrigen Verwandten, werden aber in einigen Tagen nach Crompond zurückkehren. Im Januar fahre ich nach dem Middle West und werde Ende Februar wieder zu Hause sein.

Deinen Brief vom 29. November erhielt ich noch vor unserer Abreise nach Towanda. Ich war herzlich froh, wieder ein Wort von Dir zu hören nach Deiner Rückkehr aus Spanien. Auf die Dokumente, die man Dir anbieten wollte, warte ich noch immer, ersehe aber aus deinem letzten Briefe, daß Du selbst noch nicht viel erhalten hast.

Ueber den skandalösen P. R. ist kein Wort zu verlieren. Das war schon immer seine Art – weit vom Schuhe über andere herzufallen und die Gralshüter des reinen Prinzips zu spielen, obgleich er selbst niemals ein Prinzip in seinem Leben hatte. Seine Anhänger bei den Bundesgenossen, G. A. und M. G. sind vom selben Kaliber: Bodenloser Ehrgeiz, verletzte Eitelkeit und absolute Verständnislosigkeit für das Tun und Lassen ehrlicher Menschen, denen das Gefühl der Ehre noch nicht zur leeren Phrase wurde. Aber die Geschichte wird über solche Reste einfach zur Tagesordnung übergehen und den besten spanischen Genossen das geben, was sie so redlich verdient haben: die aufrichtige Bewunderung aller ehrlichen Menschen, die nicht gewillt sind, über Genossen den Stab zu brechen, die ihr Herzensblut für ihre Sache einsetzten und einer ganzen Welt von Feinden gegenüberstanden, ohne mit der Wimper zu zucken. Ich habe Jenens Artikel gelesen und habe den gleichen Eindruck empfangen wie Du. Jener ist ein Mensch, der trotz aller Bedenken die Lage der spanischen Kameraden zu pünktlich verstehen und nicht im Sinne hat, sich zum Spätkritiker über sie aufzuwerfen. Wäre eine solche Kritik von Anfang an geübt worden, so von jeder Ueberheblichkeit und unserer Verbitterung, so hätte man damit den Spaniern und ihrer Sache mehr gedient als mit seinen Negativen

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24554

dogmatischen Verbohrtheit. Wirklich Genossen aber wie Shapiro, Volin, Senya und Mollie sollten sich daran ein Beispiel nehmen und begreifen, daß ihr Platz nicht auf der Seite eines P.R. oder G.A. sein kann. Es ist eine der furchtbarsten Erscheinungen, daß die Spanier nicht blind des Opfers, der Franco, Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain und Konsorten gewärtig sind, sondern, daß auch es manche unserer ehrlichen Kameraden in das Netz der Trotzky, Stalin und der berufsmäßigen Skandalmacher in ihrer eigenen Bewegung stoßen und vielleicht, ohne es zu wollen, den heldenmütigen Spaniern in den Rücken fallen.

Was du mir da schreibst über jene Moskauer Agentur, die Dich und die spanischen Genossen hinter dem Rücken verunglimpft, ist nicht von Bedeutung. Auch hier in Amerika hat man endlich angefangen, das falsche Spiel der Kommunisten zu durchschauen, und ihr moralischer Kredit sinkt immer tiefer. Auch diese Rotte werden schließlich Sonder in ihrem eigenen Brei ersticken, und das ist gut, denn es wäre zu schlecht, wenn sie die Bühne als Märtyrer verlassen würden.

Der G.A. hat sein Schmierblättchen hier an alle behördlichen Adressen geschickt, aber wie es scheint, hat er sein Ziel, mich bei den amerikanischen Behörden zu denunzieren, Gottes sei Dank nicht erreicht. Alles andere interessiert mich blutwenig, denn von ihm und seinesgleichen angespuckt zu werden, spielt keine Rolle.

Konrad ist der Bruder von Siegfried Nacht. Ich wusste nicht, daß er Dich seinerzeit angegriffen hat, als Du als eine der ersten den Moskauern den Krieg erklärtest. Heute tut er an den Kommunisten kein gutes Haar. So erklärte er neulich, daß als er mich vor Jahren in Berlin besucht ~~habe~~ hatte, und ich ihm gesagt hätte, daß "die kapitalistische Gesellschaft dem ~~sozialistischen~~ Kommunismus in Russland bei weitem vorzuziehen sei", er sich darüber stark empört habe. Heute aber sehe er ein, daß ich durchaus im Rechte gewesen sei. Auch Siegfried N. hat seit langem seine Sympathien für die Moskauer aufgegeben und bekämpft sie heute bis aufs Blut.

Konrad war übrigens nie Anarchist. Er ist sonst ein ganz anständiger Kerl, aber sein Cynismus, gepaart mit schwärzester Hoffnungslosigkeit hat ihm eine geradezu krankhafte Antipathie gegen alle bedeutenden Persönlichkeiten eingeflößt, und er macht heute sozusagen eine Lebensaufgabe

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heraus, bei jedem die sogenannten „schwachen Seiten" zu entdecken und macht daraus, was er erfindet, eine Karrikatur. Aber ich glaube, daß bei ihm das alles ganz unbewusst geschieht. Er ist immer mürrisch, und wahrscheinlich auch sehr vereinsamt in sich, mit einem Wort, eine krankhafte Persönlichkeit, die mehr zu bedauern als zu bekämpfen ist.

Das Vorwort zu Jaskes Buch wird diese Tage nach Barcelona abgehen.

Es freut uns alle sehr, daß Du Dich auf dem Wege der Besserung befindest. Das ist nun schon das zweite Mal, daß Du so schwer gefallen bist. Es ist gewiss recht sonderbar, daß Dir das gerade zu Hause passieren musste. Sei nur recht vorsichtig in der Zukunft. Wenn bei unser einem erst die alten Knochen brechen, dann dauert es unendlich lange, bis man wieder auf ~~die~~ den Strumpf kommt.

Max Baginski und Millie leben jetzt hier in Towanda. Ich sehe sie jeden Tag seitdem wir hier sind. Sie lassen herzlich grüssen. Der arme Max! Es ist herzbrechend. Sein so wunderbarer Geist und jetzt vergisst er fast alles. Nicht daß er senil wäre. Er spricht ganz normal, aber die Gedächtnisschwäche ist so groß, daß man es kaum begreift.

Polly wird wahrscheinlich nach Canada kommen, Dich sehen.

Ich sah Tresca vor einigen Tagen. Er ist sehr niedergeschlagen und hat, wie es scheint, nicht viel Glauben an einen Erfolg in Deiner Sache. Was hörst Du von ihm? Die Umschwenkung in der öffentlichen Meinung hier, auch den letzten Barbaren in Deutschland, schafft eine mehr tolerante Stimmung, so daß noch nicht alles verloren ist. Allerdings müsste für Hauptarbeit getan werden, wenn Du in Canada bist.

Herzliche Grüsse von uns allen, Milly, Fanny, Polly und Fanny und ihre Familie

Dein Rudolf

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 27, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell.— 2 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.

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Martin Gudell Jan 19

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TELÉFONOS:
CENTRALITA 14781
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Barcelona le 27 décembre 1938.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
Londres.

Chère Camarade,

Aussi tôt de recevoir "Spain and the World", nous avons fait la traduction de l'interviu que vous avez accordé à ce Journal et l'avons remise à la presse confederale. La "Soli" l'a publié dans son numéro du 25 ctr. Ce reportage à eu un gran succès et a plu beaucoup à tous les compagnons qui l'ont lus mais, en contrepartie, n'a plu grand chose aux communistes. Son organe officiel de la Catalogne a publié dans son numéro du 26 ort. un autre article attacant ce reportage et à vous aussi. L'on a répondu dûment à cet article dans la "Soli", d'aujourd'hui, 27. Nous n'avons pas pu dire tout ce que nous voulions dire à cause de la censure qui a effacé le dernier paragraphe. Afin de pouvoir le publier, l'on a dû adoucir assez cet article.

Vous trouverez ci-joint une copie de l'article publié dans "Treball". Nous ne vous remettons pas celui de la "Soli", car nous supposons que le journal vous arrivera avant que notre lettre.

Vous pourrse voir que nous avons besoin de plus renesignements sur votre vie. Si nous aurions été en possession de votre livre "Vivant ma vie", cela aurait marché mieux. Il y a longtemps que vous m'avez promis de m'envoyer un exemplaire et j'espère que maintenant vous allez faire le nécessaire pour me le faire parvenir, dont je vous serai gré.

Ici nous continuons toujours à lutter contre les communistes; il est probable qu'une foie plus l'on va parler dans la presse de cette affaire et si la censure nem nous laisse pas dire clairement tout ce que nous avons à dire, nous allons chercher un autre moyen de le dire.

....

871001023

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 27, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell.— 2 p.; 22 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19341

J'espère que maintenant vous ne vous plaindrez pas de que je ne vous fais pas parvenir des renseignements, car presque chaque jour je vous envoi une lettre. Maintenant c'est vous quins m'écrivez pas, car il y a longtemps que je ne reçois pas de vos nouvelles.

J'ai un grand intérêt de savoir si vous avez reçu touts les renseignements que je vous ai fait parvenir.

Veuillez agréer, chère Camarade, mes salutations bien fraternelles,

Martin Gudell

INFORMACION EXTRANJERA
C. N. T. - F. A. I.
32, Via Layetana, 34
BARCELONA (España)

880207070

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 27 [Huntington, N.Y. to Emma Goldman, Amsterdam] / [Morris Goldman]. – 9 p. ; 30 × 20 cm.
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Dec 27 - 1938.

24466

Chavaleh darlingest:

In as much as you assured me not to worry about your humpty-dumptying down the stairs and that you were O.K. I took the liberty of being lazy as usual and not answering your letter in a great hurry. Babse says, "same old maische you will never change." My Schwester and my Weibel know me like a book. However darling mine, really if I were to write to you as often as I think of you, you would have to hire three extra secretaries to handle all the mail and I know that your budget would not possibly permit such an expenditure on your part. After this, attach a Parachute to your girdle, be sure to release the latch in time before you land. Once you took a flop on your knee cap and what a time you had. Again on Spadina ave another flop on

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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(2) 24469

slippery rug in the hall and again what a time you had. But this last one was the biggest flop of all and the most dangerous and yet the consequence hardly worth mentioning. Don sent me a Christmas Card wishing me a happy Hannukah and telling me of a grand time with Emma and that she is glorious. He is a darling.

Yes I did wonder what happened when my last letter got no response for such a long long time. One day Bessie noticed your name in the Times and that you were attending a trial in Spain and it described an air raid and how the windows shattered in the Court. The way we figured, you must have left London before the Munich affair. The war clouds were gathering over London and Babe said, "if Schwester ~~wasn't~~ wasn't in the frying pan, she must ~~[illegible]~~ surely be in the fire." You say

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(3)

24470

you came back without a scratch, only to take a tumble down the stairs. That's what Steeple Chase Jack did. He did paint jobs on dizzy heights all his life, but fell off a rickety chair at his breakfast table and nit faar dir gedacht, broke his neck. That's what an English soldier did, he saw actions in trenches all through the war for 4 years. When he visited the U.S.A in 1919, he slipped on the gang plank where the boat landed and fractured his skull, aich nit faar dir gedacht, I was then at Bellevue and took x-rays of him. I suppose it's a miracle that I am alive, but I wish a still bigger miracle would happen, so that I could walk. I am still on Crutches and can make no use of my wooden leg. I never go any place and no one comes to us. Babe is only too willing to take me out for a ride, but it's such an effort for me even to get in and ~~transport~~ out of the car.

When darling are you coming to the land of the "Kan-nucks"? How do you

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manage mit your Chaayooneh. What are your plans, as far as plans are possible in these uncertain times? Sasha in one of his letters was concerned with the day when they will start deporting Jews from the U.S.A. I wrote him that I don't know of any spot on Step-Mother Earth that will be at the receiving end. When they start Aryanizing his Firm, he can still fall back on tooth pulling business among his own people in the Ghetto. If his wife's non-Aryan fingers will not be allowed to play Wagner and Bach izz aich a loch in Schtotti. She can still play Mendelsohn and Rubinstein. She will wear a Schaitell. Babsie will have to wear one too. Sasha's little son will attend the Yeschiweh and become a Rovv, and his daughter vett werren a Rabitzehn. We will all be huddled together on East Broadway and Canal street. At least we will see each other oftener over a glazzäleh Tchai and

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(5.)

24472.

a game of Schaach. We will let Hitler do his stewing over one thing or another. Let his ego-bubble expand for enough to the east and what a prick it will get. The Bubble will collapse and not even his Wontzess will be left. Napoleon was a bigger maacher and look what he got. At least that little Corsican, didn't burn books. He encouraged learning, established a Civil Code and gave freedom to the Jews.

In London they think that Hitler with his persecution of the Jews has taken a bigger bite than he can swallow. To overcome the Boycott on Germany's exports, he thought up a scheme of demanding from other countries an equal amount of purchases for all money allowed to Jews, when Germany kicks them out. Quote - "She certainly will not be allowed either by great Britain or any other Country to use the misfortune she has inflicted as a basis for profitable bargaining. Her persecution of the Jews has raised more serious problems for Germany,

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(6)

24473

than she either expected or at present appears capable of dealing with". If you ask me, Germany liegt tackeh gantz tief in dreck economically. Yet the big faar Fuhrerer blufft allehmen und booshevett and gets away with it. I would like to tell you a thing or two what I think of a few of England's Baalehbaatim representing the Money Bags. Such spineless Bobeh-yentehs, but the less said the better. The British Empire meschtameh zittert in die Haisen. Now that the big four have kissed and made up, why all the arming again. Arming against whom? That is the question.

About Stella my dear, there is no special news. Sasi told me that it costs $25. a month to keep her there. That's all that Ruthie paid when she was there. They get bigger prices from those who are able to pay, but the minimum is $25 to those who cannot afford more

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(71)

such as Teddy a struggling artist without employment. Little Davey had his appendix removed eleven days ago and Sage writes he is coming along O.K.

Babse has had three unusually severe attacks of migraine since December 4th. The more she worries the more frequent her attacks.

So London is reinforcing their basements so the houses won't tumble down when the air raids commence. Only those people directly connected with the enterprises of war may remain in London. All others must move elsewhere. ~~Dear~~ So please darling, kleib tzu dein Peckaleh, all your doo-dads, and come to Canada. Und tzwaitens your lovely face won't look so nice in a gas mask. Don't you know that all of us will be dead some day a long long time. So why not live while we can. You have done your

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[Letter] 1938 Dec. 27 [Huntington, N.Y. to Emma Goldman, Amsterdam] / [Morris Goldman]. – 9 p. ; 30 × 20 cm.

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(8)

24475

share. Sit down a while and take it easy. You Can't watch the parade and be in it at the same time. I am too tired to march, and prefer to watch. Give the other feller a chance to fight for ideals. Don't be a monopolist. They may yet indicte you for violation of the ~~Anti-Sherman~~ ~~Trust~~ Sherman Anti Trust act.

There is nothing more worth reporting around here. One day is like another and the Radio when programs are interesting break the monotony. One must be almost dead and laid up in a New York Hospital Centrally located for every one's Convenience in order to get visitors. Out here $1.40 round trip and only one hours ride is too much for folks. A Phone Call is 30 cents, but no one ever Calls. Sasse in 12 months came only once. Dorothy promised to come for the past 2½ years but never came.

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(9) 24476

What's the use of Complainin? Babsie is more philosophical. "Can't make people do things they dont want to do." She is right I guess. But why dont they want to? They are too selfish and lament enough in trust and that's what hurts.

So then, here is a big kiss and a New years hug for you from both me and Babse. Here is wishing for a little more happiness to all yiddisheh Kindulach in Deutchland, all other Kindulach in Schpaanian und in ~~[illegible]~~ Cheenezen land. Here is for just ah bisseleh mehr licht in ah farfinztehrteh welt. My love to you — Maische.

Write me a long letter, yes - darling? The enclosed clipping is from the New Masses of November 1, 1938. They are still after Schwartz's scalp.

880726212

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 31, London [to Emma Goldman, London] / Alec L. Rea.— 1 p.; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23705

THE BRITISH DRAMA LEAGUE

INCORPORATING THE VILLAGE DRAMA SOCIETY

President:
LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN

Hon. Treasurer:
ALEC L. REA

Director:
GEOFFREY WHITWORTH

Chairman of the Council:
VISCOUNT ESHER

Secretary: Frances Briggs

Central Office: 9 Fitzroy Square, London, W.1.
Telephone: Euston 2666

31st December, 1938.

Dear Sir or Madam,

May I remind you that your annual subscription of £1: 1: 0 to the British Drama League is now due ? I shall be glad to receive this sum at your early convenience ?

I would also take this opportunity of thanking you for your past support of the League, and of assuring you that during the coming year the resources of the League will be gladly placed at your disposal in regard to whatever side of dramatic work is your especial interest.

If there is any way in which the League can be of greater help to you than it has been in the past, the Director would be glad to hear from you, and to give careful consideration to your suggestions,

I am,

Yours faithfully,

ALEC L. REA,

Hon.Treasurer.

880726479

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Dec. 31, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, Amsterdam] / Mollie [Steimer].— 1 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24329

Received Jan 1939 by E. Gold.

Mollie Steimer had passed Jan 1 1939 with Senya & Stella

Paris Dec. 31.1938.

Emmotchka dearest,

Thanks for your beautiful card. On this day, the eve of the New Year, I would like to tell you lots of good things, my dearest one. But, when there is so much misery, so much hurryfying things going on, who can think of personal happiness? Whatever our personal situation, we are miserable when there is misery around us! Hence, we can only wish for a general change of things; Ah, if wishes would at all amount to some thing! We would start out by : wishing

a successful end to the struggle against fascism in Spain and the dark reaction the world over! Then, we would wish that war be abolished forever. That all people live in understanding and peace. That all should enjoy: health, food and shelter. That men should rid himself of his vain and petty instincts and he should take great pleasure in giving the best there is in him to society for the simple pleasure of giving and creating. And we would end up with the prayer that the Beethoven's "ALLE MENSCHEN WERDEN BRUDER" shall resound in every heart of every human being!.....

These are Senya's and my wishes to you, to ours, to all, for the New Year. I will only add that I would like to embrace you and give you a good hearty hug. As you are too far from us, I send you our best love and when we will be with friends Tonight, We shall drink to your health and that of Stella's.

Mollie

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939? Nice? to] Emma [Goldman, Toronto?] / Emmy [Eckstein].— 4 p. ; 33 × 27 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

7907

Mitwoch

Emma dear:

I have gone through hell since operation. If I will be better afterwards — who knows. But before operation I could not sit anymore. The last nights I had to stand all the time with my hand on the intestines. My bladder was already unpaired and the pains were absolutely maddening.

I have hesitated with operation for months. What shall I do? Nobody gives me an advice and I cannot ask this of anyone. This operation being so dangerous.

Emma what have I gone through! The night before the operation I thought that I will become insane. I had those terrible pains and then I did not look forward to this terrible thing — believe me. So — I decided to have the operation.

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2-

Whatever I might feel now I have not this terrible pain and drawing all my right side where he stuck away the intestines all. Okay I get better

Emma. you hear what my Edje has been repairing ...

Last Sunday they took the stones out - just - Emma because I started was pouring out. Now my bladder has sometimes I urinated uninterruptedly with ... serious pains. The intestines like afire and full of gase.

OK Emma

Wait. They took out the stones. I am so weak I do not dare to eat and clean the function inside is poor. But I HOPE it will be better.

Emma please send me the intended letter or paper to Emma. That I should have it next Monday. I think I have to leave here where is not a single heat free and so many wise people. They say I am alright but

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feel well at all.

I will take a-nice a little room and stay rest and try to get strength, they feel are cut throat.

My little Austrian friend stayed the nicest creature in the world. She came daily. But she is poor and her heart is suffering because I have to pay for extra orange.

Thank you my dear Emma for the hundred times. I needed them so terribly – imagine the first nights I needed the nurse, about 40 times day and night – Morphine Nirvanal ersatz – and I lost to days them. Kiss and

Yr Emma ———

feels hour yourself.

So, Emma I am so weak can't write more. But I enclose from out Rautgan I will find them the letter for the Annexo, not Lady Mau coming Monday.

Oh, dear Dey life is hard.

Jetzt habe ich ein Zahnzeichen!! Emmy

Nelly was also twice here.

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Emma, write me a good letter.

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880207128

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939? Jan.? Bristol, England to] Emma [Goldman, Amsterdam] / Ernest Taylor. — 2 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24597

Mei 'Eve.

My dear Emma,

Very many thanks for your most interesting letter and also enclosures. I hope to answer you more fully when I have a few moments to spare. I am enclosing a cheque for twenty pounds to-ward the Childrens Fund as promised. it would have been more, but we are hoping to start a Fund in Bristol, and being one of the Committee I shall have to give it my financial support. I wonder if you

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880207128

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939? Jan.? Bristol, England to] Emma [Goldman, Amsterdam] / Ernest Taylor.— 2 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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24598

Could send me a few particulars as to numbers etc, push in a condensed form, so that I might use them at the meeting which takes place in about a week's time. We are hoping to send a shipload of food. Hoping you are now alright again. Love from us both

Ernest (Taylor)

Sent P.O for 6/6 about ten days ago for the Book that Ethel Mannin wrote a Preface & have forgotten the title, it was advertised on a pro Franco form which I filled up

880207040

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939? Jan.?] Saratoga Springs, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, [Amsterdam] / Margaret De Silver.— 4 p. ; 27 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24405

Gideon Putnam Hotel
SARATOGA SPRINGS
NEW YORK

Dear Emma Goldman

I have just about one rule in my life, & that is never to tie strings to gifts of cash, so I am delighted to have you spend that small sum any way you see fit.

When we get back to town we are going to get to work organizing a visa committee for you. I have written Mary Rose in Washington, & John Dos Passos.

Drury's letter to you & yours to him are both extremely interesting. I'm

880207040

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24406

Poor's letters seem to me too literary & to have an insincere ring which makes them sound to me unconvincing. But maybe you are right & such stuff works. I somehow don't ever did trust that man. But I don't know him ~~accep~~ except across the footlights so to speak.

Benefit performances are desperate things. The Stalinists in N.Y. manage them successfully because they are so well disciplined. They always turn out & work on orders & they are subtly clever at making suckers of the rich. It's

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24407

Gideon Putnam Hotel
SARATOGA SPRINGS
NEW YORK

exactly like the old war
stuff, milk for Belgian
babies etc, (sob stuff) & they're going
to be the ones that make
the world safe for
Mr. Roosevelt. Moreover
they will do the dirty work
for the Department of Justice
so there will be no official
redress for anyone!

Carlo continues to be
optimistic about Spain,
tho how he can have
faith in the ultimate
success of guerilla warfare

86

880207040

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939? Jan.?] Saratoga Springs, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, [Amsterdam] / Margaret De Silver. — 4 p. ; 27 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24408

After what happened in Ethiopia & China is beyond me!

Good luck

Sincerely
Margaret De Silver

891214178

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Jan.? London to I. da] Camara [Pires] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20734

Dear Comrade Camara. Pleas forward the inclosed letter to comrade Lucia Sanches and also the copies of our SIA Bulletin we are sending to your address. I am adding an extra copy for you which our young comrade Jesus will trnaslate for you which contains my report on the actitivities of SIA in Spain. I am also inclosing an invitation to our meeting next Monday.I am sorry you will not be able to attend. I should be so happy to have you here as my guest.

Give my affectionate greetings to our young comrade and take pa t of the affection for yourself.

Salud.

890522001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Jan.?] Brooklyn, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, [Amsterdam] / Margaret De Silver.— 3 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

NEW YORK CITY

Oct.8,1938

Mrs.Margaret DeSilver
98 Joralemon St.
Brooklyn,New York

Dear Margaret:

Emma Goldman wrote me during the summer saying that you had expressed interest in her return to the United States for a visit. I talked with the Commissioner of Immigration in Washington yesterday and it is clear from that and from my previous information that chances are slight for E.G.'s admission while political conditions remain what they are.

I would not discourage you from any effort you and others care to make, but I am certain that it will fail.

Yours ever,

Roger

RNB/ms

Dear Emma:-

This is an old letter and it represents very well the sort of thing I am up against with Roger all the time these days. I now seem to have got onto a fine mess with the Ferrerro business, which even Carlo won't touch. But I haven't given up hope yet about you. I am trying to find a way to approach Eleanor Roosevelt. Roger says Caroline O'Day shares an office with her and I ma trying to find the best person to introduce me to O'Day. It seems yo be slow business. Everybody says Houghteling is impossible but some of the Socialists know some-one over his so that [illegible] bare possibility. Things are so bad all over the world and increasingly so that things that were a matter of wirepulling before now get to be tremendously difficult. The subtle antisemitic propaganda here, especially in the small towns,is simply terrifying. I have a mild, insticntively decent but not particularly politically-minded friend,who works in the library in Greenwich, Conn, and she said the rabbi came to her with tales of talk like this his congregation hears daily in the school:-"we only hear the bad things about Hitler because the Jews control the Press and Radio". However, this

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doesn't account for the stupid attitude toward Anarchists, and particularly towards your entirely harmless proposed visit. I just hope to have better news next time I write.

In the meantime my greetings to you

Margaret De Silver

Dear Emma, will write to you soon - This is just to let you know, as Margarit said, that we are working slowly, because of circumstances but working at our project. I have followed closely your last visit to Spain. I wonder, Emma, how you can do so many good things at one times. The boys from Vanguard showed me your letter on the POUM visit. Your attitude in this epocal trial is just in line with

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your long career as a defender of underdog.
See! If with you could be here, in your very natural battle ground. The Zarrero case, of wich Margaret spoke to you about, is one of the cases wich you where here to handle it. By sacrifice of mistake the Committee that is handling it landed in the claws of stalinite organization, wich is handling it very badly.
I want to tell you a few things on your matter: the person against whom we are going head long is alway Miss Perkins. I do not why, I can't find why this ladie as a dislike for you, besides the fact that she is a very "carefull, calculating and cowardly liberal". We must find, I hope we will find, the way to overcome all the odds. In meantime, my dear Emma, my respect and my love, as a friend and a comrade,

Yours affectionately
Carlo

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[Letter, 1939 Jan.?] Brooklyn, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, [Amsterdam] / Carlo [Tresca]. — 3 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
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RNB/ms

Dear Emma:-

This is an old letter and it represents very well the sort of thing I am up against with Roger all the time these days. I now seem to have got onto a fine mess with the Ferrerro business, which even Carlo won't touch. But I haven't given up hope yet about you. I am trying to find a way to approach Eleanor Roosevelt. Roger says Caroline O'Day shares an office with her and I am trying to find the best person to introduce me to O'Day. It seems so be slow business. Everybody says Houghtelling is impossible but some of the Socialists know some-one over his so that there is at least bare possibility. Things are so bad all over the world and increasingly so that things that were a matter of wirepulling before now get to be tremendously difficult. The subtle antisemitic propaganda here, especially in the small towns,is simply terrifying. I have a mild, instinctively decent but not particularly politically-minded friend,who works in the library in Greenwich, Conn, and she said the rabbi came to her with tales of talk like this his congregation hears daily in the school:-"we only hear the bad things about Hitler because the Jews control the Press and Radio". However, this

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doesn't account for the stupid attitude toward Anarchists, and particularly toward your entirely harmless proposed visit. I just hope to have better news next time I write.

In the meantime my greetings to you

Margaret De Silver

Dear Emma, will write to you soon - This is just to let you know, as Margarit said, that we are working slowly, because of circumstances, but working at our project. I have followed closely your last visit to Spain. I wonder, Emma, how you can do so many good things at one times. The boys from Vanguard showed me your letter on the POUM trial. Your attitude in this epocal trial is just in line with

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Your long career as a defender of underdog.
See! I wish you could be here, in your very natural battle ground. The Zoccero case, of which Margaret spoke to you about, is one of the cases I wish you where here to handle it. By sheer of mistake the Committee that is handling it landed in the lap of Stalinite organization, which is handling it very badly.

I want to tell you a few things on your matter: the person against whom we are going head long is always Miss Perkins. I do not why, I can't find why this ladie is a dislike for you, besides the fact that she is a very "carefull, calculating and cowardly liberal". We must find, I hope we will find, the way to overcome all the odds. In meanwhile, my dear Emma, my respect and my love, as a friend and a comarade,

Yours affectionately
Carlo

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Amsterdam
New Yeras Day. 39

My dearest Ethel. Ever since I received your letters of Dec.21st and 22nd I have been debating with myself whether to write you or to leave your letters for an answer when we are again face to face and by ourselves. Frankly, I am afraid to use the medium of a letter as I might again distress you. You of all people in England whom I would not cause a moments distress for anything in the world. After a weeks reflection I decided to write you only because I also fear that you might misinterpret my silence. Really, my dear you may not believe it but not one of my women friends have made me so uncertain of how to make myself understo to them as you have, especially is this the case since you took over the work for the SIA. Why this should be so I do not know but it certainly is the case. Perhaps you are not even aware of how super critical you have become of me. You would only have to go over your correspondence since we have become close which means since early 37. to realize the change in your attitude. To mention only one inc ident the beginning of the work for our film. Do you remember your faith in me then and your insistance that only I should decide the manifesto, or circular we were discussing, how you wanted only me to be in charge. At that time I seemed to have been in your est imation the one who could do no wrong, since my return from Spain you have changed your opinion to such an extent that I seem to be the one who can do nothing right . I am terribly sorry my dear, but the change is not in me it is in you.

About Ralph, I have written you a card to say that in the letter to Paris where you spoke of the futility of keeping the office you did mention the fact that you had phoned Ralph and had received no reply. Whether you wrote "once, or never" I do not recollect. Nor did I tell Ralph that you had said "never". I told him that you and four others had told me they had been unable to get Ralph on the phone or when they called at the office. They were Vero Rocchioni, Ruth Prothero, Etsa, the little Scotch comrade and Ilse, the German girl. Four different people who knew nothing of the effort each one made to reach Ralph, and Vero who was in his office every day, hence must have known how much Ralph was there or not, unless he too is a liar. I say he too because you my

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dear imply this about me. Yo say in your letter that "I swear to denying that Ralph was not at the office or even implying to you that he wasn't.". In that case I must have lied about you or I must have concocked the story. Well, we will have to wait for the dicision of this unitil you have gone over your copies of the letters to me to Paris, or until I get back and can go over the original. I never "swear" to anything that depends on memory especially in our trying and agonised time when every day events crowd in on one to the exclusion of other events. If I find that I have misread the contents of the letter I recieved in Paris I shall apologise to you and Ralph must humbly. Will you therefore be patient until I return, or as I suggested until you look over the carbon copy if you are in an habit of making one. We will then settle the matter. I do however admit cheerfully that you did tell me at our dinner that you had found Ralph when you needed him. Again I repeat what I wrote on the card, I took it as coming from the goodness of your heart which tried to minimise what I think you had stated in your letter.

As to Ralph having been a "one man" stay in the office and all that explanation why nothing wa done during my ten weeks absence and especially the reference to yourself that you could do nothing I confess it is all Greek to me. Not for a moment did I want you to do anything whatsoever during the cirsis, not even for the SIA, much less for the CNT-FAI. In point of fact I aggreed fully with you in holding up the Bulletin when Ralph had written me about it. I would have had to be crosy to expect you to do anything outside of what you had so willingly offered to do for SIA. So where on earth do you come in in my reference to the complete paralysis of Ralph during my absence. Actually I never expected Ralph to do anything for SIA during the trying month of Sept. But you and he seem to forget that Ralph was not in the office only for the SIA. Much greater was his obligation to the CNT-FAI which he represented in my absence. Now I do belisve that there were a number of things that Ralph could have done even during the crisis. For instance the distribution of hundreds if not thousands of the anti War number of Spain and the World. You say yourself the only thing you might have gotten out would have been an anti War manifesto. Well, that anti War material was all there ready for distribution. But it never occurred to Ralph to do such a thing. Moreover I believe Vero approached him for that. And Ralphs reply was that he was too old to get involved. That is true and I am the last to want Ralph involved. But when you say "it is very easy to criticise, you know without offering any specific suggestion". And you actually go on to compare me with the people who attack Chamberlain without saying what they would have done in his place. My dear, my dear how can you when you know that for fifty years I have not only "criticised" but I have made "specific suggestions" and I have gone ahead and have done them without any thought of cost. Naturally I could not suggest to Ralph what to do during the crisis because I was in Spain. Had I been in London I should not have criticised or suggested I should have known what to do. Especially in the form of anti War work, nor would it have been the kind the Communists do or Collanez.

More and more I come to the conclusion that you really do not know me Ethel dear. You could not possibly know me and

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believe such deliberate falsifications of what I said on the plat form. It is not the first time you know that you upraided me because your friends or your informers told you I had said so and so.That time in THE FRIENDS HOUSE when I was supposed to have appealed for money for Arms which I did nothing of the kind. And now about my saying that though I had been against all Imperialist Wars I would support War to smash Fascism.And you even go so far as to say that that was your impression. Well,my dear all I can say is that you simply did not pay the leightest attention to what I actually did say. As to your informers either they too paid no attention to what I said,or they deliberately misinterpreted what I did say.

Now here is what I actually said that I had opposes all Wars all my life but I changed my position in the matter of Spain because the Fascists and Militarists had imposded the war on the Spanish people and because it was a matter of the defense of the Revolution . Though I did not say it on the platform I yet hold the view that if the people of Germany would rise from withing I should againnas in the case of Spain take my place at their side in a war to crush Hitler and National Socialism or Fascism.I would do the same if the Italian people would rise. But that is quite a different proposition than supporting any war of the Capitalist class or Imperialist interests imposed on the people for conquest and loot. I never would or could support such a war. In fact I told the comrades of the CNT-FAI when I was last in Spain that whatever they will decide to do in a coming war I must stand out against it. I will then cease to represent the CNT-FAI if they should find it necessary in their desperate condition to approave a war against Germany. After all this being to be confronted by your question as to what I said or did not say is a bit thick my dear. But as I already said you simply have not the remotest idea who I am and what I stand for or say in public.

There is one thing which may have confused you and I want to be charitable to your informers,which may have confused them is this, I said in reply to the question whether a boycott would not react on the German people that if the German people are not willing to pay the price for the evils heaped on their country by Hitler they deserve no better. I asked where is the solidarity of the workers unless they come to the rescue of their comrades in other countries. True a boycott would retard on the German people but also it would smash Hitler.

It is late and I cannot go into the question of Fascism and anto Fawcism you raised nor your Pacifism which seem to me to be rather recent because when I met you two years ago I underatood you to be a revolutionist. In my next letter where I will discuss Pacifism I will try to prove to you that one cannot be a revolutionist and pacifist at the same time. For Revolution means direct violent action whether we like it or not. It does not mean a pacific attitude. But as I said I cannot go into that. If you want my opinion on Pacifism I will be glad to go into the matter not because I want to convince or or expect to but because I want you to know why I <u>am not a Pacifist</u> .

About Nancy Cunard ,I sincerely hope you did not apologise for me. I am too old my dear to want anyone to apalogie for my Unenglish manners. From the English point of view my letter may have

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"make clear my point of view to the city
[illegible] individualism again with
[illegible] yet [illegible] Revolutionary [illegible]

should have gone after that fool Brian Howard. I admit it was [illegible] on my part to take his voucher for Nancy. I have regretted it ever so many times and I told her and wrote her that. Am I to be quatered because the unfortunate thing happened in the Bulletin. What more should I have done? Well the whole matter to me is piffling, utterly unimportant compared with the horrors in the world and the misery of millions. If that is rude I am sorry.

About SIA you know how I feel about your efforts in behalf of the children in Spain. You know how desply I value your cooperation and your willingness to continue the work for it in your own quiet way but you have so often written me you would like to be relieved of SIA that I am beginning to think I am imposing on you, that you are haning on because you had promised. That must not be my dear even if the SIA should discontinue in England as the work for the CNT-FAI is about to discontinue. Will you therefor think it over my dear and tell me when I get back whether you really feel you want to go on with the SIA. Bear in mind that those who organised SIA, the International Anti Fascist Solidarity were not motivated by the pretense of the Athols, Hastings, Wilkinsons and the rest To them anti Fascism means the Social Revolution, means the rising of the masses against thier masters. It is true of course that fascist countries have stiffled all life, every breath of freedom and that the comrades in Spain therefore feel that Fascism is a frightful menace. But neither do they overlook the evils of Capitalism or Imperialism. Anyhow SIA should not be discriminated against since it is primarily an organisation to help alleviate the distress in Spain. You say China needs help more. That is only true in view of the large masses involved in the Chinese war. But it is not true in any other respect. China has been helped even by governments, there is no non-intervention pact against China, it has and can buy everything it needs. More over the Chinese war is an Imperialist war, Chiang Kay Chek as reactionary as they make him. The Chinese people are mere pawns in his hands, and in the hands of Stalin do not forget that. And of course the Japanese. There was no economic Revolution in China nor are the people fighting consciously for their emancipation and for economic and political freedom. Do not think I fail to feel the horrors in China and the suffering of the people. By all means help should be given them. But Spain has the whole Imperialist and Fascist pack against it thats why Spain needs help more desperately. Besides the comrades of the CNT/FAI and of the SIA have had no help from anybody, or a single penny or tin of milk form all the thousands raised for that purpose. They depend entirely on their comrades in every country and those who feel with them. Thats why I should consider it a terrible calamity for SIA if you were to give it up. But as I already said you my dearest must decide. I cannot and have no right to decide it for you.

I stated that the CNT-FAI Bureau will cease to exist I told the comrades when I was in Barcelona that I thought they should let me close the Bureau when I sail for Canada. I have worked like a galley slave for two years and there was no response. I felt therefore that it was throwing money into a bottomless tank to continue. The CNT-FAI said they would consider the matter. Well, I had a letter from them saying I should close it. So strange are the contradictions of the human heart that though I myself suggested it the letter was an awful shock. Like a mother who brought her child into the world watche

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over it day and night,nuriched it with her own blood only to see it die after two years I feel the death of the work for the CNT-FAI. Yet I know it is for the best. We have tried everything and have failed why then go on. The CNT-FAI needs every copper in its last supreme battles for more important things than the effort of knowcking against the dull brains of people who are not int ested in the tragedy of Spain,much less in the CNT-FAI. I admit it may be my fault that I am such a failure in this country but I am and I certai nly do not want my comrades to pay for what I have failed to achieve.

Well, since the Bureau is to go we will have to give up the premises.I wrote Ralph and Vero to try the landlord about the room for Sp.and the W. and possibly for an small office of SAI,prov ided you will not give up your connection with it. And even then it will depend on whether Ralph will be willing t give SIA and hour or two a day.Naturally he will have to look for something that will give him a living which of course SIA cannot. I have suggested to him that if he will want to carry on in a very small way as he had before he joined me in the work of the CNT-FAI and SIA I would let him have some of the stock and printed matter. Ralph did general Anarchist propaganda always and he never got anything for it as none of us have. I don't know how he will manage. I will have a talk with him when I return. And with you my dear about the SIA and a number of other matters,perhaps we could have a small gathering with Ralph,Sonia and James and one or two others about the Film and SIA. You will let me know.

Ethel my dear I know Ralph better than you and I know his value I know for instance that in 37 when I was away for nearly four months Ralph worked ardently and conscientiously. He knew exactly what to do and he did it well. Of course it was at Auntics Apart,our expenses were small. And Ralph managed beautifully. The greater my surprise and shock when on my return this year I found he had permitted ten weeks to pass with out doing anything.No it was not only because he did not know what to do.It was because Ralph is involved in this love affair which seems to have taken all his time,interest and even vit ality. I am only telling y ou this I have no right to refer to this matter to Ralph no for anything in the world. It is not my business after all.But naturally I feel that one should not permit ones amours to interfer with ones obligation to a task freely undertaken. That is the reason I was impatient with Ralph.But now that the whole thing will soon end I feel sorry I ever spoke to Ralph about the whole busin at all. I should have waited until the letter from the CNT-FAI arrived. One more thing to prove to you that I had complete confidence in Ralphs ability to do some work without me I want you to know that I got the comrades to send him a credntial as repr senting the CNT-FAI Do you think I could have done it if I had doubted Ralphs faithfulness Of course not.

Goodby dearest mine. May the New Year bring you person al peace and joy though there will be none in thw wold.

Please do not always think me a villain,or one who enjoysbeing "rude " or hurting people,or expecting them to erform miracles. And do trust me a little more.

Loads of love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 1, Amsterdam [to Hanns-Erich and Anita Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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xxxxxx Amsterdam Jan.First
39.

My dear good Friends. Thanks for your letter of Dec.20th which was forwarded to me here. Thanks also for all the good wishes for Christmas and the New Year. I spent both evenings in very dull company and with a dry throat,nothing decent to drink. But then the madness in the world and the gravity of our people in Spain are reall not condusive to hilarity. However if you two had been here we would have taken Muller-Lehing and his nice wife Madleine whoare both good Europeans and we would have treated ourselves to a resl Syl vester. The othe Dutch comrades are terribly heavy and pretty vison less to me.Exc pt perhaps Albert De Jong.

My dears you must forgive me that I have not yet written you about your Bakunin.I know I am a pig.But I do not want to write superficially and so far I have not had a free day or even hours to do your work justice. I hope to do so before I leave Holland. Mean while I am inclosing a check for 25 francs for one copy of your Bakunin which please send to Mr John Cowper Powys,Cae Caod Corwen Marionetshire, N Wales England. I wrote him about the bo he asked me to send him a copy. Perhaps he will review it for Spain and the World. I hope your publisher will send a copy to Herbert Read Broom House Seer Green Beaconsfield. He is a wi known Art and Literary Critic and his review would go a lon

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interesting publishers. It would be so much easier to approach them if I could send along a decent review. By the way Libertaire may have arrived in London I have not yet seen it.

Aprops, if I am to write some punpishers in Eng dand I will have to do it soon because I simply must sail for Canada the laatest the beginning of Feb. So you had better rush your pub lisher to send Read a copy.

When I was last in Spain I suggested to the comrades to consent to my closing the Bureau of the CNT-FAI in London. In spite of two years most agonising drudgery nothing was gained for the CNT-FAI. No response to the thousand of pieces of literature I have sent to ten thousand trade union branches and an equal number that had been distributed. Well, I received a letter saying that the Bureau should be closed. It means a great responsibility and worry off my shoulders and my mind. Yet so contradictory is the human heart the letter from the CNT-FAI gave me an awful shock. I feel like a mother who had given birth to a child, had nursed it through illness, watched over it night and day and then loses the precious baby through death. The very thought of having to go back to England to liquidate our Bureau and the mass of accumulated stuff gives me the shivvers. Yet I know it is for the best. So it will have to be faced.

It is goo to have kicked out the old year. The trouble is the New Year does not hold out hopes for much improvement. If any thing the European sky is blacker already and frought with great calamities. But if one has the WILL to LIFE when cannot escape whatever will come.

Goodby dear friends. I promise to write you about our work a little later. Affectionately

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My dear Teddy.

I should have answered your letter sooner had there not been the loss of time of sending Ian your letter and the wait to get it back.It came at last day before yesterday with a short scrib from Ian which I inclose. The kid does not feel any too happy in Jersey. The contrast of his young life at home and the studgyness of English middle class life is too great for the kid to fit in.Well it will soon be over though I do not suppose he feels London so neticing. I don't see how anyone can. I have lived years in England now and I have tried and tried to get acclamatsied I have failed miserably. In fact England is my Waterloo for nowhere have a failed so completely as in England and in so many ways. I have met few people,in fact I can do not need all my ten fingers to count them who m I found vital and alive. And I have failed miserably in my stenuous efforts for my heoric Spanish comrades.In short personally,privately and in my pub lic work I have roused no one,or made the slightest dent. That however is not what I started to write you about. It is about your letter.

It is but just that on this first day of the New Year I should write to you my dearest Teddy and about our common tragedy,our own Stella. I cannot get her out of my mind for a moment. And I keep wondering whether there has been some change for the better since last you wrote. It was good news to learn that Stella had come out of her acute depression, that she was sleeping and not losing weight. But also it was painful to learn that when she came out it was to be in the state she had been when she entered the Center. Still we must not lose hope . As the physicians told you it will take time time that will try your staunch heart as well as that of the children and mine. If only she would begin to imporve and not retrogress again it would be a tremendious gain. I cling to that hope.

Yxxx I see in Ians letter that he finds an explanat ion for the questions of the man who asked them of you. I confess I do not know enough of psychoanalysis to be able to judge. The idea that you maybe anti-semitic and therefore have given cause for Stellas breakdonw seems very remote to me. I suppose psycho-analysis consists of digging deep down into human vitals,perhaps it is only a means to cover up the fact that psychology as such is still in its infant stage hence unable to say difinitely what causes such storms as Ruths or Stellas or so many other. In any event you should not take it

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the questions of Stellas psychiatrist too much to heart. I take it he wants to help our Stella so it is not mere curiosity on his part or or a desire to pester you with questions.

I can readily understand the effect on you of the stuff on the subject you have been reading. You will do well to take the stuff with some grain of doubtand still more detachment. The reading will then help you and not make you morose. By the way Bob Low was in a frightful state of nerves when Ruth had her break down and he began to read up on psycho-analysis. He swore by every word. I hope you my dear will not be so easily effected. You must keep clear headed Teddy dear and determined not to be dragged dow You really need all your strength to help Stella back to her real self. There is no one else you know who can do so much as you. Ah, if only I could be near to help you, to relieve you, or to share the painful situtation, above all also to help you with David. But what is the use wishing for the unattainable. I will probably not be permitted to return to the States, for a visit at least. And being in Canada though near to my own child and to you and David will not change my situation. But I do I do long to be of some help to my Stella, I want this more than anything else. Indeed I am so obsessed b longing I have thought of late that I would consent to get into A. merely to be near Stella if this pretext would result in a visa. I might say I want to cisit my family, Stella, Moe both sick people and meet my seventhiet birtday near them. I would do most anything short o of denying my whole past of a half century. Well, we will see when I get to Canada.

As you see I am in Hooand. I came to arrange Sashas material, correspondence, and other writings. But I found that it is impossible to do that without also arranging my vast collection. Our lives have been so interwoven it is impossible to seperate one from the other. To do both will of course take more time. Still it has to be done though it is extremely painful to dig into the dead past of two people. Most of it was painful while one lived it. To relive it is no picnik. I hope to be through by the middle of this month I will then return to London to make arrangements for my departure to Canada. I will have only one regret and that will be to leave Ian behind. I have no one in England who means so much to me as your beautiful son.

To come back to your letter I was under the impression that you loved to be in the country and could work better there. I had no idea you and Stella burried yourself to help Ian through college. I wonder now whether Ians College gain was worth the effect Bearsville had on Stella and as you now tell me also on you. Expreince is a costly think, if only it will help Stelle back to her vivid self. It is alright and necessary to get away from the tear and wear of city life for the summer at any rate. But not to burry oneself completely as you and Stella have.

As to the idea that Stella is by nature conservative and therefore it did her harm to live a radical life, I consider

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this shere nonsense. It might have applied if Stella had at any time been coerced into a radical life. But Stella rebelled against her conservative family atmosphere when she was a mere tot and she was most unhappy until ~~thxx~~ she came to New York where she felt free to arrange her own life. You can believe me when I say that neither by word or deed have I ever forced Stella to accept my mode of life. It was Stellas own desire and pasionate longing coming from the depths of her and not due to outside influences. But as I said the gentlemen who have only half diggested Freud must find causes to explain certain phenomena that so far are still in the realm of guess work.

My dear,my dear I wish ~~thax~~ this yearmay bring a great and vital change in Stellas health ,in the achievement of what you want in your art and in a new and vital reunion with our Stella. Ruth recovered,surely Stella will too.

You say I may write herm frankly I am afraid and I don't know what. Could you suggest the line to take in a letter to her or would it not be better to ask her physician.Tell him how close Stella and I have been ever since her birth. Let me know what he has to say.

Give my love to Stella when you are again allowed to see her.Give my love to my precious David. It brought a lump to my throat to read that he hangs around the letter box. I mean to write him often just as soon as I hear from him in reply to my letter.Maybe it will help him bear what he must feel deeply and is yet too stoical to ask

I embrace you my dear Teddy most tenderly.Keep a stiff upper lip our girl will and must get well.

Devoted love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 2, Amsterdam [to] Ralph [Barr, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.

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xxxxxx Amsterdam Jan.2th 39

My dear Ralph.It took your letter four days to get here.Meanwhile you must have received my letter which I wrote immi iately after it reached me. I am glad you did not wait until Jack could fin d time to transalter Vazquez letter. It is such a short thing I was quite able to get the onctents. Well, our comrades write that much as they hated to write me about discontinuing the Bureau they had to do it owing to their economic condition and the general state. They deeply appreciate all we have done for them.But they find they had to ask me to give up the Bureau.By the way they have also been compelled to discontinue the Spanish Bureau in America.And as they had previously also discontinued the Spanish paper in Paris it means our people are hard pressed or have probably come to the conclusion that the resu achieved do not warrant the great expense. I fully agree with them and though it is very painful for me to have the make the break I cannot but see the wisdom in their dicision. My dear you must not blame them for nothing giving me a difinite dicision when I was in Spain.As I hav already told you they hated to decide. I am sure they hoped that they maybe able to continue to finance the Bureau in England as well as in the States. Evidently it was impossible.

I dread to think what they will do if they should have to escape from Francos savagery. They probably w ill not have any mean to come to the rescue of the many refugees.Vazquez was certainly pro ohetic when he told me in 36 they wanted painting shipped as they may have a million refugees who will need to be supported abroad. Our naive people wantee to show what honest Anarchists they were when they turned all the wealth they found over to the gov ernment. Thye will be paying dear for their honesty. The future of our Spanish comrades simply does not bear thinking about.

Well, dear Ralph great minds meet.I wrote you about seeing the landlord about two rooms or the upprt floor. I wrote the sa same to Vero yesterday. If Hooton and the others want the large room they must get it eirect from the landlord,we cannot be burdened by any such responsibility. The upper floor would be alright if Spain and the World were safe. I gathered from Martins letter that the CNT-FAI means to continue the support of the paper.But I see no mention of it in Vazquezs letter. And without some support Vero will not be able to keep the paper gone.However you must talk it over with him before you talk to the landlord.

About the Film as I already wrote you we will have to cover the cost of the Film,not to Mascarell that is true.But the Bureau of the Exteriro propaganda in Barcelona excepts us to pay for the Film which means half of the full amount. I have already

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forgotten how much it was.Anyhow we figured £20 for the Film for England. That amount will have to be paid from the Film fund into the CNT-FAI account. We still have a lot of expences to meet until the Bureau is entirely liquidated and we will not have enough in the bank unless the twenty pounds are paid in.So pleas see about the matter.

Now as to showing the Film for the CNT-FAI,you forgot m y dear that part of the £1,10 I suggested as a charge will have to go towards the SIA else you will not even have enough to pay a pound a we week for an office.However we must get together with Ethel,Sonai and James and decide then. You can arrnage with the landlord for the uppe floor if he consents to let you have it.Even if matters should not quite hitch you can always give me a months notice. The question is will he let you have the two rooms on the upper floor. Some arrangment between Sp.and the W. and SIA will also have to be made for the ~~the~~ telephone, the gas and the elctricity as I must be entirely free from responsibilities in England when I leave for Canada. I hope you under stand that my dear. By the way you continue speaking of weekly rents etc.That means it will again be a pound extra each month. It is imposs ible to do that now with all support from Spain off. See if you can arrange for month payments not weekly.

I have written Ethel last night a six page letter in reply to hers ~~which~~ which was a strong defense of you.My dear,my dear was it necess,ry for you to weep on Ethels shoulder? I am sorry you considered it so because it only helps to create a ~~bad~~ breach between her and me. For the love of Jesus do not again report what I s aay to you. If I have wronged you lets agrue it out as friends should be capable of doing and not drag in thrid parties even if they are our friends. In point of fact Ethel is not very keen on continuing for SIA.She deliberate states she wished she could be relieved. Why sh she should feel that way when she so ready and cheerfully consented to take SIA over in my absence I do not know or understand. It may have been a mood. I hope so.In any event we can and should do nothing for SIA without consulting her.

You say nothing about the clothes was it sent away? and will you be able to send the letter for the Scientists to Ethel to sign. It should go out as quickly as possible,please see to it.

About the material for the Institute please pack it in a box,all you have got, a ll papers as well French German Spanish and what ever we have accumulated and send it by freight collect as soon as possible the Institute will pay the shipping charges. It will give you a chance to clear out EVERYTHING,in the way of Bulletins, and ~~bunk~~ ews papers. Only leave the photographs I brought every time I came fr rom Spain I want them for Canada,and of course the books in Spanish ust be kept for me.But everything else behind the counter, in the top room ect can be shipped.

Yes, certainly something must be devised as it would e too cruel to to stopp our work which has cost so much money,blood nd anxiety.In a pinch you might begin general A Anarchist propganda n some little small place as you had before. I have convinced my

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self last year that it does not matter where one carrys on ones work if people are interested they come. We couldeasily have remained in Aunties flat with half the cost and with the same results. So it seems to me if the lnadlord sould refuse to let you have a room at least as long as Vero is there to pay his rent you will be able to do some propaganda especially now that we have accumulated a number of contancts. We might arrane a sort of fa e well affair in the large room or meeting,perhaps I could appeal and raise a little money as a starting capital for the work you will do in your own way. We must try our utmost.But mainly we must have a consoltation with Ethel, Sonia and James.

I am working like a galley slave from ~~xxx~~ ten until six with only twenty minutes for lunch.No it is not obligat ory but everyone in the Bureau works like that,besides I would never get done if I did not keep at it. It is an awul job and it hurts like hell to dig into the dead past. I though I would only have to assort Sasuas material but our lives have been so interwoven it is impossible to the one with out the other. And that will take time. However I am rushing as much as I can to be able to get away next week.

I am dead tired and I want to reach tonights last collection of poste so I must close. Let me hear from you again soon after you have spoken to the landlord.

Remeber me fraternally to Mason I am glad he is there to help you.

Affectionately

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London Office:
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LONDON, W.1

Telephone: GERrard 2656

Jan. 3rd 1938

Dearest Emma,

I was glad to get your letter this morning, and have read it with the utmost care.

First of all let me say how deeply relieved I am that I did get a wrong impression of what you said at the meeting about war and Fascism, for it had troubled me considerably. As to my not paying attention - dearest Emma I am far too ill at ease on a public platform to take in properly what is said. But I think you must have worded your statement a bit ambiguously as other people formed a similarly wrong impression - I have an idea they got the wrong impression partly from the question asked, though; that the question started up the idea. You know how easily people hear (and see) what they want tohear and see.

Dearest Emma I probably did tell you apropos of something or other that I had phoned Ralph and got no reply, but I did not mean to suggest that this was the usual case. Dammit, the man has to go out sometimes, to get meals, on errands, etc. there being no office-boy ! Perhaps all unwittingly, alas, I contributed to a false impression. There would always be times when people would call and find the office shut; its unavoidable in a one-man office. During the crisis he was there, less, I believe, but there was simply no point in him sitting there. I would not suggest you deliberately lied, my dear; merely that you perhaps misunderstood - as I misunderstood you at the Conway Hall meeting.

Oh dear, must we rake up Friends House all over again ? I said only what other people also insisted, that on that occasion it was a mistake to have made a militant speech referring to the fact that you wished you could appeal for arms for Spain - being as the meeting was in a Quaker hall and the concert patronisd by many quakers and other pacifists.

My Pacifism is indeed recent. It is as recent as the crisis. Right up till then I believed in violence for revolutionary pupposes. But the crisis 'did' something to me and I came to the conclusion that one lot of human beings murdering another would never achieve good, and never had done so. When onethinks of the high ideals ~~from which~~

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~~high ideals~~ for which Paris flowed with blood at the time of the Commune, and the rivers of blood that have flowed in Russia, and the blood that is even now flowing in Spain, the horrors men and women heap upon themselves and their unfortunate children in the name of an ideal) the war to end war', 'the war to save democracy', and the revolutionary ideal of a war for a new world.

I do not mind whether I am labelled revolutionist or not. I know that as surely as Bart de Ligt I believe in the social revolution, and that like de Ligt and many others with superior intelligences to my own I believe that murder is no road to that new world of the social revolution, never has been, never can be, never will be. You must surely know better than I that many anarchists have been and are unshakeable pacifists, opposed, that is, to methods of ~~xxxxxxxx~~ violence in terms of force of arms. I say in terms of force of arms because the general strike and sabotage are a form of violence.

It seems that various of my ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ILP comrades are demanding 'disciplinary action' be taken against me for my P.N. article, and already I have been accused of abandoning the cause of the social revolution. 'People say - what say they ? Let them say ! ' Do they know better than I what I believe ?

I did not apologise to Nancy C on your behalf, Emma, but as the official(anyhow) representative of the SIA in this country I felt I owed her an apology- for the orgabisation I (officially) represent. I think she was right in her protest. The matter is small - but you would not think it a small matter if your name, for example, appeared on some Communist literature, would you ? Put yourselfin her position.

Dearest Emma, the discord only arose between us when, in yr absence, I began to take my duties for the SIA seriously, that is to say, other than purely nominally. You didn't like my writing to the Marseilles comrade; and then I didn't like it that though I was supposed to be treas. I hadn't shown any estimates of the Bulletin, and then I was annoyed that no proof of the B. was shown me - with bad results, as we know. But let's not raise these points up all over again; we must agree to differ about them. You think I was unreasonable; I thought you were unreasonable; we must leaveit at that. Friends do not fall out because they cannot always agree; they may even rebuke each other, be angry with each other, but it does not (if its the real thing) alter the friendship.

I was passionately anxious that you and you alone should handle the film that time you refer to, dearest Emma, because I saw at once how reactionary people were trying to alter its revolutionary purpose and spirit. These matters of discord have not been a question of having or not having faith in you, my dear, but simply a matter that you cannot ask a person to represent you in yr absence and then quarrel with their methods of going to work on the job. My method was to try to find out how the pennies I raised were spent, so that I could answer with confidence any question asked me by any supporter; my method was to know what we were to spend before we started spending it, and when a leaflet was sent out in my name to ask to be allowed to correct the proofs of it. And so long as I officially represent the SIA here I

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cannot let what seems to me rudeness on the part of a colleague to someone I feel has not deserved it pass unnoticed. And when I feel that my views have been misrepresented(as in the case of Ralph) then I must protest. And so on.

But all this displeases you, dear Emma- and so I stand accused of loss of faith in you, and of wishing only to critise all you do. You see, my dear, until now I have been merely 'nominally'Treas.of this and that. The thing only becamse a reality, when you went away and I becmme responsible officially.

About the office, I had a discussion with Recchioni and with Barr only a few days ago, andI have thought and thought, and my mind goes round in a circle and I don't really know what we should do for the best. Recchioni is very keen indeed that we should keep the office going, because, he says, the small start that has been made with the ASF will all be lost if we close down. A few comrades do now know 21 Frith St. and come in and out; the place is a centre - and everything will dissolve away if we don't contrive to keep going.

We don't actually need an office for the SIA work as it can be done from this address, but S and the W needs an office, and there is this question Recchioni raises of the ASF. Recch. thinks that if the SIA shares the rent we can keep going - provided the big room is let. Its all very debatable. In the first place the SIA will have to raise some money.I suppose we could do this if we ran a social or something. But it would mean continuous effort, and whether its worthit for the sake of the ASF's few comrades and meetings, I don't know. Part of me thinks it is - part of me frankly shrinks fromt the continuous effort that will have to be made to keep the ~~xxxxx~~ rent going.Yet it does seem a pity to close down when a beginning has been made; I do agree with Recchioni there; for people do come; he had a big crowd at the social, and people do come to the meetings in the big room. On the whole I think I am in favour of making the effort. I think we must try to get some guarantees towards the rent from the few people who believe in the importance of keeping an anarchist centre alive now that a start has been made. I must have another discussion with Recchioni.

About my keeping on with the SIA work, so long as my name continues to

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bring in the money for Spain I feel I must go on. Its hardly a question of whether I 'want' to or not, don't you see ? But if you were to come back to England for good I would suggest having my credential cancelled and you being again the official rep. and me merely supporting you - as before. It was a much more satisfactory arrangement, for then I had no responsibility, and then there was no discord, which is ever bit as distressing to me as to you, I can assure you, dear Emma.

I think really about the office that we had better try for a bit and see if we can keep it going - don't you ? A pity to close down before we've had a shot at keeping it going. If we finally have to give in, then we do; but in the meantime let's have a go at raising the rent. I believe that between us, between Recchioni and me, that is, we might manage, and I know that Recchioni anyhow would like us to have a try , and that its worth doing.

I am worried about what is to happen to Ralph (financially) when the CNT-FAI works stops. How did he manage to live before ?

Dearest Emma, I don't believe deliberate falsifications about you. I ask you when I am in doubt ; I don't just accept this and that. I wasn't at all clear as to exactly what you'd said at the last meeting, and so I asked you, because the impression I and a few others had seemed so strange coming from you. Because I had read your book and thought I knew your revolutionary spirit and its reactions to this and that issue.

When are you returning ?

I am signing the letter to the Scientists today. Money and clothes are still coming in.

What do you think of the enclosed ? My own view is that its not worth having another meeting, as we made so little profit on the last. In any case I wouldn't suggest this man Muggeridge as a speaker without meeting him and discovering his views. I have written to Marjorie Gertler and told her I would write again after you had seen the letters. I cannot really see the executive of the National Joint Cttee agreeing to hold a meeting jointly with the SIA - can you ????

Terribly cold again here. I hope its better with you, and that the task you have set yourself is not proving unbearably poignant.

My love to you, my dear, gallant, difficult, but
loved and respected friend-
From your possibly erring but always
sincerely devoted

Ethel

Please return the enclosed.

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~~DRAFT.~~

in this country

Dear Professor Huxley,

You will find enclosed a Bulletin devoted to the interests of refugee women and children in Spain. It contains an appeal to the scientists of the world by Professor Paulis who is himself one of the most outstanding men of science in Spain. As the representative of the above organisation, I would like very much to get this appeal to as many men/of science in England, as well as those of letters, as I can possibly reach. I wonder whether you would be good enough to suggest from among your friends those ~~who would~~ be interested in the appeal of Professor Paulis as well as in the rest of the contents of the Bulletin.

/and women

I should be ~~[illegible]~~ glad to ~~Please let me~~ hear from you ~~at your earliest convenience~~. likely to as soon as possible.

~~Sincerely,~~

Thanking you –

I am,

Yours very truly,

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Telephone: GERrard 2636

5th January, 1939.

Dear Sir,

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I should be glad to hear from you as soon as possible.

Thanking you,

I am,

Yours very truly,

ENGLISH SECTION S. I. A.

Hon. ~~Treasurer~~ Secretary.

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[redacted]
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I should be glad to hear from you as soon as possible.

Thanking you,

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Yours very truly,

ENGLISH S. I. A. SECTION

Hon. Treasurer.

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DERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA

C. N. T. - F. A. I. VIA DURRUTI, 32 BARCELONA

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SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41

Nº 14.

Barcelona 3 enero 1939.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
Londres.

Chère camarade,

Seulement aujourd'hui j'ai reçu votre lettre du 1r. décembre. C'est inexplicable ce qui se passe avec notre correspondance, car cela ne se passe qu' avce vos lettres. Je n'ai pas reçu la lettre que vous communiquez m'avoir écrit deux jours auparavant. Je fais tout mon possible pour que les lettres que je vous adresse vous parviennet le plus rapidement.

J'espère que vous aurez reçu dejà une autre série de photos. Je vous ainremis ces photos dans les premiers jours de décembre. J'ai encore en ma possesión quelques autres que je n'ai pas envoyé dans la crainte de ne pas pouvoir les envoyer sans les plier et j'attendais lócassión de quelqu'un pourrait vous faire parvenir ces photos telles qu'elles sont. J' espère pouvoir les envoyer l'un de ces jours. Les photos que vous avez fait avec Mawa dans les montagnes, je les ai expédiées dejà et je suppose que vous les aurez reçues.

Dans l'une des traductions que je vous ai fait parvenir, je vous ai envoyé aussi la partie que nous n'avons pas pu lire avec vous. J'espère que vous l'aurez reçu aussi.

Je n'ai pas pu parler avec Esgleas de ce que vous me dites dans votre lettre. J' espère qu'il vous donnera une copie de son discours du Plénum. L'un de ces jours je pourrais vous envoyer le discours dont vous avez un si grand intéret. Je ne peut pas vous le faire parvenir aujourd'hui même car l'on m' a communiqué qu'il se trouve au front et je n'ai pas la possibilité de le voir.

Nous faisons des démarches pour laisser cette maison, espérant avoir plus de chance en ce qui concerne les bombardements. Mais je crois que nous allons gagner bien peu, car samedi et dimanche dernier n' a pas eu un quartier de la capitale qui n'ai pas souffert un bombardement.

Je vous remercie de votre envoi du livre de Read,

...

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dont j'espère le recevoir l'un de ces jours.

Le livre de Santillán que je vous ai envoyé est celui dont vous me parlez dans votre lettre. Je croyais qu'il vous parviendrait faisant l'envoi légalement, mais si vous ne l'avez pas reçu encore, sera dû sans doute à la censure espagnole qui n'a pas permis l'exportation. Je vais acheter un autre exemplaire et je vous le faire parvenir dún autre façon.

C'est un dommage que Frank ai fait le contrat à son nom et qu'il ne vous ait pas laissé des pouvoirs afin que vous pourriez intervenir. Dans une lettre nous l' avons dit qu'il devait collaborer avec vous en tout ce qui concerne le film et que vous deviez compartir aussi la responsabilité. Nous allons écrire aujourd'hui même à Frank concernant cette affaire et quelles sont les recettes et les frais occassionnée par ce film. Il est nécessaire de nous mettre au courant de tout le mouvement des frais et dépenses afin d'éviter des possibles malentendus.

J'espère que vous aurez reçu la lettre que nous avons écrit à Mascarell, par laquelle il nous communique vous avoir remis le film, mais il ne dit pas clairement s'ils ont ajouté toutes les coupures qui a fait la censure.

Ce que je ne trouve pas très bien c'est que vous ayez publié que ce film n'a pas passé par la censure. Cela pourrait être le prétexte pour nous démander des explications. Il aurait été mieux de dire que c'est un film espagnol et rien plus.

Dans l'attente de vous lire, recevez mes salutations bien fraternelles,

Сегодня мне сообщили что из Marseille [illegible] с приходит [illegible] пищей. Сердечно Вам благодарен [illegible]. Очень уже все это нам нужно, потому что [illegible] publication Santillán [illegible]

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Amsterdam Jan 4th 38

Dearest,own Ethel.

This will have to be the briefest kind of a letter. I really do not know what is the matter with me,but I get so exhausted by t he end of the day I simply cannot think let alone write. It maybe the weather, or the strain on the ~~xxx~~ eyes having to read letts and MSS for eight hours a day,or the a ~~xx~~ agony of diggin g in the dead past. Maybe all of these together. All I know I am completely in when I return to my hotel. It is therefore impossible for me to answer your letter,or write you at length on my attitude towards Pacifism. ~~Xx~~ We will both have to wait until I return.Somehow it is not so difficult to explain things to you in person. So lets be patisnt.

Darling I do not want to continue the unfortunate episode with Rlaph. But I do have to tell you that there was no need of R.being alone in the office. Etta our Scotch comrade would have been happy to relieve him and some of the boys also would not have refused. Besides,it was not a question of you not getting him on the phone once or twice(by the way I do not wish to d scuss this part until I return and have reread your letter to Paris to me) I maybe wrong when I say I got the difinite impression that you had repeatedly phoned him and received no reply. Besides, there was Rocchioni who should know better whether R. was there or not,he was constantly on the premises. And the others whose neams I already cided. But now that the office for the CNT-FAI is to be liquidated we need not continue the argument about R. Need we dear?

It is another matter about his financial cond ition when the CNT-FAI is no more. You ask How he lived before. I have not the slightesy idea except that he lived with his family until his young lady appeared. Also I was told he receives a pention or some thing that keeps him alive. In 37 when we had very little money to work on Ralph said he would only need his expences and that £1,10 a week would do for that. So thats what he got. Then twoards the end of 37 when the comrades in Spain aggreed on a salary £3 a week was decided upon. I am as anxious as you are my dear about his exist ance. What I want to do is to give him the larg st part of our stock in Alb ums and pamphlets and also part use of the Film for the work of the CNT-FAI he might continue. The other part must go to SIA.

870925523

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]3[9] Jan. 4, Amsterdam [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].– 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Sonia and James were to get out a letter to be sent to I.L.P branches and other organisations to tell them about the Flmx Film we will have to charge £1,10 for single hire and one pound if taken for several tim or £1,5/. We can talk all this over when I return I hope towards the latter part of next week.

Yes, I too feel it would be tragic to give up the upper story of the office. Ralph tells me in the letter I received to day that he had talked to the landlord and he promised R. a difinit reply by the end of this week. I hope he will consent to let Vero and the SIA have the place for thirty shillings a week,or by the month. I was horrified when R. told me we have been paying by the week which according to his method of figurmx ring, I mean Rs made it £12 more over the year and the same on his salary. Now something should be done to induce the landlord to let us pay by the month. Yes, we might have a social evening, a sort of farewell evening before I sail though I hate such things. I hate to have people who have done absolutely nothing to help in the work,yet have been bitterly resent ful of everything I did. For the love of all the Saints don't think I refer to your objections. They probably were justified since you feel as you do.No, I mean those who call themselves comrades and are miles from that. Still we might have something and raise part of the rent It is no use relying on promises, the few who come are unemployed besides lacking the fire which makes mountain move.

About Muggeridge,I know nothing about him except the book he wrote about Russia wherein he showed himself strongly anti-Semitic. Like the reactionary critics of Russia he placed all the failures there at the feet of the Jewish Bolsheviks and their Jewish women. I was quite disgusted at t e time. However he may have advanced I don't know. Naturally you will have to be extremely careful before you tie the SIA up with him. One thing is certain the National Joint Committee will not coopera te with SIA. Jet it might now that my name will not appear. Anyhow it is worth meeting Muggeridge and get your own impression,and it is wwth trying the N.J.C. if only to be able to say they were approached. As to running an independent meeting I too would be against it because no meeting except for the appeals has ever paid.

Darlin, I really must close I ache in every bone.

With xxxx love always.

880726400

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 4, Boston [to] Emma G[oldman, Amsterdam] / Rose Pesotta.— 2 p.; 30 × 21 cm.

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HANOVER 2906-7

24134

PHILIP KRAMER, MANAGER

Joint Board Cloak, Skirt and Dressmakers Union

REPRESENTING LOCALS 18, 33, 39, 40, 50, 73 AND 80

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

OFFICE: 88 LAGRANGE STREET

BOSTON, MASS.

Rosalia

January 4, 1939

Dearest Emma,

I got here only yesterday and I am anxious to answer my mail which has accumulated for the two weeks during my absence.

Last week I was in Columbus, Ohio, attending a Youth Conference Against War. It is a rare phenomena these days to have several hundred young people gathered on the university grounds to lay the ground work for a national movement to keep the American youth p[illegible]d on the impending, imperialist or any kind of war. I was invited as [illegible] speaker to address a mass meeting and also to conduct a Commission on Labor, and it was fortunate indeed, that I came there. In view of the fact that there are conflicting opinions in the U.S.A. on Spain; Catholics vs Radicals, they decided to eliminate the Spanish question entirely. They had a Japanese speaker, Chinese speaker, German speaker, and one who was recently in France, to speak on conditions in the four countries Not a word was mentioned about the struggle in Spain. So, in the evening during the mass meeting, I decided to take it upon myself to tell them about the struggle of our comrades against fascism, not only in Spain, but the world over. To amplify my talk, I brought about a dozen albums, 15 large, appropriate posters (which I brought from Paris last winter - all in Spanish) and several dozen Augustine Souchy's pamphlet "Spain" and some of our own publications. These were widely distributed.

The report in the Times today, "Rebels claim key to Catalonia" coincides with your statement that Chamberlain's visit to Rome has something to do with it. It is one thing sitting here and hoping for the best, and it is something else for 16½ million starving people fighting for their lives. I know many, like myself, would be willing to give anything to help them, not only by sending in contributions, but also by fighting side by side with them as you did. Unfortunately, it is impossible for us to do that.

As soon as you come to Canada. I shall try to visit you and then we will discuss in detail future plans. I have just finished Angelica Balabanov's "My Life As A Rebel" and can not understand why she waited so long to expose the henchmen of Moscow, whose atrocities and jesuitic deeds made Mussolini and Hitler copy them in toto. She pays high tribute to you and Sasha and I believe that you are her best friend.

I shall not go to see Stella, taking your advice that it is better for her not to get disturbed.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 4, Boston [to] Emma G[oldman, Amsterdam] / Rose Pesotta.— 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Dear Emma

Under separate cover I am sending you Herbert Harris's "American Labor" which is just off the press and may interest you. It is the latest addition of the history and functions of the American Labor Movement.

I am also sending you some pamphlets and magazines.

Hoping to see you this year.

Love,

Rose

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 4, Westmount [Canada to] E[mma] G[oldman, Amsterdam] / Marjorie Goldstein. – 5 p. ; 30 × 25 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2434

I Rosemount Av., #23.,
Westmount, Prov. Quebec,
Thurs. January 4th, '39.
[illegible] January 15th '39.

Dear "E. G.",

How very nice to hear from you! One would be very lacking indeed in perception not to be able to imagine the many difficulties that beset you in correspondence. We all are most grateful that you have escaped the dangers from bombardment. One can have nothing but admiration for your undiminishing urge to do something.

The discriminations made by bigotry are most disheartening, and it is a wonder how you find courage to face the even harder task which awaits you in the event of a visit to Canada. You are right about the muzzle laws in Montreal precluding public activity. How many people we will be able to get together privately remains to be seen. I shall refer again to that at another point in my letter. Undoubtedly you will be able to see something of the Starks if you come to Montreal.

Gordon Whitehead was overjoyed at having news of you. He is as much handicapped by his health as ever. He very rarely gets out, his only excursions being to the doctors' or to the barber. In the former he appears to have no faith and goes simply under pressure from friends or as a matter of form. It is surprising therefore under the circumstances to have unmistakable evidence of what appears to me the very sound philosophy with which he meets the situation. He apparently has studied his own case for himself. And so far as I can gather, appears to know quite definitely what could be done to remedy his physical infirmities if he were in an economic position to afford it. Of course he has been entirely unable to look after himself properly or to receive anything like the attention in that respect which he desperately needs. And hence one aspect of his situation must be very trying indeed. He Namely never receives visitors. The only communication that he has is the occasional telephone call. He gave me a number of reasons for that particular predicament. He is in so much pain most of the time that his sleep is very scanty and extremely irregular, so that arrangements, except at the last moment, are impossible. He cannot bear to let any one see him in distress of any kind. And so, even when he is up and about, this fear of his that his physical suffering will embarrass others as well as himself makes visiting very difficult. Another reason that he gave was that his files of newspapers and periodicals have got completely out of hand and he will not permit any one to view the disorder.

I have been in touch with Mrs. Bernstein and Mrs. Zahler. I know you will not take amiss any implications which you may gather from a report which I wish for your sake to make as

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accurate as possible. And that you will treat it as confidentially as I make it.

In contrast to Gordon Whitehead's eagerness for every detail concerning you and his very genuine disappointment that his disabilities in all probability would prevent him from being at your service as he was at the time of your last sojourn here, Mrs. Bernstein and Mrs. Zahler sounded very casual, if not decidely lukewarm. Mrs. Bernstein at once stressed the "impossibility of a public meeting." A difficulty of which she knew you to be well aware from what you said in your letter. While being glad to see you personally, she seemed quite uncertain of her ability to gather together a few friends. This was prefaced by a long harangue about her attempts to reach you by letter, without success.

In my first attempts to reach Mrs. Zahler, I met with no success. I was obliged to leave a message to the effect that I had news of you. When I finally reached her, her reception was a little more cordial than that of Mrs. Bernstein, with whom she had evidently already discussed your news. She admitted quite readily that she had not corresponded with you. She too spoke of the difficulty presented by the padlock law which she seemed to think would make even a private gathering somewhat compromising. She continued by saying that she did not know of enough people whom she could get together who would be interested, and even if she could do so, she did not know of a house large enough to accomodate a sufficient number. She then told me of a forthcoming meeting of the Workmen's Circle at which the question of your news and visit would be brought up. She then asked me if I would call her in a few days' time after the meeting had taken place. I did so. There was a little more warmth in her attitude about your forthcoming plans. She said they had been discussed at considerable length at the meeting. But the outcome still seems somewhat indefinite. There was an appearance of readiness to arrange some sort of meeting for you. But the whole matter would have to be left in abeyance until your arrival.

These were my impressions. I only hope my sense of duty as a reporter has enabled me to ~~make~~ convey them satisfactorily. In any case, Mrs. Bernstein and Mrs. Zahler have each promised to write you and that will afford you additional material from which to draw your own conclusions.

Gordon Whitehead has just telephoned. His news indicated an attitude much more encouraging than the one which I have discussed with you from Mrs. Bernstein and Mrs. Zahler. He says that you may remember he frequently expressed regret that, having been out of circulation for some time previous to volunteering in your service, ~~that~~ he had not the circle of contacts sympathetic to your work which he could have claimed to have had at his command

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 4, Westmount [Canada to] E[mma] G[oldman, Amsterdam] / Marjorie Goldstein. – 5 p. ; 30 × 25 cm.

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the opportunity thus afforded him has enabled him to use the telephone to remedy

when he was moving about as he used to do. Since being confined to the house he is hopeful that ~~he has~~ remedied this deficiency to some small extent. He seems quite enthusiastic about what he might be able to do with regard to securing private audeinces of a worth while nature for you. "But," he said, "the question of establishing mutually responsive contacts between E.G. and any of my acquaintances was always a matter of considerable apprehension. To begin with, one has to decide between the sincerity of their interest in her ideology and mere curiosity in her as an individual. Then, too, was the conflict that would always arise between their nervousness at meeting 'the notorious Emma Goldman' and that beloved woman's quite understandable brusqueness, the only defense mechanism that a person of her manifold unhappy experiences is left with." He said that in spite of the punishment he had taken with respect to this question of introduction he still loved you enough to risk your possible castigations from you once again.

I told him that I had been making notes of what he had said while he was talking and I wanted to know if it would not be better that I modify his remarks rather than quote him verbatim. He replied that he had said nothing of which you were not already aware and that he would not say to you directly. He added, in an obviously facetious vein that "E.G. and I seemed somehow to put up with one another's shortcomings. The only reason that I can offer for this amazing anomaly which verges on teratism (I didn't dare ask him if that is the way it is spelled!) is that it must be LOVE!" When I said, "Shall I quote that too?" he replied, "Certainly! She'll understand!"

I'm afraid I've already kept you a very long time with this letter, prompted by my desire to give you a comprehensive survey of the situation.

Every one was most distressed to hear about your accident on the stairs. I trust its ill effects are quite forgotten? I perused with the greatest interest the copy of letters and the literature which you sent me. I took the liberty of sending it to G.W. He was tremendously pleased to have it. When acknowledging it on the telephone to me he said that he felt that with all due modesty he could claim that his philosophy with regard to social ideology had undergone some advance since your departure, though it was not as great as he had intended it to be, had he not been handicapped by his health. Also the accident of storage had made inacessible "Fields, Factories and Workshops", and also "The A B C of Anarchism", which he purchased from you. He wanted to know if you could spare time to give him an estimate on the cost of replacing these, together with copies of the literature you had sent to John Cowper Powys and anything of a philosophical nature that you might recommend. I asked him what he meant by this latter and he answered that "I, as a beginner, am much more interested in the philosophy of an ideology rather than in the technique of its implementation as a political or

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sociological instrument or force. Undoubtedly, of course, I shall want to know that too. And if E.G. believes the study of philosophy and technique should be done simultaneously rather than the one following the other, I am sure she will advise me on that point."

He remarked by way of further discussion that he was very interested in what, for want of a better name, he would call in a phrase of his own coinage "the ethics of violence". He asks, "Does not the word Revolution as opposed to Evolution imply the use of force by those who would introduce the new order? I am coming to have such considerable doubts about human nature and the appearance of wisdom as a group manifestation that I wonder very much if the last remaining Group of Privilege would surrender any of its prerogatives without resort to extreme violence. And having lost, would they have the sense to recognize the Good in the combination of ideology and force which overthrew them. Or would they not continue with a subterranean activity which could only spawn further and prolonged violence? In other words, can change come before the whole Mass of people has advanced to a point where they have sufficiently developed to be ready for change? And, being ready, would that not be a Force great enough in itself without the accompaniment of Violence?"

He spoke with enthusiasm of the enlistment of Ethel Mannin in the Cause. He said the first of her books he read was "Common Sense and the Child". He admired it for its forthrightness. He has since read whatever he could of Ethel Mannin's and remarked that he had come to have the greatest respect for her courage and her literary skill. He seemed so pleased because "my own appraisal of H has since come to acquire the hall-mark of E.G.'s endorsation."

In the sincere hope that no European cataclysm will intervene before the date of your intended departure to deprive us of your eagerly awaited visit, and with every thanks for your most interesting letter and enclosures,

Affectionately,

Marjorie Goldstein.

P.S. As you can guess from the length of this letter, it has been more than one day in the writing. And so you will understand how I came to receive yet another phone call from G.W. before it was despatched. He spoke of his enthusiasm for the literature which you had forwarded. He says he is going though the advertisements for Anarchist literature with a fine tooth comb, and is ordering whatever he can afford. The information he gleaned is an answer

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to his long-standing quest for such literature. And too, now that it has your recommendation, he intends to send his own personal subscription to "Vanguard".

I am reminded that when he learnt the literature you sent me had arrived in a wrapper, he remarked, "I am surprised that they did not send it in a plain envelope, in view of the evidences of postal stringency lately." I made no rejoinder but I am wondering if you think his fears were unwarranted. Or perhaps such material has a better chance of getting through when it has a plain all-over wrapper, open at the ends, to give the impression of ordinary newspaper content, then it would, in what might be a bulky enclosure in an envelope that would cause officials to open and investigate.

P.S.2. What happiness must have been yours when you learnt of Mooney's release after all these years! I thought of you at once when I heard the news, as indeed all who know you must have done. This is possibly the first ray of sunshine in your sky for many a long year! May it be the precursor of brighter days to come!

P.S. 3. You will see by the date line that this letter was begun as soon as possible after the necessary enquiries had been completed. But as many students avail themselves of the holiday season and the first few weeks of the new year to cram for end-of-the-term examinations, it has been utterly impossible for me to finish this letter with any greater dispatch. I do hope that the delay has not caused you too much concern or inconvenience.

M.G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Jan. 5, Amsterdam to] Emili[a] Roca, [Mou Nou Colony, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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20577

Dear comrade Emillie Roca.

Directly I received your telegram I wrote to comrade Garrec of the Federacion AntiFAscist in Perpignan to go to you and say I have received your wire and to let me know if you had succeeded in evacuating your children. In fact I sent him your wire so he should know where you are. So far I have received no reply and as he has the telegram I don't know how to reach you. I have therefore decided to write to comrade Emil Jean aY,a most reliable comrade to go to comrade Garrec get your addres and see you. He will I am sure comply with my request.You can tell him everything,or still better you can write me dirct in Spanish what happened and where the children are,and that lovely son of yours?.

I never received the Film made of my visit,a letter from Ma w Kawa several weeks ago told me he is at last able to ship the Film I suppose he waited until it was too late. How I wish I could have it now I might be able to raise some money for your Mon NOU.But without it it will be difficult especially as we must appeal for the SIA children though I do not know whether they have been evac uated and where they are. It is all too terrible,but we must not lose coyrage now less than before. Please answer soon.

Fraternally

870929529

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 5, Amsterdam [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona?] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.

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20766

xxxxxx Amsterdam, 5. Januar 1939.

Mein lieber guter Martin,

Ich habe Deine Briefe vom 9. und 13. Dezember nach hier nachgeschickt bekommen. Barr schrieb mir, dass beide Briefe zu gleicher Zeit angekommen sind. Da ich den Brief an Mariano hier beilege zu Deiner Uebersetzung, so brauche ich nicht zu wiederholen was ich ihm geschrieben habe. Es ist mir sowieso schwierig über die Liquidierung des Büros noch separat an Dir zu schreiben. Die menschliche Gefühle sind aus allerhand Widersprüche zusammengesetzt. Ich wusste die ganze Zeit, dass die CNT.-FAI die Sache in England nicht weiter werde unterstützen können. Es war schon ausserordentlich viel, dass sie zwei Jahre die Sache so grossherzig gemacht haben. Trotzdem war ich sehr betrübt als ich Marianos Brief bekam und mich plötzlich vor der Alternative befand das Büro zu liquidieren. Aber ich bin ganz mit den Genossen einverstanden, es ist direkt eine Geldvergeudung das Büro auf so grossem Massstab in England zu erhalten. Genosse Barr will weiter machen was er kann. Auch er ist sehr traurig. Du wirst also dafür sorgen, dass er regelmässig Material bekommt. Die Zeitungen und Bulletins (hauptsächlich spanische Bulletin). Wie Du weisst haben wir einen spanischen Genossen der sehr gut englisch kennt und eine englische Genossin, die beide Sprachen kennt. Sie können dann verschiedenes übersetzen was Barr für seine Tätigkeit gebrauchen kann. Ausserdem bitte ich, dass Du mit ihm in Verbindung bleibst. Es wäre furchtbar schade, dass alles verloren ginge was in diesen zwei Jahren erreicht wurde, wenn es auch wenig war.

Du wirst von meinem Brief an Mariano erfahren, dass ich die Absicht habe spätestens am 15. Februar nach Kanada abzureisen. Bis dahin bitte ich Dich an meine Privat-Adresse zu schreiben:

E.G. Colton, 6 Sneath Avenue, London N.W. 11, England.

Meine permanente Adresse solange ich in Kanada bleibe ist:

E.G. Colton, c/o Joe Desser, 759 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

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Selbstverständlich wirst Du mir dorthin alles notwendige Material schicken wie Du es bis jetzt getan hast. Ich schreibe Dir natürlich noch näheres über meine Absichten in Kanada sobald ich hier fertig bin und nach London zurückfahre.

Ich danke Dir für die Kopie des Briefes an Mascarell. Es ist natürlich sehr grosszügig dass Du ihn instruiert hast, dass die Filme, die ich für England und Kanada bekommen habe von den Beiträgen von Schweden, Frankreich und Chile bezahlt werden sollen. Immerhin glaube ich, dass es die Aufgabe der Freunden ist, die die Arbeit der SIA nach meiner Abreise weiterführen werden, den Film zu zahlen. Ich werde die Sache mit ihnen besprechen wenn ich zurück bin und werde Dir noch näheres darüber schreiben. Bis dahin werde ich von hieraus Mascarell schreiben und ihm sagen dass er die 10 £ die zu dem Fonds der CNT.-FAI.gehören , die für London bestimmt waren, zurückschicken soll. Eigentlich ist es einigermassen meine Schuld, dass er die 10 £ behalten hat. Ich hatte ihm nämlich geschrieben, dass er mir die beiden Filme par avion schicken sollte, weil ich fürchtete dass sie nicht zeitig genug für unsere Versammlung vom 12. Dezember eintreffen würden. Ich sagte ihm dann er könne die Kosten für die Sendung von den 10 £ abrechnen. Also wie gesagt: ich werde die Sache regeln. Jedenfalls finde ich es selbstverständlich, dass sowohl England wie Kanada für die Kosten des Films zahlen und die Gelder dann dem Fonds für die Oficina de Propaganda Exterior übergeben werden. Für die Kosten des Films für Kanada werde ich erst dann sorgen können wenn meine Tätigkeit dort angefangen hat.

Ich kann Dir leider von hieraus nicht genau sagen welche Teile im deutschen Text von dem Comité Peninsular der FAI. angekommen sind. Ich werde es Dir sofort mitteilen wenn ich zurück bin. Aber soweit ich mich entsinnen kann glaube ich dass fast alles was für mich übersetzt wurde angekommen ist. Vom spanischen Text habe ich wenig erhalten. Höchstens zwei oder drei Abschnitte, nicht mehr, auch nicht die Photographien von dem Transportsyndikat. Ebenfalls nicht das Exemplar der deutschen Freiheit das ich Dir gelassen hatte. Du hast mir schon einige Male gefragt ob ich das Buch von Santillan erhalten habe. Ich nehme an, dass Du das Buch meinst, das voriges Jahr aus der Verbreitung zurückgezogen wurde? Ich kann Dir sagen, dass ich es nicht erhalten habe. Bitte sende mir nochmals ein Exemplar. Die beiden Bücher die Du in Deinen Briefen vom 9. und 13. Dez. erwähnst sind in London angekommen, aber ich hatte noch keine Gelegenheit mich damit zu beschäftigen. Ich danke Dir für Deine Anmerkung in bezug auf dem Buche von Toryho. Ich werde selbstverständlich diese Kapitel lesen und was ich nicht ganz verstehe mir von unserem prächtigen spanischen Genossen übersetzen lassen.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 5, Amsterdam [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona?] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.

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20767

Du hast bis jetzt mit keinem Wort in Deinen Briefen erwähnt ob Du das Paket erhalten hast, das ich Dir durch Ay geschickt habe. Es geschah gleich nach meiner Ankunft in Paris. Er hat auhh die 100 Frs. bestätigt. Aber bis jetzt weiss ich noch immer nicht ob Dich diese Nahrungsmittel erreicht haben. Ausserdem habe ich Dir zu Weihnachten durch Genosse Camara in Marseilles ein Paket schicken lassen. Ich hoffe dass Du dieses Paket bekommen hast. Bitte vergesse nicht mir mitzuteilen ob die Pakete ankommen sonst hat es keinen Zweck weiter Gelder auszugeben.

Ich lege einen Brief bei den ich von Steinberg bekommen habe, und einen Brief für Bosquets. Bitte übergebe ihm diesen. Steinberg sagte mir er hätte zwei Pakete ebenfalls durch Camara an Dich und Bosquets schicken lassen. Habt ihr die bekommen. Sie sollten bestätigt werden. Seine Adresse ist:

Dr. I.N. Steinberg, 69 Aberdare Gardens, London N.W. 6. Er ist Tag und Nacht beschäftigt eine Ansiedlung für die verfolgten und gehetzten Juden zu finden. Man braucht nicht gerade ein Nationalist zu sein um zu verstehen wie notwendig ein solcher Platz wäre für diese unglücklichen Tausende und aber Tausende, die in Deutschland schlimmer als Hunde behandelt und von der übrigen Welt von Ort zu Ort gehetzt werden.

Ich bin noch nicht an die Kiste gekommen, die eventuell Genosse Berkmans "Bolshevik Myth" enthält, aber Du kannst sicher sein, dass ich Dir ein Exemplar schicken werde wenn es vorhanden ist.

Herzliche Grüsse an Deine Gefährtin, an Simon und alle Kameraden von der Peninsular. Selbstverständlich sende ich auch Dir wie immer meine kameradschaftlichen Grüsse.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 5, Amsterdam [to] Mariano [R.] V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.

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Vazquez
Barcelona

xxxxx Amsterdam, January 5, 1939.

Lieber teurer Genosse,

Euer Schreiben habe ich erhalten. Der Inhalt kam nicht unerwartet. Ich habe schon damals als ich in Barcelona war dem Genossen Martin gesagt, dass das Büro in London sich weder materiell noch moralisch gelohnt hat. Ich weiss, dass Du und die anderen Genossen immer generös wart in der Anerkennung meiner Tätigkeit in England, aber ihr dürft mir glauben, dass ich selbst nicht mit dem Resultat der Arbeit zufrieden war. Ich habe die Arbeit weitergeführt weil ich hoffte, dass es doch noch eine Stimme oder einen Feder in England geben würde um für eure Sache einzutreten, schon wegen den elenden Verleumdungen die offen und geheim von den Kommunisten gegen euch geführt wurden.

Trotzdem war die Nachricht hinsichtlich der Schliessung des Büros ziemlich schmerzlich für mich. Es ging mir damit wie eine Mutter, die ein Kind in die Welt gebracht hat, es zwei Jahre genährt und gepflegt hat und dann das Kind durch den Tod verliert. Ich kann euch versichern, dass es für mich äusserst schmerzhaft ist das Büro zu schliessen. Hätte ich die Absicht in England weiter zu bleiben dann würde ich trotz allem das Büro weiterführen, nur auf ganz kleinem Massstab; aber da ich den Genossen in Kanada schon längst versprochen habe dorthin zu kommen so geht es eben nicht, dass ich für euch in England tätig bleibe.

Jedenfalls soll nicht die ganze Arbeit in England liquidiert werden. Unser Genosse Barr will so weit es in seiner Macht steht doch noch weiter für die CNT.-FAI arbeiten ohne euch in irgendeiner Weise materiell zu belästigen. Wir haben ziemlich viel Material übrig, wie die Albums, verschiedene Drucksachen für die CNT. und ausserdem der Film und alles Material sollte es dem Genossen Barr möglich machen die Ausgaben für seine Tätigkeit zu decken. Er wird eventuell etwas zu seiner Existenz finden müssen und die Arbeit abends weiterführen. Ich bitte euch daher auf dem Namen des Genossen Barr weiteres Material zu schicken. Wir haben einige Genossen die spanisch kennen

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und die aus euren Bulletins und den Zeitungen das wichtige übersetzen können. Du wirst Dich erinnern, lieber Mariano, dass Du mir ein Mandat für den Genossen Barr gegeben hast, dies wird ihm gewiss etwas helfen in seiner Tätigkeit. Ihr könnt versichert sein, dass der Genosse Barr ehrlich, überzeugungstreu und zuverlässig ist und alles für euch tun wird was er kann.

In eurem Brief finde ich keine Erwähnung über eure Absicht hinsichtlich Spain and the World. Wie ich schon bei meinem Aufenthalt in Spanien sagte, ist die Zeitung die beste die wir haben und hat sich ganz für eure Sache eingesetzt. Ich fürchte, dass wenn sie keine Unterstützung mehr bekommt sie untergehen muss und das wäre jammerschade. Ich verstehe aus eurem Brief, dass es euch finanziell sehr schlecht geht, denn wenn ihr schon das Büro in Amerika aufgeben müsst dann ist es sicher, dass ihr euch keine extra Ausgaben erlauben könnt. Trotzdem will ich euch noch einmal ans Herz legen wie ausserordentlich wichtig für euer Kampf in England Spain and the World ist. Ich bitte euch daher doch noch weiter für die Zeitung zu sorgen und mir umgehend wissen zu lassen ob ihr imstande seid es zu tun.

Ich bin in Holland im Internationalen Institut um den literarischen und propagandistischen Nachlass von Genosse Berkman sowohl wie mein Material auszusuchen. Ich hoffe eventuell in 10 Tagen fertig zu sein. Ich werde dann nach London zurückkehren und das Büro liquidieren. Insoweit eilt es nicht da wir sowieso für den ganzen Monat Miete zahlen müssen. Denn es ist in England so eingerichtet, dass man die Miete einen Monat im voraus kündigen muss. Euer Brief kam zu spät für irgendwelche Aenderung. Wenn ich in London zurück bin werde ich die Abrechnung vorbereiten für alle Ausgaben seit Juni bis Ende Dezember. Ich glaube, dass die Summe die mir von Paris aus geschickt wurde alle Kosten decken wird.

Ich habe die Absicht spätestens am 15. Februar nach Kanada abzureisen. Ich hoffe, dass ich dort mehr für euch erreichen kann wie in England. Die Genossen dort drängen sehr dass ich hinkomme und haben angeboten meine Reisekosten zu decken. Sollte es mir gelingen nach Amerika hereinzukommen, dann hoffe ich auf einen bestimmten Erfolg für euch. Denn man kennt mich in den V.S. und man kennt die Arbeit, die Genosse Berkman und ich während 35 Jahren in diesem Lande geleistet haben. Dies war eben das Unglück in England, dass die grosse Masse mich nicht kennt. Natürlich werde ich in Kanada ebenfalls euer Material brauchen. Ich schreibe heute an Martin und werde ihn instruieren wohin er mir Material zuschicken lassen kann. Ich will natürlich mit euch in Verbindung bleiben und werde euch später meine Adresse in Toronto schick en, die permanent sein wird solange ich in Kanada bleibe. Bis meine Abreise bitte ich euch noch weiter nach London zu schreiben, aber an meine Privat-Adresse und zwar unter den

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Namen:

E.G. Colton, 6 Sneath Avenue, London N.W. 11, England,

denn das Büro dürfte wohl bis Ende dieses Monats liquidiert sein.

Ich danke euch, teure Genossen, für eure Grosszügigkeit, die ihr zu jeder Zeit für meine Tätigkeit gezeigt habt. Die 2 1/2 Jahre seitdem wir in Verbindung getreten sind zähle ich zu den tiefsten Ereignissen meines Lebens. Ich wünsche nur ich hätte euch mehr helfen können. Vielleicht wäre es besser gewesen ich wäre in Spanien geblieben. Ich hätte dann wenigstens an eurer Seite euren heroischen Kampf mitmachen können, und eure Arbeit und die Gefahr teilen. Vielleicht kommt die Zeit noch, dass ich dieses Glück erleben kann.

Kameradschaftliche Grüsse an alle Genossen, an Dich, lieber Mariano, und auch an Pedro. Salud!

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[Letter, 1939 Jan. 5, Amsterdam to Enrique] Baruta [Vila, Perpignan, France] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
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Dear Comrade Baruta.

I have received your appel.It has been trnas lated at once and it is being sent out to a lot of people. I only hope it will bring results.

A week ago to day I wrote a German letter to Lucia thinking she is with you in Perpignan.I sent a copy to Garec and o one to comrade Camara. But I have received no reply from comrade Garrec. I cannot explain why. Nor have I heard from Lucia or Christine. It is impossible to do anything unless one has authen t ic news about the children of the SIA. Have they been evacuated or where are they?

Another thing is we have a lot of clothse for children and adults.I asked Garrec to let me know at once whether I should send everything to Perpignan. No matter how busy he is he should have answered me. Since he has not done it I must ask you to write me at once about everything. We are sending out and emergency appeal for money. I do not know what the responce will be,but what ever it is should it go to Camara or Perpignan?

What is Lucai doing in Geneve and is Christine with he Please answer all these important questions.You can write me in Spanish.

There is something I must ask you to write me frankly,it concenrs the rumour in Paris that when you already knew that all w most of our people will have toevacuate Barcelon you rrefused to devide t[illegible] you had that had been sent for SIA. Of cours I cannot [illegible] knowning how generous you are. Something mus have happened that made you refuse if you did . It is too bad that so [illegible] have been left for Francos hords. Please tell

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me exactly what happened. Have you any knowledge what became of Egg Flora the comrade who was in the maternity and social care in the SIA.

Please write me at once.

Fraternally

Do you think I could be of any help or use if I were to come to Perpignan? Please let me know. I have postponed my sailing to Canada until I know what will become of all of you from the SIA, the comrades of the CNT-FAI and our Libertarian Youth if they are still alive. I could therefore come to Perpignan and help you if you think there is anything for me to do.

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[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 5, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, Amsterdam] / George Seldes. — 3 p. ; 19 × 17 cm.

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GEORGE SELDES
33 EAST 28th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Jan 5 39

Dear Emma:

I imagine you were pretty much disgusted with my letter full of my personal troubles, the time you arrived in London from Spain. When Helen and I got to France from Barcelona in May 37 we had been so conditioned to the idealism and heroism (not to say semi-starvation) of the Spanish people that everything we saw hurt us: the people gay and carefree, the people stuffing themselves with food. It was another world, and a lousy one. Eventually of course this first reaction wore down, and we lost our resentment. And I hope that you will not think badly of me for troubling you again.

Dr. Balabanoff got $1,000 from the magazine Ken, in the first of her two suits. Her lawyer got $500 plus expenses, so I suppose she did not profit much. She then told her lawyer that if I would write her a letter explaining what happened she would drop the suit against me. I did so. I said that I had sent her Kss to Ken in the hope of making her $100, which they sent her; and that I had changed a few words to improve the English. The headline was not mine. I was therefore not guilty of any illegal or unethical action. I concluded by asking her to drop the matter inasmuch as after all we are both still on the same side of the barricades. I understood the matter was satisfactory.

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On November 14 my new book, Lords of the Press, appeared. It was highly advertised. Shortly afterwards I was informed that Dr. B. was pressing her suit. My lawyer understands that her lawyer saw the possibility of a considerable shakedown because he believes that a book makes a writer a rich man.

Yesterday I heard that Dr. B. has stated that she is really not after the money, but wants to punish me, and give the money to Italian refugees. As I wrote you, I had proposed back in 1936 to let Harper Bros. decide how much money I owed for the help she gave me in 1931 and for which she then insisted she wanted no pay, also for the material which I quoted verbatim. I still think that the fairest thing. I have made just about $30 a week out of all the books I have written, which is not quite a living. I made very little on Sawdust Caesar. But I am willing to let anyone judge the amount I owe her. As it is, both of us will spend considerable on the courts, and I will never drop this suit, because I think it is vicious and I know that so far as she is concerned, her lawyer will make much more out of it than herself.

She has an obsession that I did something wrong, cheated her, etc. I do not have to tell you that all I did was to give her favorable publicity, help sell her book, sell her article at a time I thought she was starving -- and the result has been a horrible mess.

I do not know whether a letter from you to her would help. Her address was Hotel Park Palza, 50 West 77. If you think it advisable, please write her.

.....

The Ken story is a long one which I hope to tell you sometime: I was hired to edit a free magazine, by some Jewish millionaires; anti-fascist, left of center, etc. I could not believe it was

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GEORGE SELDES
33 EAST 12ND STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

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true -- and it wasnt. Month before it came out they changed their policy to redbaiting, antilabor etc. Hemingway, Dellruff, myself, others, were fooled: all of us resigned. Meanwhile, however, there were dozens of articles which were not too radical for them to use, and they used Dr. B's chiefly because it was anti-soviets.

. . .

Since returning to America Helen and I have given all our time (outside the writing of books) to the Spanish cause. It has been a big fight, mainly against the Catholics. (Now I am writing a book on the Catholics). Last week, however, the Gallup Institute of Public Opinion which takes the most reliable polls, found out that 30% of the Catholics had no opinion, 58% are for Franco, and 42% against Franco. This is already an amazing thing, in a country where the Hierarchy is 100% Francoist. Moreover, Catholics tell me that the 30% which refused to vote is certainly anti-Franco, which would make the Catholic rank and file 70% against Franco despite the Pope, the catholic press, every priest, and tremendous propaganda.

. . .

I never saw Gilbert; his wife is the cause. The Hersches sailed for Paris today and will probably write you. Harry Kelly was inyesterday. No other news. I do hope you will be able to land in the US again. Right now, as you must know, there is a terrific anti-red, anti-alien antisemitic campaign, the likes of which has not been seen since 1920. Best wishes, good luck, and au revoir George

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 6, Calgary, Canada [to Emma Goldman], London / Arnold Roberton. — 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
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AJUT INFANTIL DE
RERAGUARDA

1615 Fifth St.,N.E.,
Calgary, Alberta,
C A N A D A.

January 6th, 1939.

C.N.T.,F.A.I. Bureau,
21 Frith Street,
Shaftsbury Ave.,W.1,
London, England.

Dear Friends:

I notice from advertisements in Reynolds that you are using films from Spain in connection with your work, and I would like to know if you have any films that are available for rental or purchase.

The Spanish Aid Committee in this province has a very vivid film called "The Heart of Spain", which runs about 25 minutes and which includes shots of Canadian and American doctors establishing a blood-transfusion service in Spain. It is a 16mm. sound film.

Since we have already shown this film quite extensively (we have 2 prints), weare now interested in either making an exchange, or procuring a new subject. We would be willing to make an even exchange for one of your sound films of equal length. (or sell for $75.00)

The film I mention has been endorsed by the Hollywood Motion-Picture Artists' Committee - a committee that has been responsible for sending a number of ambulances to Spain.

Trusting to hear from you, I am,

Fraternally yours,

Arnold Roberton

Arnold Roberton.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 7 [Nice to Emma Goldman, Amsterdam] / Herman and Lissie Scheerer.— 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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H.Scheerer
12 Boulv Gambetta

7.1.39

Sehr geehrte Frau !

Ich habe mich über Ihren Brief sehr gefreut und danke Ihnen dafür .

Auch Emmy hat sich sehr gefreut von Ihnen zu hören . Mit Emmy ist es ganz schlimm . denn sie hat bis jetzt sage und schreibe 4 Operationen durchgemacht , und es wurde heute entschlossen dass man auch noch die fünfte , allerletzte , machen muss , nämlich den Dickdarm ganz herausnehmen , denn sonst wird sie niemals gesund werden , man hat ihn ja schon seit Wochen tot gelegt , und es ist insofern ganz bedeutend besser , als sie den künstlichen anus m nicht mehr braucht , sondern normal entleeren kann . Nur ist noch etwas was sie fühlt witer oben , was ihr " twisted " erscheint . Hoffentlich findet das der Arzt , wenn er die nächste Arbeit macht . Sie können aber versichert , sein , dass bei ihr seitdem ich sie kenne , d.h. nach der 2 Operation seitens Dr Cassigni , gar kein anderer Ausweg war als zur neuen Operation zu schreiten , denn sie hatte eben einen richtigen Darmverschluss bekommen und wäre sonst glatt gestorben . Ich hatte denselben Fall mal in Berlin , wo auch zu spät operiert wurde und der Patient ist am Darmverschluss gestorben- .

Jetzt sind es über Monate her , dass sie liegt und Sie können sich denken , dass sie in einer Verfassung ist , garnicht zu beschreiben , den die ewigen Nervenshocks die jede Operation mitbringt , machen Sie , die ja an und für sich zappelig ist , noch nervöser . Gott sei Dank hat sie von Mr Stein Geld bekommen , auch hat ihr ihre Schwester in Chicago was geschickt , aber das ist alles ein Tropfen auf eine heissen Stein denn die Sache kostet bis jetzt über 20000 fr ohne dass der Dr . bezahlt worden wäre , der wartet .

Werden Sie über New York fahren ? dann können Sie meinen Sohn benachrichtigen , um ein Rendezvous , denn er ist Gesinnungsgenosse von Ihnen , und würde sich furchtbar freuen Sie kennen zu lernen- er arbeitet am Montefiore Hospital Neurophysiological Laboratory. N.Y. Gunhill Road , und lectured auch an der Columbia als Assistant von dem berühmten Berliner Neurologen Professor Kurt Goldstein .

Dr. Martin Scheerer , er wohnt privat 62. West 69 Street. Leider hat er ganz unheimlich zu arbeiten , denn er muss seinen Chef der an der Harvard ein Gestspiel macht , vertreten . Dannmuss er noch Affidavits für unsere Verwandten in Prag , die schleunigst herausmüssen besorgen um nach America zu gehen . Wir selber hoffen so in einigen Monat n zu imigrieren. Jetzt geht ja die grösste Tragödie, die History als Schande nicht vergessen wird , zu Ende , in Spanien.

Man kann sich garnicht vorstellen , dass sowas ungerächt passieren kann. 1939 !!

Emmy hat Graphologie gelernt und hatte schon vor der Operation ganz gute Erfolge .

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[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 7 [Nice to Emma Goldman, Amsterdam] / Herman and Lissie Scheerer.— 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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überhaupt ist sie einer der angewöhnlichsten Frauen , die ich jemals kennengelernt habe. Sowas arbeitssames , bescheidenes , anspruchsloses. Fantastisch .Gebe Gott , dass alles gut ausläuft.

Also ,meine verehrte Frau Goldmann , wir wünschen Ihnen gute Reise , übernehmen Sie sich nicht in der Arbeit , Sie sehen ja , wie nahe der Mensch immer am Tode vorbei rutscht , und Sie müssen ja noch länger leben um zu arbeiten in Ihrem Sinne. Es ist ja noch unendlich viel zu tun , geben Sie bitte meinem Sohn Ihre Adresse , sodass wir Sie auch im N.Y.mal zu sehen bekommen , sollten Sie solange dort bleiben, bis wir nach dort kommen . Danke -.

Herzlichste Grüsse

Ihre ergebenen

Hermann & Lissie Scheerer

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[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 7, Kirkwood, Mo. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ben [Capes?]. – 8 p. ; 27 × 17 cm.

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HENRY BROWN

Pioneer Hotel

TYLER AT FIFTH AVENUE

~~Amarillo, Texas~~

Kirkwood 1-7-39

My dear Emma

I assume that of late I always have to start a letter to you with apologies, but about that read what has most distressed to the day you returned to London.... That accident would indeed be good material for great human drama! To think of all the hazard you have come thru without a scratch and to get home safe in peaceful London.....

Needless to tell you that we were all happy to note that the dash was healing and hope by now you are yourself again and back at work.

As per your request I won't to assure you that no one will see the letters in question.

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RUBE MUSICK HENRY BROWN

Pioneer Hotel

TYLER AT FIFTH AVENUE

Amarillo, Texas

And as far as I know there is no division here of any kind with reference to the Spanish situation. We all take it for granted that this is no time for fractions of any kind. I have no doubt that, fractions, splits, and dissensions in the Left wing ranks is the very thing that France is praying for while the foe is rapidly preparing for criminal for our forces to lie split up in factions or must fall upon the letter of consistency in the face of with savage that will overwhelm them should France be victorious, and he will!, if he can divide and conquer. At this critical juncture our best and most devoted comrades, comrades of international reputation, yourself, Rocker and others should exert all your influence to keep

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RUBE MUSICK HENRY BROWN

Pioneer Hotel

TYLER AT FIFTH AVENUE

Amarillo, Texas

our ranks in tact until victory is
achieved over Franco, once that is
achieved I have no doubt that the
Spanish people will not be
enmeshed into any kind of dictatorship
far away from the actual crime
they way. I can not see it any
is the only our spirit at this moment
the real hope for the World....
darkest reactions, and what it
will lead to is on the lapse of
the Gods. Your brilliant analysis
of the next war, and what it
will lead to is beyond refutation,
but there is something that is
even worse than war, and
that slavery. Thats what we are
headed for if the two aggressors
of Europe are not hauled before it

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RUBE HUSICK — HENRY BROWN

Pioneer Hotel
TYLER AT FIFTH AVENUE
Amarillo, Texas

is too late.... That is, and the whole world knows it now, that if France and England had not sold out the gangsters could have been shaped without an actual war. All that was needed was a firm stand against them. Now they can go thru with their program to enslave the whole of Europe, there is nothing to stop them.... I'll take that back. Uncle Sam did slap Hitler on the wrist last week when he demanded an apology for Dieses speech. He talk it nicely and backed down. I still insist that you should read Prodhounds, "The General idea of the Revolution in the 19th Century," you will find that there is a great difference in the thought, as well as the approach

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RUBÉ MUSICK

HENRY BROWN

Pioneer Hotel

TYLER AT FIFTH AVENUE

Amarillo, Texas

between the state "withering away"
and the state's "dissolution in the
economic organism"
The fact is that Marx made a
concession to Proudhon when
he was unable to meet Proudhon's
devastating attack on the state as the
sole instrument of oppression
there and the agies
the [illegible] examples of the two
ideas are Russia and Spain
In Russia the state has evolved
a new bureaucracy, a new
instrument of oppression, whereas
in Spain third workers organization
we see the seed of a new society
coming into life from the
bottom up and they are trying
to eliminate the state as much as
possible. It is of course
understood that the state

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RUDE MUSICK HENRY BROWN

Pioneer Hotel

TYLER AT FIFTH AVENUE

Amarillo, Texas

will not commit suicide and just
force out of existence, but as
these communes or organizations
grow and construct their
economic life, the state will
have less and less authority over
them and in time be shorn
of all its power and disappear
altogether. But they must first
win the war! before they can work
on the state. I am glad to tell you that
Bob is making a wonderful
come back. It is slow and
tortuous, but he is recovering.
He is still afraid to read and
fearful of people.... his melan-
choly moods are shorter periods
which the doctor says is a good
sign of recovery. This makes

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RUSH PUBLICK

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HENRY BROWN

Pioneer Hotel
TYLER AT FIFTH AVENUE
Amarillo, Texas

even months – that our dear
little Florence has cured him
and what a brick she has been!
Bernard has tried several things
– that has turned into one place
And now he has decided to come
& with me out the road....
I feel as did Isaac when took
Jacob to the altar as a sacrifice...
but it can not be helped... for I
can not support him any longer
and he can not endure being
dependent. 1938 goes down as the
hardest year I can remember, and
now we are looking hopefully for
1939. Ida has stood wonderfully
under the strain of raising the
second generation
And now I'm going to
over

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embrace you and wish you
only what you wish for yourself
for the new year, and come
release from the scorpes that
plague the world at large....
There was a lump in my
throat when I read your
flaming words on Grynspan....
At 70 two score and ten you
are still the stormy petrel
lashing the world's tyrants with
words of fire and pleading for
the victims of an unjust world.
May you live to see your
work crowned with glory.
As ever yours
Ben.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 8, Beaconsfield [England to] Emma Goldman, [Amsterdam] / Herbert Read. – 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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BROOM HOUSE · SEER GREEN · BEACONSFIELD
JORDANS 3194

8. iii. 39

Dear Emma Goldman.

I enclose a letter from my friend in Paris which will show you that he immediately responded to my appeal. Also letters from PEN which gives their situation. I am returning the copy of Lucia Sanmiki's letter which you kindly let me see.

Will you please send this 200 frs to Souchy, or wherever it will be most useful. I will try & send you another contribution soon.

I think it will be best if I call for you at Frith St on the 14th, about 1 o'clock. We can then go to a restaurant nearby.

I would like Payne's letter back sometime but it will do then.

Yours Herbert Read

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 9, Amsterdam [to Louis Frank, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Amsterdam, January 9, 1939.

My dear Leo,

To say that your letter of December 26th was a shock to me is only too mildly express the effect it had. First of all, you complain that I have not addressed myself to you for a long time. You probably are unaware of the fact that you failed to send me even a postcard from America since you left England. Actually I did not know your address, until just a short while ago, when Ilse sent it to me in a letter at the time when I was working many hours a day on organizing the meeting and on the report of my visit to Barcelona. This is therefore the first unkind action on your part to reproach me of having neglected you when it was exactly you who failed to communicate with me. But this is a minor matter, much graver is your uncalled for indictment of me regarding the film business in England. I have no idea whatever what Ilse wrote you, but either she misunderstood me or you misunderstood her, because I certainly never doubted your veracity nor did I pry into whatever transaction you made about the film with the London Distributing Agency. It is quite true, that I told Ilse inasmuch as you left no power of attorney to her or to Barr I could not see how either one could look after your interest with the people who were running the film for a number of weeks. And I only did that after I had heard from Barcelona asking whether I could give them any information what had become of the film and whether it was being shown in England. If you consider this an offense or any expression of doubt of your word than I stand condemned, since I certainly meant no harm.

It is quite true, my dear, that you have generously let us use the film "Fury over Spain". I have always considered it as a very handsome act on your part and have spoken to the comrades in Spain about it. But you must not forget, my dear, that the film in its inflammable form was absolutely no use for us and that in order to have any use we were compelled to pay 42 £ for a 16 mm copy and another 30 or more pounds for the two copies, that were sent us from America. In other words, before we could hope for the smallest return, we had to spend in addition to the cost of the

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copies another 25 £ to organize the meeting for the first showing of "Fury over Spain". Another matter was that in my absence from England in 1937 very little was achieved with the film, owing to the fact that nobody wanted to pay 2 £ for the loan of it and for other reasons. Actually, the whole thing would have been a great loss and a large deficit were it not for the fact that Ethel had contributed a 100 £ for the expense of a film. Of course, all this was not your fault, but neither was it mine of that of the ..IA. or the CNT.-FAI.

You are good enough to remind me that Ethel said your expenses of 30 £ should be paid out of the film fund and that, when she made the suggestion, I conveniently kept quite. I did so, because there were not 30 £ in our possession of film money left. The whole amount left of what Ethel and several others contributed consisted of 22 £, and as I was hoping that I might get a copy of your film "Dawn over Spain", I had to hang on to this balance on hand. Another reason for it was, that in the end of May we were already without means to continue the work for the CNT.-FAI. I was actually using the most necessary money for expenses from my little "capital", that I had derived from the sale of my place in St. Tropez and which was the only means between me and starvation. I would never have told you this, dear Leo, if it had not been for your brusknesss and your really unfair fault-finding in your letter. Also, if you had not charged me with lack of concern in the expenses you were having while you were trying to place your film, I had hoped that in the times we spent together you had learned to know that I would not have been indifferent if I had had money to help you bear the expenses.

Yes, it is quite true, I was "concerned" about returns from the show at the Forum, but certainly not for personal reasons but because I was keenly concerned that you should get back whatever you had invested, and also because Martin wrote the comrades wanted to know. That was why I wanted Ilse to find out just what amounts the film had brought in. Here again I feel that either Ilse misunderstood me or you misunderstood her, because she would not deliberately misconstrue my talk with her. I am sorry my dear, that you should have had so little faith in me to find it necessary to write me such a letter. Perhaps it was only a mood. I prefer to believe that rather than your lack of confidence in my friendship and in my desire neither to question or to hurt you. But, after all, one must take things as part of one's life when one stands in the first line of attack.

You will be glad to learn that, after several weeks of effort while I was in Spain and a month of frantic correspondence with Mascarell, I finally got two copies of 16 mm from the negative of your film, which I was instrumental in getting out of Spain. On my arrival I was told that it would cost 12000 Pts. to get the negative to

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Paris legally and that it would take a long time to get it illegally. I had met Secundo Blanco and Juan Puig Elias and succeeded in prevailing upon them to send the negative out by diplomatic post to Roca in Paris. They consented, but it would have to be gone over by the censor. So to the censor the negative went. It took weeks to get it back and when we finally did more than half of the film was expurgated. The end of it was that we sent the bannished part sub rosa to Mascarell and when the negative arrived it was again put together, with the exception only of the priest counting money and the dead bodies in front of the picture. We had a showing of the film the 12th of December. It was very effective and made a deep impression. While the comrades in Barcelona have arranged that I should not be charged the cost of 8000 Frs. for the two copies, one for England and one for Canada, the amount will nevertheless have to be returned to them from whatever the film in London and later the one in Canada will bring. This then is the situation as far as the copy is concerned which I succeeded in getting done and shipped to us.

When I was in Barcelona I told the comrades of the CNT. and the Peninsular Committee that the results we had from the strenuous efforts I made for them in England in no way justified the large expense we had to keep up the bureau and the work. At that time, both Vasquez and Herrera, insisted that under no circumstances must the bureau in London be given up. Nevertheless, I received a letter last week telling me that the comrades are forced to liquidate not only the London bureau but also the one in America. You can imagine how low in fund they are. For myself I can say that, though I expected and hoped for such instructions, I am terribly grieved that I will have to give up the efforts I have made for the Spanish comrades during two years. We are now trying to induce our landlord to let us keep only the upper floor, the rent to be divided between the SIA. and Spain and the World, Ralph Barr to devote only an hour or two a day to the correspondence of the SIA. Ethel will be in charge of the latter and Sonia Edelman and her friend James Harrison will look after the distribution of the film.

I am in Holland to arrange Alexander Berkman's material and mine for the International Institute for Social History. It is a difficult and a painful job. I have been at it for over two weeks and I will need at least another ten days to complete it. I am then returning to London to end up my connection to the CNT.-FAI bureau and to sail for Canada.

If you are still in America when I reach Canada, I hope you will come to see me as the good old friend I have always considered you. You know yourself how scarce friendship is. I mean the kind of friendship that understands and does not judge lightly.

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I too wish you all the best in this year. The [illegible] world looks very bleak and most discouraging. [illegible] future will try man's heart. But I know that [illegible] to get whatever comes, and that it is the [illegible] one's friends and to oneself. Please write me [illegible] address in London: 6, Smeath Avenue, London, N.W.[illegible]

Affectionately always,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 9, Amsterdam [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
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Amsterdam, January 9, 1939.

My dear H.W.,

It was just like you to send me a Christmas gift. The only one of all my friends who thought about it. Thank you very much indeed. I was also very glad to get your photo and to see how well you look and that you still have your fighting chin. About myself there is much to tell but as usually I have not the time, now less than ever. You will be wondering what I will be doing in Holland. Well if they have nothing else in this dull country they have in addition to their great paintings a most interesting Institute for Social History. I am not sure whether or not I had written you before that they wanted to acquire Sacha's and my collections of our correspondence, writings and material. They have brought from St. Tropez, at their expense, 18 boxes containing the stuff and also 2 from Nice. I had actually planned to go to Holland immediately after Spain but I remained in Spain longer than I anticipated and I had to rush back to England to take up the work that had been badly neglected in my absence. I came here over the holidays thinking I could assort Berkman's material without delving into mine but I soon discovered that it was impossible. Our lives were entirely too interwoven to do anything about the work of one without also bringing order in the material of the other. So I have been at it for nearly two weeks. I found it an extremely difficult job and hellishly painful. It is bad enough to dig into the dead past, still worse to relive it all, especially Alexander Berkman's and my correspondence which amounts to thousands of letters. Among them, you will be interested to know, I found scores of yours to Alexander Berkman and to me, which I treasure very much. You need not think that I am making a thorough job. That would take months. I merely am classifying the material according to the correspondents and subjects. Some day I will come back here,or the material may be in London, to really make order and perhaps to use what Berkman has left and also my own writings for a third volume of "Living my Life", or perhaps an autobiography of Alexander Berkman or a collection of letters from diverse people. Just at present I am far from that and as I no longer have a home of my own I could not wish for a safer place than the Institute to leave everything.

Just as soon as I am through here I am going back to London to make my final arrangements for sailing for Canada. I cannot give the definite date at this writing but I expect it to be around the middle of February. I hope, of course, that you will be able to pay me a visit in Toronto. It is no use corresponding about my chances of getting back to the States. More and more I am losing hope in this. Still, if we could meet and go over the grounds when I am in Canada you may be able to do something. We wont ever succeed in reaching to any plan by means of letters.

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[JAN. 9, 1939]

Dear H.W. need I tell you that I wish you the very best for this year. Wishes seem all so banal in face of the ever gathering clouds over the European horizon. But even that cannot do away with all that one wishes for one's friends. Please write me to my private address in London which is: 6 Sneath Avenue, London N.W. 11.

With my old affections,

E G

PS. Have now also received a Christmas gift from Paula

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 9, Amsterdam [to] Ted [Switz, Avondale, Pa.] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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Amsterdam, January 9, 1939.

My dear Ted,

Your Christmas and New Years card conveying good wishes for the New Year and especially what you wrote was a tremendous surprise to me. You may believe me when I say that it was one of the most pleasant surprises I have had in a long while. It goes without saying that I have never forgotten you. Our life together in London was so replete with pleasant and charming memories, that I could not possibly forget. Since that time I received only one sign of life from you. I believe, it was at the time when "Living my Life" came out. Nothing since. I have often wondered what had become of you. Death striking so many people in Russia I was anxious lest it might have also strucken you. I had no way of finding out. Anyway I thought of you a good deal. So you can imagine how glad I was to get your card of December 4, 1938.

I was not at all surprised that you had finally found it necessary to leave Russia. The wonder to me was that it took you so long to look behind the scenes.to see the real side of the ghastly grinning face. Truly, I am delighted to know that you have come to see what my good pal Alexander Berkman and I had seen in 1920.

Your marriage, of course, did not surprise me. It was but natural that you should find your mate. I am glad to know that you are happy with her and that you also have a child, which can only increase your mutual happiness. May the three of you may know a good deal of it in this new year.

My dear Ted so much has happened to me since we both went our different ways. It would take weeks to tell you and fill part of a third volume of "Living my Life". But I have not the time for it or the peace of mind. But two things will interest you, I am sure. One is the loss of my life-long companion Alexander Berkman. He ended his life after a great deal of suffering as a result of two operations on June 28, 1936. It was a terrible blow and came nearly making me go his way. I was saved in the truest sense by the Spanish revolution, to which I have since completely dedicated myself. I have been in Spain three times and would have given anything to remain there for it was ~~there~~ in Spain and not in Russia where I saw the ideas and ideals, which Berkman and I had propagated for our life-time, in real constructive action. It recuperated me more than anything else. I wanted terribly to remain there but my comrades foolishly thought that I could better serve their cause in England and rouse response. I have tried it for two years and must admit defeat. It is impossible to rouse the English in the first

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place and in the second the communists have done their damned best to underminde everything I had undertaken for the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.). After long deliberation I have decided to go to Canada. I expect to sail about the 15th of February. I am not sanguine enough to expect a great deal from Canada, but I am hoping against hope that some of my friends may be able to get me another permission to enter the U.S.A.

You will be wondering what I am doing in Holland of all countries. I am assorting and classifying whatever Berkman left in correspondence, articles and stories and at the same time also to make some order in my accumulated stuff, but these collections are to become the property of a most interesting venture: the International Institute for Social history. I could wish for no more worthy monument to the memory of my dear comrade and friend Alexander Berkman than to have his work accessible for those who are to study the social history or to become acquainted with the life of a most illuminating character.

Dear Ted, I would like to hear from you again at greater length. Will you not write to me? My address in London is as follows: 6 Sneath Avenue, London N.W. 11. Please remember me to your wife and hug your baby for me.

With my old affection,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 10, Amsterdam [to Herman] Scheerer, [Nice] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Amsterdam, 10. Januar 1939.

Sehr geehrter Herr Scheerer,

Ihr Schreiben vom 18. Dezember hat mich noch in London, zwei Tage for meiner Abreise nach hier, erreicht. Ich hatte also keine Zeit mehr Ihnen zu antworten. Ich kam auch jetzt noch nicht dazu da ich, seitdem ich hier angekommen bin, mit einer sehr anstrengenden Arbeit beschäftigt bin, nämlich unsere Archive und Bibliothek, d.h. Alexander Berkamns und meine, in Ordnung zu bringen. Ich bitte Sie daher mein Schweigen zu entschuldigen.

Ihre genaue Beschreibung von den Operationen, die die arme Emmie schon durchgemacht hat und noch durchmachen muss hat mich nicht sehr überrascht, indem ja Emmies Zustand schon seit Jahren derselbe ist mit Ausnahme von einigen Perioden wo sie ein bisschen Ruhe hatte.

Ich muss offen gestehen, dass ich keine grosse Anhängerin bin von Operationen und mein Freund Alexander Berkman war es noch weniger, und zwar beruhte unsere Meinung auf die Diagnose, die sehr viele erstklassischen Aerzte gemacht haben. Nach der zweiten Operation, die Emmie voriges Jahr unterging, zu urteilen hatten die Aerzte recht denn ihr Zustand wurde nicht besser sondern im Gegenteil verschlimmerte sich und führte nur zur dritten Operation und nach Ihrem Bericht zu urteilen werden es weitere Operationen ohne Ende sein. Sie mögen mir glauben ich sage dies nicht mit leichtem Herzen, aber ich habe ein Gefühl dass man auf der armen Emmie herumschneidet und dass die Erleichterung nur für kurze Zeit sein wird. Aber schliesslich muss die Emmie selbst entscheiden, denn ich bin zu weit entfernt und, wie gesagt, ich habe wenig Glaube an Chirurge, auch wenn sie die "bedeutendsten Kapazitäten" im Lande sind.

Ich habe die Emmie geschrieben und ihr Geld geschickt, leider aber nicht so eine grosse Summe wie die neuen Experimente kosten werden. Aber Emmie weiss, dass ich die grösste Anstrengung mache um ihr immer weiter zu helfen. Sie hat übrigens recht wenn sie Ihnen sagt, dass Herr Stein ihr Telegramm gewiss beantwortet hätte, wenn

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er nicht selber krank oder mittellos ist. Ich hoffe, falls die Emmie nicht imstande ist mir selbst zu schreiben wie es ihr geht, Sie so freundlich sein werden es zu tun. Ich fühle mich sehr erleichtert, dass sie bei der Emmie ihre Eltern vertreten; es ist immerhin sehr viel wenn man nicht ganz alleine in einer Stadt ist. Ich werde ungefähr in 10 Tagen wieder nach London zurückkehren und habe die Absicht gegen Mitte Februar nach Kanada abzureisen. Meine Adresse bleibt vorläufig: 6 Sneath Avenue, London N.W. 11.

Besten Dank für Ihre Liebenswürdigkeit zu Emmie,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 10, Amsterdam [to] Christine [Kon?, Barcelona?] / [Emma Goldman].– 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Amsterdam, 10. Januar 1939.

Meine liebe Christine,

Ich war sehr froh Dein Schreiben vom 10. Dezember zu bekommen. Der Brief kam mit grosser Verspätung in London an und wurde mir hierher nachgeschickt. Ich bin seit dem 22. Dezember in Amsterdam und seit der Zeit von morgens bis abends bei der Arbeit den Nachlass Alexander Berkmans und meine Archive in Ordnung zu bringen, die ich dann dem Institut für Soziale Geschichte übergeben werde. Merkwürdigerweise erhielt ich den Brief von Lucia vom 20. Dezember einige Tage später als Dein Schreiben. Weshalb dieser Unterschied ist schwer zu erklären. Die Ursache wird wohl davon abhängen wer der Kurier ist. Manche sind nachlässig in der Weiterbeförderung eines Briefes den sie aus Spanien führen.

Da Du gewiss das Diktat von dem Brief von der Lucia an mich aufgenommen hast so wirst Du wissen dass ich leider das C.N.T.-F.A.I. bureau liquidieren muss. Die Genossen in Barcelona haben einen vernünftigen Entschluss genommen. Ich hatte ihnen schon damals als ich in Barcelona war gesagt dass,meiner Ansicht nach, das Resultat der zweiundeinhalbjährigen intensiven Tätigkeit die Kosten nicht gerechtfertigt haben. Immerhin ist es für mich sehr schmerzhaft die schwere Arbeit, die man während der 2 1/2 Jahre geleistet hat so mir nichts dir nichts aufzugeben. Gewiss vollständig wird sie nicht aufgegeben, denn unser Genosse Barr wird die Arbeit auf ganz kleinem Massstab weiterführen.

Ich kann heute Lucia's Brief nicht beantworten weil ich zuerst eine Besprechung mit Ethel Mannin in Bezug auf der SIA haben muss. Es handelt sich nämlich darum ob der Besitzer des Hauses, wo wir unsere Büros haben, einwilligen wird uns nur einen Teil des Ganzen zu vermieten. In diesem Fall könnten die SIA. and "Spain and the World" die Miete teilen. Es wäre sonst unmöglich in Frith Street zu bleiben. Ich erwarte einen Nachricht vom Genossen Barr dem der Hausherr versprochen hatte Ende dieser Woche seine definitive Entscheidung zu geben. Ihr werdet verstehen, dass es mir bis jetzt nur möglich war etwas für die SIA. zu erreichen, weil ich von dem Fond der CNT.-FAI die Hauptausgaben bestreiten konnte. Sonst hätte man die ganze Summe für die Ausgaben verwenden müssen was dann auch leider den Fall war für die

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CNT.-FAI. Wir haben immer allerhand Manifeste und Drucksachen bezahlen müssen und es kam niemals etwas für die CNT.-FAI ein, mit Ausnahme von etwa 50 £, die ich für Waffen gesammelt habe. Ich schreibe euch dies, damit ihr versteht, dass die Sektion nur dann weiterarbeiten kann wenn die Ausgaben auf ein Minimum herabgesetzt werden. Dies werden wir eben mit Ethel Mannin und einige anderen Genossen besprechen. Es ist aber ganz bestimmt, dass unsere Genossin für die SIA. viel mehr erreichen kann wie ich. Mein Namen ist in England verpönt. Erstens als Anarchistin und zweitens durch die Intrigen und Anfechtungen seitens den Kommunisten. Die letzten haben zwar die Ethel Mannin auch nicht sehr lieb, aber sie hat ihr eigenes Publikum, das sie sehr achtet und verehrt und schon deswegen beitragen wird wenn sie sich an sie wendet. Ich kann euch versichern, dass ich die SIA. nicht in besseren Händen hinterlassen könnte wie in die der Ethel. Ich wünschte nur ich hätte jemanden gefunden der den Kampf der CNT.-FAI. so ergeben ist wie die Ethel die SIA.

Ich weiss in diesem Moment noch nicht wann ich nach Kanada abreisen werde. Jedenfalls nicht vor Mitte Februar. Du kannst aber schon bald anfangen mir Material zu schicken auf die Adresse von: Joe Desser, 759 Bathurst Street, Toronto. Ontario. Canada. Ich werde dort mein Glück für euren heroischen Kampf und für die SIA. versuchen. Die Situation in Europa und Amerika ist sehr bedrückend und man weiss von Tag zu Tag nicht was geschehen wird. Aber solange wie ich meine Stimme und meinen Feder gebrauchen kann werde ich sie im Dienste der SIA. und CNT.-FAI anwenden.

Vielen Dank dass ihr die Mercedes ein Paket Nahrungsmittel übergeben habt. Sie hat mir geschrieben. Wenn Du sie siehst oder telefonisch erreichen kannst dann sage ihr bitte dass ich ihren Brief erhalten habe. Ich werde sie, wenn möglich, noch von Holland aus schreiben.

Liebe Christine, ich werde unsere Freundschaft und unser Zusammensein in Barcelona wie in Paris immer wieder wie ein grosses Ereignis betrachten. Ich wünschte nur ich wäre bei euch, denn ich bin fast überzeugt, dass ich dort besseres leisten könnte wie in Engla möglich war.

Umarme Lucia für mich und grüsse sie herzlichst.

Kameradschaftliche Grüsse,

Auch Baruta und die andern Kameraden seien recht herzlich gegrüsst.

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 12, Amsterdam [to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Emma Goldman.– 4 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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LONDON, W.1

Amsterdam, January 12, 1939.

Darling Fitzie,

Your letter of November 4 was grateful to me as every sign of life you give. I only wish you were in the mood and had the time to write me more. I want you to know, that you continue to be one of the most important links in the chain of my life in America and especially in my life and work with Saśha. I cannot tell you how much I thought of you and have missed you since I began to assort and classify Saśha's material for the International Institute for Social History. I thought I would only have to do so with Saśha's writings and correspondence, but no sooner did I begin to unpack the bundles when I came to the conclusion that it was impossible to separate his from mine. Our lives were too interwoven. Well, since the 27th of last month I have worked every day from 10 o'clock in the morning until 5 or six in the afternoon. I do not know whether it is the result of digging in the dead past or the climate but I am exhausted beyond words every evening after the day's work. I fear it is largely the painful memories ~~waked up~~ through the close connections with the material of Saśha's and mine, which I am handling every day.

There are thousands of letters with all sorts of people. Also Saśha's letters with you and yours with me. You need have no anxiety, darling, they are not for the public. All such matter as our close connection and my correspondence over the years with Saśha are all to be sealed up and not to be used until I will go the way of all flesh. Naturally, nothing is to be used of any intimate nature that either of our friends, women or men, have communicated to us. The most painful experience I had was reading Saśha's diaries. His terrible struggle with Emmie. His mental and moral anguish over her jalousy and his trying to get away from her and his being pulled back by overpowering force. She evidently succeeded in making him think that her insane suspicion of every look or word of mine was due to my hatred of her. That is why I tried to separate them, she writes. She also succeeded, it seems, to make him think that I had hurt her deeply. It is all so silly and so pathetic when you consider my efforts of making her realize how much she could do for herself and for Saśha if only she would free her-

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self of her pathologic suspicion. It is a deep human document that Sasha has left behind in his diaries. Naturally he was often impatient with me, though heavens knows why. However, all that is insignificant compared with the loss of Sasha, compared also with the agony he has suffered all his life and the poor recognition he had of his work. He tried so hard and he hoped so deeply that his stories, sketches and translations would be accepted. It would give him an independent living and it would also fill his life. Nothing he ever did quite succeeded, that is the most painful thing to me of all.

However, I feel I could ~~have~~ erect no ~~greater~~ monument to Sasha's life and work than to place his living work in care of the International Institute for Social History. At least those, who will want to study anarchism or study the man Alexander Berkman will be able to go to the Institute for research. That will be a thousand times more expressive of Sasha than anything I might write in tribute of him. I still have considerable to do. I hope to finish in about another week or ten days. I will then return to London to liquidate my "affairs" there and then sail for Canada.

Yes my dear, I have been back in Spain and I would have given anything if I did not have to leave it. But our comrades believed that I could arouse interest in England. I have tried that as I have never tried before for 2 years and I have never met my Waterloo so much as I did during this time. The Spanish comrades finally realized how futile it is to arouse interest in their cause in England. That is the only reason why I am going to Canada. Not that I expect much there, but I desperately need to get away from the British frigidity and also I am stupid enough to hope that perhaps permission for my return to America will eventually be obtained. I had a letter from Margaret De Silver and also a few lines from Carlo. They did not seem very optimistic, but neither are they entirely disappointed. They, like myself, are clinging to hope which is as slender as strow.

I have written a very long report about my experiences and impressions in Spain. I still have two chapters to do, which I will, I hope, finish when I return to London. I will then send you a copy. You will see, my dear, that whatever people talk about loyalist Spain, meaning the government of course, is insignificant compared with the heroic spirit and the constructive sense of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.). Whatever, their enemies and so-called friends may say they are the backbone of the marvellous struggle going on in Spain for nearly 2 1/2 years. Without them Franco would already be in republican Spain; with them in the front ranks he will have to make a desperate battle to overcome them. Indeed, I am certain he will never overcome them. For whatever/happen the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists will fight from inch to inch, from house to house. Never have there been people of such fortitude and courage. They are the only people still extant in the world who love liberty sufficiently to live, struggle and die for it.

840305059

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 12, Amsterdam [to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Emma Goldman. – 4 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Stella's break down has been a terrible blow to me. I know that I can do nothing to help her, being so far away and even if I were near I could be of very little use to the nearest kin to me, whom I have loved as my own ever since her birth. It is only that the tragedy in the world is so great that it overshadows one's personal concerns and pain. As Teddy is living in New York you probably see him often, so you are, no doubt, kept informed about the ups and downs of my poor Stella's struggle to get back to her vivid self. Teddy is very good in writing me occasionally. In addition I also get whatever information Ien receives from his father. So far it does not look very encouraging. But I understand that her psychoanalyst has already stated that it may take a year to bring her out of her black depression.

You know, of course, that David has been operated on for appendicitis. That was a new shock I received some days ago when Ien sent on Saxi's letter about the kids sudden illness. I hope Sax has told us the truth that he is out of danger. That he captured everybody in the hospital including his surgeon I readily believe. Who would not be captured by that remarkable child!

To come back to Stella: I do not believe it is so hard to understand her break-down. Stella, you know, was a very lively person and full of social interest. It was, therefore, madness for her to bury herself alive in Bearsville , especially in the winter in the severe cold which Stella never could stand. Then, Teddy's absorption in his art which took up all his time and interest and left Stella absolutely on her own resources. This, I believe, was the dominant factor in breaking her. You say, that they were materially secure. That is not quite true my dear because the extra expense of Iens college education was a constant source of worry and anxiety for Stella. In other words, she carried the whole bront of the family expenditures and, in addition, was, as I already said, without an outlet for her vivid spirit. Of course, there was also her change of ~~xxx~~ life, do not forget that. Well, whatever it was, it is a frightful thing to happen.

No, I never see Peggy. I did not know she had a gallery. I promised myself to call on her when I return to London. I came ~~xxxx~~ across her letters. How much she has changed towards me. I never could understand the reason for it. I understand that she has inherited a great deal more money but if I were actually starving or if I were destitute I should never again turn to Peggy for help. She made me feel the help she gave me too poignantly.

About Emmie: She seemed to be getting on fairly well physically and I had hoped she had changed mentally too because she wrote me that she had visited Sasha's grave and had taken flowers there. It was the first time that she mustered up courage since he was buried. Ten days later I received a hurry-call that she was undergoing a third operation and needed money. Since I received a letter from one of her newly picked up friends that she will need some more operations. In other words ~~that~~, now she has no longer Sasha to hold her back from this mad obsession for operations, she is having one after another. If only it would help her, but so far every operation has made her condition worse. Yes, I have "practically nothing to speak of for myself", but as long as I have any-

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thing I cannot drop Emmie. I realize it more now than ever when I read Sasha's diaries, of his struggle with her all these years and his efforts to make her see me as he saw me. He never succeeded and I am afraid I will never succeed to free myself from her as long as she is ill and penniless. I am hoping that I will realize some money from that part of Sasha's collection which belongs to his life with her. She will certainly have every cent of it though I do not expect it is going to be a fortune.

Well, my dear, let us not talk of all these dreadful things. I wish that this year would bring you some peace, a chance of making a decent living and some great event that would enrich your life. I could not wish for anything better. Please give my love to Pauline and Emile. I did not know he was back in America. Funny boy he never writes a word. The other day I received a letter from Dr. Mendelsohn. He told me you had been together with Balabanof, the Lyons and Rudolf and Milly at their house one evening. Dearest, if you wish to write me soon address me to my private address: 6 Sneath Avenue, London N.W. 11. I expect to sail for Canada the 15th of February. I hold you close to my heart, dearest Fitzie.

With love,

Emma

Mamechka
that Mooney is
free at last. Alas, my
Sasha did not live to
rejoice in it. I wonder if
darling realizes that but for him
and you he would be dead
for 29 years.
EG

165

880726463

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 12, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada [to] Emma [Goldman, Amsterdam] / Dorothy [Rogers].— 2 p. ; 38 × 24 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Chine Brae
Scarboro Bluffs
Ontario, CANADA.

Jan 12th, 1939

Dearest Emma,

Once again I must apologise for the delay in writing to you. There are two reasons for this. First I have been hoping from day to day to have some encouraging news about plans for your return, and then I am so often exhausted both physically and mentally from the strain of my ~~XXXXXXX~~ domestic relations that it is very hard for me to concentrate on letter writing. However in the not too distant future I hope to be able to alter my own position somewhat but the plans are so tentative that I will leave that subject for the present.

About your return. Immediately after your first december letter Dein and I spent a very nice afternoon with Mrs Laddon. A week later she called a meeting at her house of those we thought would be most interested and we looked forward to some action. But at the last minute, at the time when the meeting was supposed to start, one after the other phoned their inability to attend. Of course it was during the Christmas season so I suppose people were busy. Some thought that Mrs Laddon's house was too far out so the situation was left in Mrs. Steinberg's hands. She is to call a meeting at her house ~~XXXX~~ at a time ~~XXXXXXX~~ convinient for the majority. At the beginning of this week I heard that Mrs Steinberg's youngest daughter was very recently married and that both Mrs. Langbord and Mrs Steinberg are in New York. Mrs. Laddon was terribly disappointed at the failure of her attempt but intends to keep on trying. I ~~am~~ glad that you are going to write to each of the friends. I am sure that they will respond to you yourself.

Depressive moods seem to have hit the comrades all round during the "festive season". Arthur was in the doldrums for about two weeks, but came out of it long enough to hold an affair on New Year's eve to get funds for the Spanish Orphans, which he sends to SPAIN & THE WORLD. I am not yet sure how much was collected.

~~XXX~~ You have not heard from Joe Desser because he is ~~experienc~~ cing real personal sorrow on top of very straigtened financial circumstances. Joe has had very little work all winter. Millie has at last got a job which everyone hopes is steady. She is earning $12.50 a week. Becky earns a few dollars occasionally. But together they are not, I am afraid, making enough to break even. Then about six or seven weeks before Xmas, Joe's only brother was knocked down by a car, apparently sustaining nothing more serious than a cut over one eye. But less than two weeks after the accident he took a stroke from which he did not recover. He ~~at~~ died about Dec. 24th. Since the man had ~~not~~ never in his life suffered any sickness his sudden failure and death came as quite a shock to his relatives, and Joe is taking it very hard. Sophie is far from well and cannot do any hard work or make any prolonged effort. You will be shocked ~~at~~ the change in her.

My letters to you always seem so pessimistic. I wish it could be other-wise. I think that a great deal of our misery comes from the lack of activity for the cause, but without speakers we can do nothing. Thorn is another one who is having a miserable time. He worked a little while he was in New York but could not get a steady job which would make it worth while to forfiet his newly-gained Canadian citizenship. Since coming back I dont think he has had more than two or three days work and his independant spirit is suffering intensely over the fact that Paula is the bread winner.

Thorn has not the present address of Pierre Van Passen. He wrote to a Hotel the last time. But Thorn says that The NATION will most likely have his address or the Vanguard comrades may know it. So I am writing to Clara Frederics to ask her if she knows it to please forward it direct to you.

We had a determined effort to whip up a red scare here in Toronto during the New Year Municipal elections. Three communists were running for alderman and an organization calling itself the CANADA UNITY LEAGUE, and having the backing of the conservative morning daily carried on an intensive campaign against communism in general and the three men in particular. I am sure that many gullible Toronto citizens went to bed at night in fear and trembling that in the morning "bloody revolution" would hold sway in Toronto. The the day before election the voice of the Catholic Church was raised in the hue and cry. A Father Lanphier has been conducting a scurrilous campaign against loyalist Spain for ~~ye~~

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two years. The Sunday before the election, at his usual broadcast he came out with a violent attack on the three communists and on the Daily Star which was backing two of them. He almosted ordered his listeners not to vote for certain men and begged everybody within sound of his voice to boycott the Daily Star, which he charged was communist controlled. He also dared the Star to tell the truth about what happened to the MR and Mrs Van Passen. The last dare" was impudent, to say the least, since it was the R.C. archbishop and his cohorts who were in large measure responsible for the dismissal of the two journalists. However Father Lanphier's violence redounded on his own head. Loud outcries were made at what was considered an attack on the freedom of the press, and Father Lanphier was charged with a breach of the election act in that he had made an election speech in public within twenty four hours of polling time. He is now barred from the air indefinitely, for which the comrades are not sorry. But I am afraid that his fanatical campaign against Spain will still go on, although he may not be able to reach quite as many people.

I deeply appreciated the letters you sent me. In reading them and sensing, from the thoughts expressed, the widness of your interests, the depth of your feeling for and suffering with all the oppressed of this whole sorry world, I feel ashamed that my own petty affairs loom so largely in my life and that I cannot accomplish more than I do for the cause. I marvel too that your spirit is still so undaunted in its one clear course. That in spite of almost overwhelming personal sorry, your devotion to the cause is undiminished and your energies, in stead of slackeing seem to be more alive than ever. You accomplish the work of a whole group in your one small person. I hide my head in shame.

I was so sorry to learn about the ilness of you dear niece Stella. It must be a dreadful trial for you. But I do hope that she will be cured and restored to you and her family. I am sure dear that you can hope for it. Such breakdowns are not always permanent, In fact I am sure that in many, many cases they are of but temporary nature.

This is a long rambling letter and I hope that you are not bored, if you have managed to read this far.

I am enclosing an editorial from last Night's Star. I am afraid that by the time you receive it the fears expressed about Spain will be am accomplished fact.

I wish you success in you undertaking with regard to Comrade Berkman's papers. Will the publication be in English? We are all very interested in the resulting work.

Hoping to hear soon of the date of your sailing

with mush love,

Dorothy

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 12, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez.— 1 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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A.I.T.
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
Comité Nacional

BARCELONA, [illegible]

A la Delegación Permanente de la C.N.T.
L o n d r e s.

Compañera camarada Emma Goldman:

Para tu conocimiento y a los efectos de la prensa, te remitimos a la presente, un ejemplar del SUMARIO informativo de Prensa para el Exterior.

Salud fraternalmente,

POR EL COMITE NACIONAL

[illegible]

Secretario

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870925521

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 14, Amsterdam [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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17328

Amsterdam Jan.14th 39. xxxxxxxxxx

Dearest Ethel. It seems ages since I heard from you. I had hoped you would write to let me know if you and Vero decided to keep the upper floor. I hope you have because it would be such a pitty to give evrything up just at the time when the danger in Spain is increasing every day. I know we in England cannot change that frightful course, Still it is already something not to make it appear as if we too had failed the brave Spanish people. However, you and Vero must decide whether or not to continue in the upper floor. I have suggested to Ralph to urge the landlord to charge the rent by the month. It seems such a large difference by the week as we have been paying. I have not yet been able to make sense in the English method as presented to me by Ralph which makes the difference something like £12 a year. We are to go over the matter once more when I return. Please my dear do not mention the matter to Ralph or there will again be trouble. It is not important really now that I will no longer worry the poor man once the CNT-FAI accounts have been closed.

Well, I have actually finished the job of digging into the dead past and at the same time lacerating myself by all the events that came to life again. I had not realised I had so much material and mountains of correspondence with people all over the world, at least a thousand letters from Sasha alone. The arrangements I made had to be superficial of course else I would have been forced to remain here for months. But at least I seperated the correspondence according to names if not dates or years. It does not come easy to leave all the witnesses of my entire life behind, in strange hands. But what am I to do with it all without my own roof over my head perhaps to the end of my years? Fortunately I can stipulate to get at the material any time should I need it for other works, such as a third volume Living My Life, an Autobiography of Sasha or perhaps a volume of selected letters. I doubt whether I will ever be able to approach Sasha objectively enough to write his Life. Anyhow the material is safer in the International Institute than it would be with me.

I expect to leave here either Wed. night or Thursday morning. Will you let me know when we might meet, perhaps with Ralph, Vero Sonia and James for an hour or two Friday, and then go somewhere

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17326

Langer

by ourselves? I suggest this combination to spare you coming to twon twice. Or you can let me know how you want to arrange.

The situation in Spain is heart-breaking and is growing worse almost every day. I dare not think what will be the fate of our comrades if Franco should reach Catalonia. My one consolation is that our people have already performed several miracls. Perhaps this time too they will conquer. My hope has increased somewhat since Chamberlain did not dare to hand over Loyalist Spain to Mussolini. Public opinion does sometime work for the good though much more often for the worse. This time it had some effect it seems on Chamberlain. At least the Spanish people will not be starved out.

Dearest this is certainly an awfully dull town except for painting. For some inexplicable reasons the Dutch have excelled in that. Tuesday and Wed. I am going to revisit the art museums especially to see the Van Goghs and Rembrands.

I am looking forward to seeing you again soon.

With love,

Emma

Give my regards to Vivian Le Gardiane

880207051

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 14, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, Amsterdam] / [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald]. — 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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24424

95 Christopher Street
Apt 4 - G
New York City

January 14, 1939

Dearest Emma:

I went to see Rose Schneiderman, who is now in a State Labor job, (you may know her - she was once one of the leaders of the Women's Trade Union League - she is still, but along with it has this other job) about suggestions about getting you in to the states. She said she could do nothing (I could understand that) but before I left I asked her if she thought Jo Coffin, who is now Assistant to the Government printer, could do anything. She brightened up and said, "I'm sure she can", so I wrote her. I received the following letter:

"Dear Fitzi:

I was so pleased to get your letter. Sasha, Emma, and you will always be in my bones, and I will always consider it a privilege to have known you.

Please give me some definite information. When will Emma be in Canada, when does she want to come over, how long does she want to stay, and what is the name Emma would use in asking for a permit? Please be very specific about the whole thing."

Her address is JO Coffin, Assistant to the Public Printer
United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

I wrote her that I was writing you to write her direct so she would have accurate information from you, yourself.

It is quite possible that Jo can do something about approaching the proper persons who will do something about getting you back to the States. First of all, outside of your giving lectures, I know that you want to get in to see Stella. Though none of her friendds have been allowed to see her. Teddy once a week, but it has now been six or seven weeks since he has seen her, first due to the fact that the Doctor thought it not best for him to see her, then David was taken with appendicitis - it went too long and he got appertonitus (bursted appendic) before they operated. Thank goodness, that is over - he is now with Saxe and Dorothy and getting on all right - but it looked pretty black for a time. Then Teddy had a bad throat and was sick in bed for a couple of weeks. It has all been pretty hard. I feel terrible about Stella - want to see her - am sure that a visit from me would not harm her - while Teddy was sick Dr. Fanny Schostac went to see her - I called her after her visit, she said she was shocked about her mental and physical condition and most about her mental condition. She said if I came to see her she could talk to me better than over the phone, so this week I'm calling her for an appointment and will go to see her. It seems that Stella does not want to see any one. When Dr. Shostac went in, she said, "I'M sorry you came." But I can't help feeling that what Stella needs is careful attention among the ones who love her - and not just strangers - Doctors experimenting on her. If a $1000.00 is necessary to give Stella what is necessary to bring her back to health - Teddy's family can very well spend it - or take it from some trust fund that I understand Teddy draws his income from. Saxe feels that everything is being done that is possible, but I don't. When Dr. Shostac saw her on one visiting day - a Wednesday - then it would take another week before Doctors for consultation could come in - why not the very next day. . .
Perhaps I do not understand and am judgi (over)

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judging harshly, or unjustly. Anyway, Stella is in a very bad way and I wish you were here so that you could see her and perhaps direct her treatment and care. But what in the world is the good of wishes. . . .Teddy is like a lost child - Stella always took all the responsibilities of the family. But thank goodness David is now on the mend and Teddy, himself, is also recovering from his throat infection - saw him the other evening at Romany Marie's and he was still looking rather white and very thin. . . went to see him while he was inbed - Kate Wolfson was having her vacation so she was staying there and taking care of him. 24425

I wish I could talk with you instead of writing - should like to hear from you first hand about your visit to Spain - and all that is happening in Europe. It is all very tragic. Pauline, Alex Cohen and I had dinner together the other evening as sort of a celebration of the pardon of Mooney. I never thought he would get out. But there is still Billings, who has been silent and done no fighting, and Mathew Schmidt, who is really worth more as an individual than the two of the others - but not a word about his release. Of course, there is a difference - Mooney and Billings had nothing to do with that Preparedness Parade. Pauline has saved the first clippings of Mooney's release for you - I'm sending a couple of later ones. Bob Minor and Lydia Gibson (Bob's wife) went on to California to greet Tom when he got out - they are claiming him as a Communist - I do hope that Tom keeps his head and does not spoil what influence he may have in helping Billings to regain his freedom. Billings was a boy of 24 when he went in and he has remained so silent asking for nothing. But Tom was right, of course, keep on shouting and kicking and finally after twenty-two years he has been released. It seems a lifetime since that time when you were in San Francisco - the first appeal for funds was made by you - I passed the hat - Sasha busy - got in touch with Alice Barrows - she gave the first $2000.00 that saved those boys from being railroaded to the gallows without a trial even - it seemed like. He, Tom, made a very good speech before the Governor when he was interviewed. It took courage on the part of Governor Olson - he collapsed after it and has been in the hospital ever since!

Emma, write to Jo Coffin as soon as you receive this letter - in some way Jo may be able to touch the spring that will let you in to the States for a visit at least. I somehow have faith in what she can do.

I didn't write you for Christmas or New Year - somehow in no mood to wish any one anything - when wishes mean so little. I know that you understand me and love me despite. . .

My arms around you and the best in the world to you, Emma darling. You are the marvel of the ages.

Love

Fitzi

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880726143

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 14, Chicago [to Emma Goldman, Amsterdam] / Ben [Reitman]. — 1 p.; 29 × 21 cm.

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23552

32 W. State St. Chicago Jan. 14th. 1939

My Dear Mommy.

I don't know why you rest so heavy on my soul these day
And to have rest I am obliged to write you
You hav'nt paid any attention to my letters in the last few years and there is no need to.
I only hope I am not annoying you.
And when you get to Canada I want to see you.

We heard Rudolph Rocker lecture on Hitler last night
He looked so rosy and well and made a splendid talk.
There were about 150 people to hear him all of the old Comrades
But very few new people and I did'nt see a single Communist
Mostly Jews and about a dozen Italians.

As in England the Communists have taken over most all radical movements in America
They always get large crowds to every thing and they always boycott all other meetings.
In spite of all their bigotry, intolerence and hopelessness I am for them
Rocker painted a dismal picture of the Communists in Germany before HITLER
And said Germany and Russia may join hands yet.

Margaret and Jo Johansenn were at the meeting last night
Margaret looks old but Jo looks hale and harty
The crowd looked quite properous and the cheerful.
So far in America the Jews are mostly getting by.
Washington is apparently most friendly to the Jews.

We deeply rejoice in Mooney Freedom' May I say"I told you so"
Jo told me last night " Matt Schmidt is coming up for parole in the next few months"
And it is quite possible that he will be paroled "
Jo added " There is little chance for J. B. Mac for he is still direct action in the labor movement.
It was pathatic that neither Mooney nor Bob Miner ever mentioned you or Berkman.

A lecture that I am soon to do at The University of Chicago is absorbing me
" Who makes social problems(a study of the Antisocial groups)
And who solves them(A study of the Social workers, Sociologists, Reformers, and Revolutionists
Brutus is in Dr. Burgess's class where I am to speak. So is Lilly . Katie Daughter
I run into the Children of a great many old Anarchists

Hope all is well with you
And some day you will be in the mood to write me.

With Love
Ben

Jan. 17th. 1939

Medina and our Daughter Becca just left this morning for Texas her Father is seriously ill. This may mean an important change in our life.

Ben

880726142

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Jan. 14, Chicago to Emma Goldman, Amsterdam (enclosure)] / [Ben Reitman] – 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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23551

THE CHICAGO SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF VENEREAL DISEASES

32 N State street
Chicago, Illinois
January 13 1939

Copy of a letter to Edith Adams

My dear Edith:

"And the loves of my youth shall charm me,
and the rest can go to hell".

I am so glad you have ended your hibernation, and your ovarian flush lasted long enough for you to write to me. So often you come into my mind. Lucy Parsons was in the other day and was talking about you. Benny Capes was in town and had much to say about you. Bertie Weber came in to wish me a Happy New Year Birthday and asked if I had heard from you. Broadway and Monte frequently talk about you. You dear old rough-neck, you had a delightful way of creeping into the hearts of your friends and doing something to them. You belong to that rare type of women , who , like Lizzie Davis, Christine Ell, and a few others, had something besides sex to give men. When the average man gets acquainted with women he is disgusted unless he makes her; but not with your type.

I am glad you were not offended by my picture of you in Sister of the Road. I'll do better when I write my autobiography. I am glad you hadn't forgotten the dance around the bonfire at old Mt Joe. I remember the happy hours we had at Lucy Parsons when Ford and Foster were writing their "Syndicalism". Alice Ford wrote me a nice letter about Sister of the Road. Without trying to be nasty I say its a wonder that Earl didn't pass his syphilis and TB on to her. he seems to be well and fat, outside of a little rheumatism. She can be reached c/o Actors Equity, 44th street, N.Y.

I was talking to one of the young communists groups recently and one of t the punks got up and said,"You, what did you ever do?" I answered, "I survived two generations of men like you". And so I can say, dear old friend, we have survived, "And God, what things we haven't survived", and your man MacMahon deserves much credit if he could survive two decades of you. Only a a man used to the stokehole and theblackpan watch could stand you, and probably only a kreman like you could stand him; but I am glad you have stood together all these years and I wish you well. Poor Benny Capes hasn't done so well; his daughter Florence married a prosperous lawyer who develops mental trouble and had to go to an institution after they had adopted two children. His boy, Fordi, after seven long years studying medicine had to drop out. But little Ben is as sweet and comradely as ever and is carrying on.

Your old friend Monte, who is easily the most vicious and annoying man I met in my life, is very successful. He runs the Montparnasse Forum and is making a hundred dollars a week or so. He comes around the office and makes us green with envy, and he has only one pure joy in life and that is boasting of his accomplishments. But he loves you and I'll pass your letter on to him. Bertie Wber got fired from the Board of Health for running a whorehouse, but he, too, is quite successful."Mother" has a very large profitable boarding house and Bertie is the general impressario and is keeping fairly sober an straight, thanks to "Mothers" supervision and strong arm proclivities. Webers latest accomplishment was to appear against a poor mexican board who was charged with attacking a 6year old girl. Another one of your successful friends is John Lockman. He has been a political payroller for the last few years and is now in the department of pardon and parolee. Eddie Clasby is running the Artists and Writers club, and besides a fair income a lot of clear young men come to the meeting. Martha Bigler, at 70 is looking fine, running her boarding house and whooping it up for the Communists. All your old friends, including Jack Jones who are not on some artists, writers, p printers project, are, like Midnaya on relief. Now can you knock Roosevelt?

880726142

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Jan. 14, Chicago to Emma Goldman, Amsterdam (enclosure)] / [Ben Reitman] – 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

My little daughter Mecca, is now twenty-fivemonths old. A creature of delight, surprises, and tremendous responsibility. So often the desire to run creeps into my soul and then Mecca's "Daddy, read to me", Daddy will put the car in the garage", forges one more chain in the anchor. I know of nothing that undermines the rebellious and revolutionary spirit in a man as much as a small child. It is more powerful than the love for a woman. You remember her mother, Medinah, who cooked bacon and eggs for us for breakfast one morning, about four years ago. She is a great woman, but only a woman. Emma Goldman was much more than a woman. And you, and a woman and half od a man. But I wouldn't have missed any of you for anything in the world.

Brutus will be 21 in February. Jim will be 37. Brutus is finishing his fourth year at the University of Chicago. He hasn't made any record as a student or an orginal thinker, but he has gotten by well and enjoyed school. He has just done his days work easily and without much effort. He showed no particular interest in radicalism, revolution, or anything in particular. He just likes life, all of it. He doesn't pay any attention to my ideas, but, I think, smoldering in his soul is a flame that will shoot up and make its mark. Mecca gives promise of much more than any of the other children. Mother is 79, well, happy, and bossy as ever. All in all, we are happy and cheerful. I haven't a serious complaint and there is nothing I want that money could get. I had a good job in the health department and they got on to me and fired me, but merrily we press forward. I am not lookin forward to the old age pension, because I don't think people of our class are ever deserted by their loved ones and then, the Lord always provides.

The past two years I have been devoting most of my time to the prevention of venereal disease. I belive in prevent on as I believe in Freedom. I do not believe the the people are mostly fools. I think, fundamentally that all persons who I have known intimately, want freedom, justice and well-being for every one. I am an anarchist as a matter of choice and conviction. Although I have a great deal of admiration for Mr Roosevelt and bèleive that he has the interests of the poor at heart. I am sure that he has a capitalistic mind and promotes profit, interest and exploitation asmuch as Hoover. Nevertheless, his relief and WPA program have made it possible for many of our friends to live comfortably.

We are all so happy about Tom Mooney's release. Yes, Edith, the world is moving. The appointments of Hopkins, Murphy and Frankfurter are matters of great promise. I have not heard from Emma for several years. She got sore at me for something. I think it was about something I was supposed to have said about Berkman. Poor Berkman, I wish he could have lived to see Mooney out. R G is very active. If you read the English publication : Spain and the World, you will see accounts of her activities. "And thus we brighten life's golden chain, blessed, and not alone. Onward we march to the morror, fearing no evil. There is no bad, and there is no good. We take what is on the platter and lick it clean. We stand by, waiting for the curtain. Here is my hand, I kiss your noble brow, and ask the stars to bless you and man. You can expect me to look you up one of these days.

With all good wishes,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 14, Mon Nou [Colony, Spain to] Emma Goldman, [Amsterdam] / Juana Cano [*et al*]. – 2 p. ; 22 × 15 cm.

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20392

Mon Nou 14 de Enero 1939

Salud

A nuestra simpatica amiga Emma Golman
Nos alegrariamos que al recibo de esta se
en cuentre en perfecto estado.
Nosotros todos bien. Nos pusimos muy
contentos cuando recibimos noticias suyas.
El Mava nos dijo que usted ha bia
enviado unos paquetes para todos los de Mon Nou
aun que todavia no los hemos recibido le
damos un millon de gracias por lo mucho
que a procurado por nosotros a un que no
la tengamos a nuestro lado nos acordamos
mucho de usted y la queremos porque
fue muy simpatica a los niños de
Mon Nou. En seguida que
reciba esta carta contéstenos para

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 14, Mon Nou [Colony, Spain to] Emma Goldman, [Amsterdam] / Juana Cano [*et al*].– 2 p. ; 22 × 15 cm.

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saber si ya esta bien de la caida que sufrio al llegar a Londres nosotros ahora estamos acubierto de los orribles bandargas de Barcelona

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sin mas que decirle sus buenos amiquitos que la recuerdan mucho.

Juana Cano

Armonia Ocaña

Pepito Ros

Lorenzo Caballero

Manol Francisco Vicente.

Manolo Cano

Pepito Ives

Porfi Prior

Anita Prior

Marcos Barrizo

Salina Ramirez

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 14, Mon Nou [Colony, Spain to] Emma Goldman, [Amsterdam] / Magi Terrandoz [*et al*]. – 2 p. ; 23 × 15 cm.

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20390

Mon Nou dia 14 Enero del 1939

A nuestra compañera Emma Goldman

Salud nos a legraremos mucho de saber

sus señas tambien hemos salido que uste

se cayo al llegar a Londres esto nosotros

lo sientimos mucho. 224 nos escribe

diganos como está tambien sabra que el

Mala iba sulido. en la szepua y la

szepua se cayo y subio a casa a pie y

al caer nuestro amigo Mala se izo

daños en una pierna. Nos alegraremos

mucho de los paquetes que nos ha dicho

el Mala que nos a mandado uste

pero como no los hemos recibido todavia

no le dicimos dada ellos Nos acordamos

mucho de cuando nos repartio los cua-

dernos y ahora ya los estamos a

blando. Y el chocolate ya hace

mucho tiempo que la hemos acabado.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 14, Mon Nou [Colony, Spain to] Emma Goldman, [Amsterdam] / Magi Terrandoz [*et al*]. – 2 p. ; 23 × 15 cm.

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Unos de los bandidos mas odibles en Barcelona hacido ahora y han hecho mucho daño cuando viene el Malo le preguntamos cuando bendra uste a Cataluña ¿le a gustado la película? – nosotros ya la hemos visto y por esto nos acordamos de ella cuando la veemos en la pantalla.

se despide sus a migoitos

Magi Terrandoz

Jines Muñoz

Andres Marin

Toselito Romiez

Jecilia Jaler

Alejandro Hurtado

871005216

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 14, Mon Nou [Colony, Spain to] Emma Goldman, [Amsterdam] / Paquita Ruiz [*et al*]. – 2 p. ; 22 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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Mon Nou 14 de Enero 1939

De nuestra apreciada Emma Goldman:

Salud

Estamos muy agradecidos por lo que a hecho por nosotros y por todos.

Hemos recibido la carta y nos hemos puesto muy contentos al saber noticias de usted pues los paquetes no los hemos recibido todavia pero a un que no nos uviera mandado nada igual estariamos muy agradecidos por su simpatica visita

El Maba nos dijo que usted se acuerda mucho de nosotros y que siempre le pregunta que si estan bien en Mon Nou.

Emma sabra que aqui nieva y se ponen las montañas blancas y corremos por la

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 14, Mon Nou [Colony, Spain to] Emma Goldman, [Amsterdam] / Paquita Ruiz [*et al*]. – 2 p. ; 22 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20388

niere. Emma le escribimos esta carta para que sepa que la queremos mucho y nos acordamos mucho de usted.

Emma aqui en Mon Nou se huela al agua en los grifos y teniamos que ir a buscar a la fuente 124.

Cuando nos escriba ya nos dira si esta buena de su caida.

Se despide sus compañeritos con un fuerte abrazo.

Paquita Ruiz

Juanita Ramirez

Pepe Ruiz

Salvador Cánovas

Paquito Pau eforcia

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 14, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, London / John Andersson.— 1 p.; 30 × 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24373

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE des TRAVAILLEURS
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER-ASSOZIATION
ASOCIACION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES
ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORATORI

Adresser toutes les communications à

Stockholm, den 14 Januar 1939.

Genossin Emma Goldman,

London.

Erst jetzt haben wir das Material von Paris erhalten, so dass wir Vollmachten auf dem Papier der I.A.A. haben ausfertigen können.

Wir senden beigefügt einen Ausschnitt aus der Zeitung ARBETAREN. Es ist Dein Artikel über die spanischen Kinder der veröffentlicht wurde.

Kein Vertreter von der C.N.T. für das Sekretariat der I.A.A. ist immer noch angelangt. Aber wir müssen uns wohl ohne ihn behelfen.

Gruss

Sveriges Arbetares
Centralorganisation

John Andersson

I. A. A.
SECRÉTARIAT

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860522085

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Jan.? 15?] Saratoga Springs, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, Amsterdam] / Evelyn [Scott]. – 2 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

[January/February 1939]

COPY.

Skidmore College,
Saratoga Spruings, N.Y.

Dearest Emma:

I, too, feel somewhat gloomy about the inactivity -- or so it seems, on your behalf, but I am sure you judge psychology aright in supposing your presence in Canada will make considerable difference and vivify interest in the project. I dont come in contact with many of the crowd I used to know who might give opinions on the possibility, as since my forthright public declarations against the art situation and its Communist control I find it pleasanter not to see most of them. That would not affect the anarchist group, but unfortunately, except via Carlo, and via Lola when she was in health and active, I had more circumstantial association with the Communist wing.

But policies and situations here seem to change from day to day, so that it is inaccurate to say you can't take stock of either official or general attitudes on anything until the moment comes.

Your physique is as marvelous as your will and courage, Emma, so that I really do put you in some inner or supernormal class, and am not surprised that you could endure bombardment and sudden personal accidents like that fall and emerge in trim where anyone else would have succumbed for a year to the least of your troubles. I think despondency has got us here at times and made a welcoming background for physical disturbances. You see in one way you have an actual psychic advantage in your continued faith in group action of which neither Jim nor I have any. As far as I can judge all the newspapers are equally interested in preparing this country to accept war at short time notice, and the militaristic bent of all thought takes away some of our interest to life. We see people being prepared, as in Italy, to think what it is convenient for them to think -- and even were I surer of causes themselves, I should be dismayed by the spectacle of human versatility, shown in the way minds are changed and opinions altered to whatever key press and radio currently dictate. I am constantly horrified here at second by how the least thinking student has already accepted war as a promised exciting event and disintegration one realizes the have simply envied their elders for 1.14 and on, and are now proudly [illegible] to be a "lost generation", too. It seems entertainingly picturesque.

Can you give me the title of Herbert Read's book? I once in exchanged letters with Herbert Read on the subject of a view of life he did and my last retort was rather sharp as I thought it condescending: but who cares for those trivialties now-a-days! If he in any way stands for any of the things that to me represent the distinction between life and life-in-death, I shall embrace him metaphorically and with open arms. I expect you mean that he shares with you a continued conviction in respect to efficaious violence as a means to other ends, and shares, as I do with you, the same [illegible] of [illegible] ultimate-attainment.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Jan.? 15?] Saratoga Springs, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, Amsterdam] / Evelyn [Scott]. — 2 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.
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What I feel is that the simplifications introduced by the machine which are useful for manipulating thousands, have induced a completely spurious optimism in respect to a progress toward ideal behaviour. But changes wrought by machine-intervention are completely on the external side, and leave the real battle, which has to be fought from within the person, unconsidered and unaccounted for. I feel we have tended to become too complacent toward the lessons of history. Christianity, for example, has been discarded as contemptible in view of its exploitation. But as you say so truly of the masses who support Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini, Christianity became what it did precisely because the majority of men wanted that superstitious substitute for gospel which cannot be carried out without sacrifices of an extreme kind. It is the same with the "revolution" -- its protagonists make it a movement in their own image. And the opportunity for tyrants is even greater, with our social structures depending for efficiency on the constitituon of a single centralized power of state, than were opportunities afforded in the more chaotic days of the Borgias or in those which precipitated the Napoleonic era. As long as individual idealism defers to concepts each man is to sustain independently, from within himself, there is, I think, a possibility of a degree of pure attainment of an idealistic kind (the Christian era, other ~~a degree of pure attainment of an idealistic kind~~ other religious eras, offered that advantage to those capable of utilizing it). But when the individual carries no standard beyond contamination by his fellow men who demand (whether they call themselves revolutionaries or not), not pure motives and procedure, but conformity to convenience -- then the battle waged by idealists through centuries does seem to be about to be lost as never before. The pessimism of religion had its good as well as its ill effects. It accounted for aspects of circumstances people without it lament, as a rule, face, for otherwise they feel bound to assume that great things happen through a magic of numbers and not through individual effort -- hence they can persuade themselves that great things will happen at once and though the means employed remain in every way incongruous with the great end.

But if I disagree in part with some of your convictions, I could weep with gratitude over what is expressed in others. And your letter from the middle of page two on moved me and Jim both almost to literal tears. It is the purest, most really inspired direct statement of this particular truth either of us has ever seen inscribed by anybody.

Darling Emma, nothing in the past made us, however troubled, prize a great and wise human as we do today. There is to be nothing from you again unless our courage goes out at the points of our tears despair-sion. In a sense, a letter like this last one, gives you more than all the coveted access one for personal interchange ever could. But it makes me wish again and again and so much to help. Though being surrounded with misunderstanding and misrepresentation is only a very minor "martyrdom", the effect of being called "fascist" on every occasion on which one speaks honestly from one's heart and own experience, is a sort of test, too, so that the comprehension I get from you makes me overflow as if I were some falsely accused victim of loyalty at last listening to a sympathetic voice.

Beams of love, darling Emma.

Yet, Evelyn.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 15, Amsterdam [to Lucía? Sánchez? Saornil?, Barcelona?] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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Amsterdam Jan.15th 39

My dear Friend.

Your long awaited letter of Dec.20th was forwarded to me here. I had left London the 22nd originally only for ten days to assort den Nachlass of my old departed friend Alexander Berkman. But before I had begun the work I realised that I would also have to assort and arrange my own material as our lives had been so closely connected that it was impossible to do the one without the other. Your letter therefore found me in the very midst of work. Thats why I did not reply sooner.Another reason is that I waited to hear from our London office that word had come from the Spanish Consul in regard to the Films you had sent. But as nothing came I decided not to wait any longer.

I am very sorry the Films are so delaied.I am afraid now they will reach London when I have sailed for Canada and that would be an awfuly pity. I had hoped to be able to show the MON NOU Film privately as I had suggested to raise some money for this colony and send some food parcels and clothes. I had also hoped to sh ow THE FESTIVAL OF THE BOOK. If they do not arrive still ~~xxxx~~ so I can carry out my plan then they will not be of use for Canada for the simple reason that the duty would be too high to make it worth while unless the two Films can be sent as we have agreed through the Minister of Culture.So unless you have shipped the two Films to England better send them by the same root to me c/o Mr Joe Desser 759 Bathhrst St. Toronto Ont. Canada. You know yourself how important Films are in the work for Spain. Will you therefore do rush the ship ment.

I am very glad indeed that the food parcel reached you though wh why it should have taken so long to reach you although it was sent through the Spanish Consul in Paris I do not understand.Something sh should be done to prevent such delays. I wrote you that I have sent a number of food packages to MON NOU via the SIA. I have written to our friends in Barcelona and have asked them to notify you directly the packages arrive.You said you would then get them to MON NOU. I have also shipped a sack of clothing for a few of the children at least and for Mme Roca and the young woman who is with her as well as some man's clothes.These went after New Years so they could not have arrived at this writing. I hope the SIA friends will aslo

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 15, Amsterdam [to Lucía? Sánchez? Saornil?, Barcelona?] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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24527

when the sacks arrive.

I had no idea Pilarsky knew you. I was myself surprised to find him in Paris I had not seen him in years. I hope he has seen all that is worth seeing in Barcelona.Should he by chance still be within reach you may also give him my greetings. Of course the best of greetings to my good comrade Juan Piug Elias . Salutation also to companiero Secundo Blanco. I have written about them both in my report but as I still have not finished two chapters I cannot yet send it to you ~~furthermore~~ that you maybe able to explain to them what the repor has to say.

I am returning to London the latter part of this week, then about the 20th of Feb. I plan to sail for Canada. Of course I hope to hear from you again long before that. to my London address 6,Sneath Avenue London N.W.11.

With kind greetings.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 15, Amsterdam [to] Pauline [Turkel, New York] / Emma Goldman.– 2 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.

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Amsterdam Jan.15th 39.

Dearest Pauline. Your letter and "chaser" were forwarded to me here. Thanks for both. You and Harry Weinberger are the only two among my friends who ever think of sending a gift. I am not complaning I am only stating a fact.

I had heard of Davs sudden illness through ~~Ludmyxx~~ Saxe's letter to Ian. It was a shock but somewhat mitigated by the assurance that David stood the operation beautifully and was on the way of recovery. Life is certainly interlinked with a thousand strange seperate things. Imagine Dr Grandankys son operating on David. I knew the father very well and for a number of years. I wonder is he still alive? You were right my dearest to suggest a nursing home for David. What with Frances and Eugene to be taken care of I do not think David would be very happy at Dorothys. But whatever has been decided for the kid I hope he is getting back his health and strength though he had never seemed very strong. Perhaps you will drop me a card to let me know how he is getting on. And give him my love.

As to Stella I feel too utterly dejected over her calamity to write about her case. I wonder how long it will take to bring her back to her old vivid self. I feel so helpless so far away and even if I were near I could do nothing. I had looked forward so hungrily to seeing her again when I reached Canada. In fact it was one of the motives for my wanting to sail to C. Now that will be denied me. You can imagine how miserable I feel over it all.

So Tom Mooney is free at last. I wonder if he knows that it was Sashas efforts in the first place which saved his life even if they did not help to free him long ago. How Sasha would have rejoiced to see Tom free. But that was not given him as so many other things he had worked and suffered for that never brought results. I realised ~~mxx~~ once more in going over his writings and translations how he had drudged and how he had failed in every attempt. Failed in the ordinary sense of the term certainly not spiritually so. I am inclosing a copy of my letter to Fitzi incase she does not get to showing you the orginal. You will see how painful it was to dig into the dead past and bring to life long forgotten events. Well, I have finished with Sashas collection of stuff as well as mine. I am

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 15, Amsterdam [to] Pauline [Turkel, New York] / Emma Goldman.– 2 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.
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sure Sasha enjoied being so chained to my life and I to his. In fact I know he did not. He complains in a number of places in his diaries among other things I came across in a letter of S. to Michael Cohn whom he addressed as "my dearest friend" was the complaint that he had let me use his diary in Russia for MY DISILLUSIONMENT and how worried he was that he will not have enough material for his Bolshevik Myth. I know it was just a mood because the book proved that his fears were groundless. True I used some data from his diary, really only certain dates to refresh my mind. Strange man our Sasha, he knew himself as little as we all do ourselves. But not for worlds would he have admitted that. Well, it was paimful to read some of Sashas "secrets" about me and other people. But it had to be done before I could consent to turning over everything of Sashas as well as mine to the Institute here. It is a truly remarcable research library, the only one of its kind in the world I believe. I could wish for no safer and more appropriate places for Sashas writings than this place.

By the way, my dearest I wish you would explain to Fitzi that I expressed myself wrongly when I wrote that the material is sealed and will not be used until after my death. In regard to her correspondence with Sasha or his with her as well as your letters to and from Sasha will not be used even when I am no more or any material that involves living people. Not that yours or Fitzis letters are entirely personal-that period in her and Sashas life had already ended in Berlin when he made himself and Emmy believe that she was the only one he had loved most in all his life. I suppose we all imagine that in every love experience. Do you think we do?

I am heart broken over Spain. I wish I had remained to struggle and die with our comrades who are the most heroic of any people I have ever met. I feel rotten enough being in England. How will I feel with the Atlantic Ocean between me and Spain. To tell the truth I don't know why I am going to Canada. Yet go I must for I can do nothing in England. Since Sashas cruel end I have felt more adrift than ever before in my life. He was always the draw to draw me back. There is no one now or a roof over my head. Enuf of gloom you will say.

My address until the beginning of March continues to be 6 Sneath Ave London N.W.11. After that c/o Joe Desser 759 Bathursts Street Toronto Ont. Canada.

With much lofe.

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 193]9 Jan. 15, Amsterdam [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24546

xxxxxxx Amsterdam Jan 15th e9

My dear Helmut. Your letter was forwarded to me here. I arrived Dec 22nd for ten days I thought.I am still here as you see. I came to arrange Sashas matterial but I found I would also have to arrange mine as our lives were too interwoven to seperate the one from the other. Believe me it was a painful job to dig into the dead past and try to put life into all the memories and events that have plaid such a great part in Sashas and my life and work. Bxxxxxxxx Sashas diaries disclosed many painful things and thousands of letters between him and me and visa versa,also masses of letters from friends and comrades from all over the world. In short it was a difficult and trying job. But it is done. When I leave here I will leave a large part of Sashas and my life and work in the Institute. But it is for the best as I shal shall never again have a roof over my head or anything like a home. Besides what more worthy monument could I erect to Sashas memory than to leave his writing where students of our ideas or xxx A.B. the man can be studied? Of course I am making the condition that I shou should have access any time to our collection shoule I want to write something again after I return from Canada.

I have been in a most distressed state over the appalling situation in Catalonia. The dreadful Franco forces seem to come nearer and nearer Barcelona. It makes me shiver when I think of what will happen to our people if Francos hords shpuld succeed in capturing all of Catalonia. Fate could not be so cruel I tell myself every day.But it does not help my fears for our brave comrades. I wonder whether you know anything that might throw light on the grave situation when simply cannot believe what the papers write.

If there is any consolation in these harrowing times it is that English public opinion did have an affect on Chamberlain.It prevented him from giving Franco the right to starve the Spanish people into submission. It is not much but it is something.Another bit of l light through the terribly black clouds is that America is waking up sending food supplies and the other day I read also arms in American ships. But it is all so slow so slow and Francos savages are coming nearer and nearer. I wish I had remained in Spain. I feel certain our people are not despairing, they still have their spirit of opt imism. But how can one have it outside of Spain? And now the idea of sailing for Canada and being even more cut off from our people than being in England. I am so confused I do not know what to do.

880207106

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 193]9 Jan. 15, Amsterdam [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.
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24547

The CNT-FAI must be in desperate straights not only spiritually but als also fiancially. I had a letter signed by Vazquez and Hererra asking me to liquidated the CNT-FAI Bureau as they cannot maintain it any longer.Also that they are forced to close the Bureau in America as well. As far as the London Bureau is concerned the CNT-FAI me rely acted on my suggestion because I told Vazquez when I was last in Spain that I consider our activities in England a waste of money.The results were far too insignificant to warrant a large expense espec ially once I have sailed to Canada. So I ought to be glad that we can now liquidate the office.But so contradictory is the human heart I have been most unhappy since I received Vazquez letter. I feel like a woman must feel who gave birth to a child under great pain and diff iculty, nursed and cared for it for two years and then sees it die. You cannot imagine how I have slaved to make something of the Bureau to rouse interest in the struggle of our people.To see it die is really terribly painful to me, yet I feel the comrades are right. Of course Ralph Barr will do what he can to keep the spirit alive without causing the comrades any expense. It will be very little yet better than to cut off all connections we have established. I am returning to liquidate everything and then to prepare for my departure from England for Canada.

When I get back I will send you some more of the material sent me from Barcelona. I have not yet completely finished my report when I do I will send you a copy.

I wonder how you stand about your chances of Sweden and how you and Dora are in general. Please write me to my home addr esse 6,Sneath Ave. London N.W.11.

With affectionate greetings to you both.

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[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 15-22, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman]. – 4 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office
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SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

~~London~~, Amsterdam Jan 15th 39

Lieber Martin. Es ist mir so schwer ums Herz uber Euere Lage dass ich nirgends Ruhe finden kann. Gewiss ich glaube nicht alles was ich in der Presse lese. Auch weiss ich dass das Spanische Volk und unsere Kamaraden schon einige Wunder vollbracht haben, warum nicht auch dieses Mal? Trotzdem ist mir bange um Euch alle. Ich bin sicher ich wurde nicht so beklemend fuhlen wenn ich bei Euch geblieben waere. Aber von so grosser Ferne erscheint die Situation fast hoffnungsloss. Und doch hange ich mit jeder Faser an die Hoffnung dass Franco doch zurruck geschlagen wird. Ich wunschte ich hatte eine Zeile von Dir wie Du und die andere Kamaraden fuhlen und denken, und ob Ihr irgend welche Vorbereitungen gemacht habt zur Sicherheit Euerer Archive und wichtige Materilaien. Ich wage es kaum su hoffen dass Ihr auch fur Euere eigene Sicherheit irgend was getan habt. Ich weiss Ihr werdet bis zulezt ausharren. Aber Du darfst es mir nicht verdenken dass ich um Euch alle ausserst beunruhigt bin. Ich bitte Dich dringen mir ein paar Zeilen zukommen zu lassen.

Wie ich voraussah habe ich hier ein Exemplare BOLESHEVIK MYTH gefunden und habe es vorige Woche an AY von hieraus geschickt Ich offe es wird Dich bald erreichen trotzdem ich mich wundere wie es dem Etile moglich sein wird das Buch herauszugeben. Pedro schrieb mir ich mochte article fur TIMON schreiben. Das kann ich nur wenn ich gerade uber etwas wichtiges zu schreiben habe, aber regelmassig uber die Welt Ereignisse waere es mir ganz unmoglich da ich zu wenig Zeit habe mich von allem zu orientieren oder das Material zu bearbeiten. Du kannst Pedro aber sagen ich werde wenn ich nach London zuruckkere einen article uber Tom Mooney schreiben dann sende ich Dir eine Kopie fur TIMON.

Ich bin mit der Arbeit in re Alexanders und mein Archive fertig. Ich fahre Mittwoch wieder nach London zuruck umd dort das Burau zu liquidieren und mein Vorbereitung fur die Abreise nach Canada zu machen. Schreibe mir bis zum 20sten Feb nach 6, Sneath Avenue London N.W.11. Nach dem c/o Joe Dessler 759 Bathhurst Street Toronto Ont Canada.

Du wurdest mir viel helfen wenn Du mich das allerwichtigste Material durch Egon oder Busquets ubersetzen lassen wurdest und dieses zusammen mot dem Spanischen Text nach Toronto senden wurdest da ich dort Niemanden habe der Spanisch kennt und mir mit Ubersetzungen helfwn konnte. Oder Du kannst das wichitige Material Franzosisch ubersetzt schicken. Jedenfals muss ich in Canada alles Material haben.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Ich hoffe ich werde in London Briefe von Dir finden die vielleicht meine Unruhe etwas stillen wrid. Ich hange an jedem Wort dass im Aus land uber Spanien erscheint trotzdem ich weiss dass vieles gefalscht ist.Einst ist immerhin befriedigent die offentliche Meinung in England hat es doch verhindert dass Chamberlain Spanien dem vollstandigem Hunge tode preiss giebt. Das ist schon etwas wenn auch blut wenig.

Grusse Deine Gefartin recht freundlich und Deine Sekretarin. Auch alle Kamaraden Pedro ins besondere. Ich habe noch zwei Kapital von meinem Bericht zu schreiben dass ich gleich nach meiner Ruckkehr nach London tund und sie Dir schicken werde.

Ich grusse Dich recht herzlich

Emma

Jan.22nd 39.

Lieber Martin.Wie Du siehst habe ich diesen Brief in Amsterdam schon den 15ten dieses Monats geschrieben. Meine Hoffnung auf ein Schrei ben von Dir hat sich erfullt.Ich fand eine Art Rechunung auf 150 franc von Dir datiert den 10ten Dec.und einen Brief vom 3ten dieses Monats. Ja, es ist zum verzweifeln dass es so lange dauert bis meine Briefe an Dich errwichen . Auch Deine Briefe an mich dauern lange aber nicht so lange wie meine an Dich. Ich kann es nicht begreifen. Ob Du schon Bolshevik Myth erreicht hast? Es wurde schon vor zwei oder benahe drei Wochen aus Amsterdam gesandt.Ich fand ubrigens einige Kopien des Bolshevik Myth die jezt sehr rare sind. Ich sandte auch eine zweite Kopie Anti-Demare mit

Liber Martin Du brauchst Dich nicht beunruhigen uber unsere Anzeige dass das Film nicht zensuriert war. Wir sagen einfach dieses hat bezug auf die Englische Zensur. Da aber die hiesige Presse unsern Film überhaupt nicht berichtiete so glaube ich nicht dass man irgend welche Schwierigkeiten zu erawrten hat. Jedenfals werde ich darauf bestehen dass man sagt IN ENGLAND NICHT ZENSURIERT. Apropos auf Filme; Als ich von Spanien zurruckam frug ich Ilse was aus dem Film den Frank gebracht hat geworden ist.Ich sagte ihr dass weder ich noch Barr das Recht hätten Nachfrage zu machen bei den Leuten bei denen Frank den Film gelassen hat. Ubrigens sagte ich hat Frank xxx 40 pfund von dem Agenten erhalten mit dem er verhandelt hat. Ich habe keine Idee was sie an Frank berichtet hat. Ich bekam einen entrusteten Brief von ihm wie ich darauf kommen von ihm Rechenschaft zu xxxxxxxxx verlangen, er hatte schon so viel Geld ausgegeben und als er in London war hatte ich nichts getan um ihm materiell zu helfen und recht viel mehr. Ich habe Ilse Franks Brief gesand sonst würde ich ihn hier beilegen. Aber hier ist ein Kopie von meine Ant wort aus der Du sehen wirst was für einen Unsinn Ilse ihm berichtet haben muss. Frank ist ein sehr guter Kerl wenn auch politisch nicht ganz klar.Ich glaube nicht dass er absichtlich unrecht oder uner lich gehandelt hat. Gewiss, er hat den Kntrakt hier auf seinen eigenen Namen gemacht, aber vielleicht war das nur um zu vermeiden dass mein Name im Kontrakt erscheint.Denn Du musst wissen dass gegen meinem Namen hier noch immer Vorurteile bestehen. Jedenfals wird Dir ja Frank antworten. Ich möchte sehr ungern dass Frank auf die Idee

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Gud

Carol

ich hatte mich irgend wie bei Euch ~~beklagt~~ ausge.

Im bezug auf unsere Filme die in Paris gemacht wurden.Ja alles was Du herausgeschickt hast ist ihnen beigelegt worden. Ich bin mir noch immer nicht klar wie es mit der Bezahlung fur diese Filme sein soll. Gut, Du hast Mascarell geschrieban die Kosten sollen von dem Schwedischen und Chiller Fund bezahlt werden. Mussen wir aber nicht fur die zwei Filme an Euch zahlen, oder an den Fund fur Deine Abteilung? Uch muss dieses wissen,denn London muss dann fur das Film von hier aus bezahlen,und ich werde es spater von Canada aus tun.Ich meine fur die Kosten,Verschickung und Zoll, aus Paris nach Canada

Ich weiss nicht welches Bewandniss Deine Rechnung fur ~~die~~ Bucher FRONTO K POSTFRONTO DE ARAGONIA HAT. Ich kann mich daruaf absolut nicht erinner,auch hatte es ja gar keinen Sin fur England 20 Exemplare und 10 von den andern zu kaufen. Jedenfals werde ich morgen im Bureau nachsehen ob diese Bucher uberhaupt je angekommen sind. Ausserdem habe ich fur Eich an Bucher ziemlich viel ausgegeben in 37 und voriges Jahr,Bucher die ich Dir durch Frau Adam geschickt habe, und seit dem. Nicht dass es was macht.es liegt mir nichts an £5 . Ich werde die 150 bezahlen wenn wir die Bucher erhalten haben. Oder meinst Du die Albums die Du geschickt hast? Davon haben wir sehr weinig verkauft. Ubrigens habe ich Mascarell fur Deine Abteilung 17 Fund und einige Shillinge vor meiner Abreise nach Holland geschickt. Das Bucher geschaft der I.L.P. ist uns noch immer ziemlich viel schuldig fur die Albums die uns seiner Zeit Souchy geschickt hat und fur Durruti Brochuren. Wenn es uns doch noch gelingen soll das Geld heraus zu bekommen werden wir auf Dein Konto an Mascarell dass Geld senden,oder vielmehr Barr wird es tun. Den er wird so weit es in seiner Macht steht die Arbeit fur die CNT-FAI vortfuhren auch wenn keine Unterstuzung kommt. Wir museen sowieso einen Teile unserer Raume behalten,die Miete wurde auf die Halfte reduziert. Davon wird Spain and the World zwei Pfund per Montat und SIA £4 bezahlen. Es ist einfach unmoglich gerade in diesem Krisischen Moment bei Euch die Arbeit fur die CNT FAI ganz abzubrechen.Ich empore mich dagegen mit ganzer Kraft. Ich habe daher beschloseen dass es weiter existiert am wenigstens bis zum Summer.

Es giebt ein Englisches Sprichwort das heisst "it never rains but it pours" Es regnet nicht nur, es giesst. So geht es mir mit meine Verantwortlichkeit fur Euch und Euerem Kapf. Ich war ubergluck lich als Ethel Mannin sich bereit erklarte die SIA in meiner Abe wesenheit in Canada weiter zu fuhren.Um so mehr da sie wirklcih viel grossern Erfolg hatte als ich.Sie hat in drei Montate £250 fur SIA nur durch einen Appel gesammelt. Nun ist sie plotlich Pacifistin geworden und will mit SIA nichts mehr zu tun haben.Sie würde mir gerne helfen sagte sie wenn ich hier bleiben und die Arbeit weiter firhren wolte. Das kann ich jezt unmöglich da die Kanadadische Kamaraden mir schon das Geld zur Überfahrt geschickt und alle Vorbereitungen gemacht haben fur meine Tatigkeit dort. Ausserdem kann ich dort viel mehr erreichen als in England. Kurz und gut ich habe jezt die schwere Aufgabe eine zuverlassige Person,Frau oder Mann, der die SIA übernimmt denn ich kann unmöglich die Arbeit fur die SIA im Stich lassen. Es ist zum verzweifeln an Menschen die so leicht ihre Uberzeugungen andern. Ethel schrieb mir tatsachlich unsere Kamaraden hatten besser getan Franco kommen zu lassen, sie hatten damit nicht mehr verlohren wie durch ihre Anteilnahme an den grasslichen Krieg."Jezt ist der Krieg zu ende,die Revolution erstickt und nichts würde erreicht" schrieb sie.

für Sender

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Auch dass jezt das Psychologische Moment waere die SIA aufzugeben. Ich war so empört daruber ich habe ihr ordentlich meine Meinung gesagt. Ein Trost ist dass Ethel Mannin ein sehr reiner and guter Chatacter ist, nur furchtbar politisch unreif und unentwickelt, ganz unter dem Einfluss von andere. Na, ja, auch dieses muss überstanden sein.

Ich habe einen langen wunderbaren Brief von Pedro erhalten und habe ihm auch schon geantwortet. Aber ob dieser Brief ihn noch erreichen wird oder Dich? Die Situation sieht grauenhaft aus. Ich hänge wie gesagt noch dann an dem heiliegne Glauben der Wunder die das Spanische Volk schon moglich gemacht hat. Vielleicht wird in Barcelona das Wunder Madrids wiederholt werden. Ich wage nicht daran zu denken was aus Euch alle und aus der machtigen Arbeit die geleisted wurde, werden soll wenn Franco siegt. Wie kan ein solches Verbrechen geduldet werden? Ich hänge mit meinem ganzen Herzen an die Berichte die aus Spanien kommen. Ich bitte Dich daher schreibe soffrot und sorge dafur dass AY Deinen Brief soffort befordert.

Das International Institute fur Soziale Geschichte ist grossartig angelegt, die grosste und reichste Sammlung von Material uber den Anarchismus in all Weltsprachen wie, uberhaupt uber alle soziale Bewegungen der ganzen Welt. Ich habe dem Institute unsere Archive, Sashas und meins und all korrepondence gelassen. Es ist am besten dort aufgehoben, ausserdem hoffe ich etwas Geld dafur zu bekommen das ich notwendig brauche. Ich wunschte nur Euere Archive der CNT, der FAI wie uberhaupt alles konnte in solche Sicherheit gebracht werden. So ein Rechtum fur die Geschichte der Spanischen Revolution. Ubrigens sagte mir Santillan er hätte groesses Material der L. Internationale und wurde es nach Amsterdam senden. Bit jezt ist dort nichts angekommen. Sage ihm das bitte und rede ihm zu er soll es so schnell wie möglich heraus kriegen jezt wo die Gefahr so gross ist. Wenn Due etwas an mich senden willst ich werde es in Sicherheit halten.

Ich habe bis jezt nur einen kruzen Abschnitt in Spanisch von den ubersezten Teilen erhalten. Es enthalt Die Einleitung, die Krisis des Mai, die Opposition der Regierung Negrin. Wer ist Negrin. Die Kommunistische Tatigkeit. Mitwirkung an der Regierung Negrin Die Fiscalisacion der Regierung und zwei andre Teile. Alles dieses ist aber schlisslich die Ubersezte Teile die Du gesand hast. Ubrigens war ich noch nicht im Burau, ich gehe morgen dahin und werde sehen was noch gekommen ist und ein eine Zeile hinzufugen wenn etwas da ist. Ich freue mich dass Du die Packete erhalten hast. Ich werde recht bald noch etwas senden ehe ich nach Kanada reise. Schreibe vorleufig nach London auf die Addresse des Buraus, 21 Frith Street.

Herzliche Grusse an Deine Geafrtin auch an Simon. Ich hoffe und winsche dass Ihr Euere Kraft und Euerem Willen zum Sieg behalt.

Deine Kamaraden die sehnsichtig bei Euch und mit Euech kamfen möchte, anstatt in diesem toten England zu leben..

Emma.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 16, Amsterdam [to] Ilse [Jueneman, London?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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Amsterdam Jan.16th 39

My dear Ilse.

I hope you received my card from here as a New Years greeting. I suppose you have been busy thats why you never wrote me all this time. I myself have been busy with the material I came to classify. It was a painful task to dig into the dead past. It is over now. I am returning to London Thursday the 19th.

Some time ago I received your letter of Dec.2nd. I did not write Leo because I had no time. But I have heard from him and a most painful letter it was. I inclose his letter and my reply. I am sure you misunderstood what I told in regard to he Film. I can see by your letter that you have misunderstood me. You say in there " As you don't say from whom you have received £40".My dear I nevrr told you I HAD RECEIVED 40 POUNDS FORTY POUNDS. I told you Leo had received £40. At least he told me so. Anyhow,you misunderstood me and he must have misunderstood you because I cannot imagine what you did write him that made him angry. I must say I was really surprised with his tone.

Another thing you misunderstood completely is where you say"THE SPANISH COMRADES KNOW QUITE WELL THEY WILL GET WHATEVER THEY AGREED ON WITH FRANK". They have never questioned that nor did I ever say they did. What I said was they thry asked what had become of the Film, was it being shown and did it bring results. They did not mean by that that Frank must give them an account. They were merely interested to know whether the labor and the expense on that Film had been worth while. I do not think that was a crime or th at Leo shoule have taken offense. Well it is too bad that one maynot say anything without being miscinstrude or rouse indignation.

However in the light of the harrowing situation in Spain this is a very insignificant matter. I have been in frightful tension over the advance of the Fraco savages. For well I know what will become of all militants and the CNT-FAI and Youth in particular unless the same miracle happens as in Madrid.

Call me up my dear and we will arrange to meet. I expect to be at the office Friday afternoon.But you had better call me at Sneath Ave.

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 16, London [to] Emma [Goldman, Amsterdam] / Ralph [Barr]. — 1 p.; 30 × 22 cm.

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TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

London, 16th January 1939.

Dear Emma,

Your letter of last Saturday the 14th to hand. I wrote you that notice had been given to end your agreement on the 28th of this month. Since then the landlord had agreed to let the three rooms for 30/- a week. Thsi gets rid of the ~~parger~~ large room. Ethel has agreed to the three rooms being kept on with Spain & The World till at least the end of February. This will give you plenety of time to discuss al the points you raise. I agree with you that the Bureau should exist; but I do not think that theonly thing that could be done is questions in the House of Commons. I think that we have to go back to the leaflet or manifesto direct to the workers. I knwow it means distributing and all that and and expenditure; but as far as I can see it si the only way of reaching the workers over the heads of their officials. .

About the rent question which you raise again please dont think I resnt it. I have no personal reason to resnt your not being able to understand it. We have been here in this building one year coming 28th January. Our rent is £3 per week and there are 52 weeks in a year. This makes three 52 weeks rent a total of £156. All you have to do is to take your cheque book or your cheques and you will find that this is the total amount you have paid up to the 31st. ~~or I should say really the 28th December~~ A new year starts on the 1st January and the four weeks will end on the 28th January when you will be relieved of all repsonsibility.

I know that you are concerned about our comrades interests so am I Emma; but that is not he question. You say you do not wish to be unkind to me or petty. I resnt that you have any right to be or assume that you are in theposition to be. In all youe letters even now the tone is one of "you are to do this or you are to do that". I have worked loyally with you and have many times just swallered things for unity and co-operation; but there comes a time Emma my dear when you cannot ecpect me to avry time just be at your command. You have said things to people about me and apparently have asked comrades to give you information about my activities. Well that to me is going behind ones back. All decisions have been in your hands and you know that as far as I am concerned I have not had any power to decide what or what should not be done. However that is all over and nothing can be gained by goung into it all. Let em know exactly when yo arrive and I will do my very best to be there to meet you. We can then decide when you will come to the Office and wind everything up.

Yes Ethel's letter went out some time back. I will send one to the name you give.

I rahter thought it would be best for you to look over the stuff it is suggested to send to Amsterdam. I certainly think it best.

Affec: Ralph

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Jan. 16th 1939

Dearest Emma,

I've not written before this partly from lack of time, partly from lack of anything to report that could not await yr return.

We have decided to keep the office on through Feb- I have said that I will meet the rent if by the time it falls due there is no other source of income for it. I propose to meet it out of £13 odd I have in hand, being £3 odd left from the original £25 you opened the acc. with, plus £10 from a £25 cheque from Roland Penrose - he indicated that it need not all go to Spain.

I don't see how we can keep the office on indefinitely; even if Recc. holds socials to raise the rent he can't very well hold more than one a month, nor can he always depend on raising the £6 - and there are the additional expenses of heating, lighting, telephone, to be added to that.

So far as the SIA work is concerned if its to be carried on it can easily be done from Oak Cottage. But I don't feel that I can do any more for it. The end of the war seems to be in sight, and its impossible to feel that as deeply as in the beginning, for it will not be so very different for the mass of people whether its Franco or the Republican Gov. so far as I can see. And it is anyhow be an end of the mass slaughter of civilians - - -

Now would seem to be the psychological moment to finish up the SIA work in England - anyhow so far as I am concerned - and to close the office. Recch. says it means losing the start made for the ASF, but surely they can meet in a comrade's house, the way the ILP groups meet (the Wimbledon group meets at Oak Cottage)

With the best will in the world, and appreciating the need of an office for S and the W., and whilst agreeing it's a pity to give up something started, I don't see how we can keep that office going. I don't even really see how Recch. can possibly keep S & the W. going. Anyhow its going to take him all his time to raise the money to keep that going, without trying to raise the

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rent as well !

As for the SIA helping to raise the rent I don't see how it can- people will give money for Spain , but not for organisational expenses - and you can't blame them. Its one thing sending out appeals for Spanish children's food funds, but quite another to raise the rent !

I am sending another $100 to Marseilles as you can see by the carbon of the letter I have just written to Ralph.

9 sacks of clothing have gone off, one lot of five sacks, another lot of 4; each time the rly co. asked a 'deposit' of £2. I have taken this up with them, as £4 for sending 9 sacks of clothes seems to me a lot.

I am sending to Barcelona the report for which Lucia Sanchil asks. I shall probably ask to be released from rep. the English section at the same time.

If you feel that the SIA work must go on in England, Emma, why not stay in England and run it yourself- with me helping in all ways possible ? This I will gladly do. You might like to consider it ?

I can't possibly manage Friday evening, Emma dear. My publisher is clamouring for the MSS of my book - which was promised at the end of Dec ! Until it is finished I can manage only a lunchtime. I positively must get the book done by the end of the month.

Amsterdam is peaceful I think. I like its old gabled houses and tree-lined canals.

I am glad you have finished your painful task.

I really must work.

My love to you as always

Ethel

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Jan. 16 London to Emma Goldman, Amsterdam (enclosure)] / [Ethel Mannin]. – 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Jan. 16th 1939

Dear Ralph,

Many thanks for letter and revised figures.

The total outgoings to date being £21.12. which figure I agree, leaves £3.19.10. from the original £25. Plus £10 from the amt Penrose sent gives us £13.19.10. for rent, etc.

This amt deducted from the £111.5.2. balance gives £97.5.4. , doesn't it ? And my cheque for £2.14.8. makes it up to £100.

I send my cheque herewith, and I will send the £100 to Marseilles tomorrow, when I can get Reg to put the covering letter into good French.

Emma writes me that she is leaving Amsterdam Wed.or Thurs.

Thanks for the figures. I will send the report to Barcelona.

Yes, I know the Mrs.Ridley who sent the clothes; she told me she was sending some.

I would like so much, you cannot think how much I - to wind up my SIA activities with the sending of this £100 to Marseilles; not, that is, to make any more appeals; but to finish up now. I believe the end of the war is in sight; the idea of Franco winning depresses me. ~~All the hopes with which we started, that eventually democracy or Fascism is not going to work out so very different for the mass of common people,~~ less now than in the beginning, since so-called Democracy or Fascism is not going to work out so very differently for the mass of common people. And the revolution is crushed.

All the best, Ralph, and thanks for all yr help.
Affectionately as always

I will send the Barcelona report via comrades at Marseilles, won't I ?

~~PS I enclose the letter for Barcelona for you to~~

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 16, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / [Martin Gudell]. – 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Martin Gudell Archive.

Gud

Nº 69.

16 Janvier 1939.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
Londres.

Chère camarade,

J'on vient de fermer l'exposition Durruti à Barcelone. Celle-ci a eu un succès formidable et il a été nécessaire prorroger plusieurs fois la fermeture de l'exposition.

En vue de que le matériel exposé est très intéressant, nous vous prions de nous dire si vous croyez que l'on pourrait porter cette exposition en Angleterre. Ce matériel consiste dans nombreuses photos qui reflètent la División Durruti dès les premiers jours jusqu' à maintenant; se trouvent les armes, mal armées, à son partie de Barcelona; l'oeuvre d'Aragon et toute une série de documents concernant les faits de guerre à Madrid, et à Catalogne. Il y a aussi nombreux trophées de guerre, matériel de guerre fabriqué par l'Allemagne et l'Italie, matériel d'aviation, de la monnaie fasciste, un intéressant matériel de Falange espagnole et de quelques uns de ses chefs. Naturellement que tout ce qui concerne le matériel de guerre, mais ceux de mitrailles avec des inscriptions italiennes et allemandes, une partie d'un avion avec des inscriptions allemandes et quelques autres choses, peut être le gouvernement anglais ne permettra pas son entrée en Angleterre. Mais je crois que nous pourrons porter la partie qui se compose de photos très intéressantes. Ces photos pèsent en total de 45 à 50 kgs. et bien préparées pourraient faire l'effet nécessaire. Je pense que les camarades anglais devraient chercher une salle pour exposer ces photos.

Si vous croyez que c'est possible faire ce que nous vous proposons, veuillez nous dire votre opinion sur cela et nous ferons tout notre possible pour vous faire parvenir cet exposition.

Dans l'attente de votre rapide réponse, recevez nos salutations bien fraternelles,

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870929576

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 17, Amsterdam [to Jean? Ay? Perpignan? France] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20845

Amsterdam
xxxxx , le 17 janvier 1939

Cher camarade,

La semaine dernière je vous ai envoyé un livre pour le camarade Martin Gudell. J'espère que vous l'avez reçu. Aujourd'hui je joins une lettre importante, de nouveau pour le camarade Martin. Je me rends bien compte des difficultés qui s'élèvent pour vous de la gravité de la situation par l'avancement de l'ennemi. Mais je sais que vous ferez tout votre possible comme, d'ailleurs, vous l'avez fait jusqu'à maintenant.

Je retournerai à Londres vers la fin de cette semaine et je vous prie de m'écrire un mot à mon adresse là-bas. Pourriez-vous aller voir Gareck et lui demander de ma part si les habits, envoyés avant Noël à Cerbère, sont arrivés? Il avait promis de les recueillir là-bas et de les faire emporter à Barcelone pour la SIA.

Fraternellement à vous,

870929575

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 17, Amsterdam [to Manuel] Mascarell, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20843

Amsterdam,
x xxx le 17 janvier 1939

Cher camarade Mascarell,

J'ai bien reçu votre lettre du 19 décembre. Depuis le 22 décembre je suis ici à Amsterdam. J'ai été trop occupé, assortant les archives de notre camarade Alexandre Berkman et les miens, pour l'Institut Internationale d'Histoire Sociale, pour pouvoir répondre plus tôt à votre lettre. A présent j'ai presque terminé le travail et j'espère rentrer à Londres le 18 ou le 19 de ce mois.

Probablement on vous a déjà mis au courant de la liquidation du bureau à Londres? Il y a deux semaines j'ai reçu une lettre des camarades Vazquez et Rererra m'informant de la décision de fermer les bureaux en Angleterre et en Amérique. Je suppose que les camarades ont enfin compris que le résultat des efforts et du travail n'était pas équivalent aux dépenses. En ce qui me concerne, j'ai dis au camarade Vazquez, lors de mon dernier séjour à Barcelone, que considérant les efforts et les dépenses il ne me semblait pas la peine de continuer le travail et j'ai proposé la liquidation du bureau à Londres. Mais à ce moment le camarade Vazquez n'en voulait entendre parler. Je suppose que la gravité de la situation générale en Catalogne lui a fait décider de suivre ma proposition. En tout cas je règlerai les affaires en rentrant à Londres. Il est bien pénible d'être obligé d'arrêter un travail si dur qu'on a fait pendant deux ans. Mais comme je pars dans quelques semaines au Canada et qu'il n'y a point de camarades énergiques pour continuer le travail il vaut mieux ainsi. Cependant le camarade Barr fera tout son possible pour continuer le travail sans peser matériellement sur la CNT.-FAI.

Après mon retour à Londres je serai obligé de régler les comptes. Ceci me fait penser aux 10 £ que vous avez retenus du montant, que La CNT. vous avait prié de m'envoyer. Il est vrai que cette somme était réservée pour couvrir les frais des deux films. Depuis ma dernière lettre à vous j'ai reçu une copie de la lettre que la Oficina de Propaganda Exterior vous a envoyé vous informant que les frais des films devaient être payés des fonds contribués par la Suède, la France et la Chile. C'est pour cette raison que je vous prie de bien vouloir me renvoyer les 10 £. Cette somme me

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 17, Amsterdam [to Manuel] Mascarell, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.

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mettra en condition de couvrir les dettes encore à payer par le bureau à Londres.

Veuillez m'écrire à mon adresse à Londres: 21 Frith Street.

Fraternellement à vous,

203

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 17, Amsterdam [to] Margaret [De Silver and] Carlo [Tresca, Brooklyn, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24403

Amsterdam Jan.17th 39

Dear Margaret,dear Carlo. I am writing you both to save repetition. I came here Dec.2and for ten days to arrange and assort the material left by Sasha for a very unique and interesting Librabry which is called the International Institute for Social History. Your letter was forwarded to me. As I said I came for ten days but had to remain for three weeks owing to the fact that Sashas life and mine had been so interwoven it was impossible to arrange the material of one without also doing it with the other. Well, it was a painful job digging in ones dead past.But it is over now. I leave for England day after tomorrow to make arrangement about my sailing for Canada. Though why I am going there I do not know.Especially when our comrades are in such imminent danger from Francos savages. I have been in such a state of tension and despair I have not been able to think of anything except the harrowing fate if our Spanish comrades should Franco really reach Barcelona. So far I cling tenatiously to a mere straw that the miracle which had happened in Madrid might also happen in Barcelona. Anyhow I dread to be seperated by our people by the ocean. I feel rotten enough being away from t hem as far as England or this country.

However,I will not be able to help them much even if I should give up the Canadian idea.So I will most likely sail some time next month. Yes,I realise what you are up against with R oger and other weak-kneed people in reagrd to my case. To tell you the truth dear Margaret I never was too sanguine about my chances of retu to the States. And the return of the reactionary outfit in the elections has not tended to make me more hopeful. It is only that my old sense of perceverance makes me ask you not to give up trying in my behalf. It is not only my passionate desire to place the case o Spain as I have seen it perhaps more thoroughly than anyone else befo the American public which makes me want to get back. It is also because of the precarious condition of two of my most beloved memebrs of my family which makes me cling to the hope that you will continue and that you will succeed. It concerns my brother whom you Carlo surely knows Dr Morris Goldman who has been very ill has had a leg amputated and has been tied to his chair now for two years. He is going on in years and it would be an awful blow not to see him once m more in case he leaves this rotten world of ours. Then there is Stell my vivid and vavacious niece who has been like my own child. She

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[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 17, Amsterdam [to] Margaret [De Silver and] Carlo [Tresca, Brooklyn, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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suffering from a complete breakdown and there is no saying how long her condition will last. To be cut off of those I love so deeply from many of my friends and comrades grwos more excruciating as the years go by. Naturally, I do not want this to be used as a reason for my entry.I am merely writing you my dear that my motive is also a personal one and not only because of the help I might give our heroic Spanish people the most heroic and gallant I have ever met. All in all I have abiding faith in your my dears that you wibl do what you can to obtain the permission.

Dear Carlo you say you cannot find out why Perkins has a dislike for me.Nor can I.I never met the woman and I certainly have never done her any harm.Unless it is the usual narrow attitude of the female of the specieis who cannot endure brains in any other woman though she might bow in reverence before brains in man I have no idea why P. should dislike me. But I give a damn for her likes or dislikes only I consider it outrageous to permit her private feelings to influence her public actions.

You ask how I can do the work I am doing dear Carlo I would have been in my grave long ago if I had not my old amount of energy.Besides the marvelous events in Spain were such an inspirat ion it increased my energy,rejuvinated my strenthhand deepened my ~~fat~~ faith. But now I feel completely crushed over the defeat of the Spanish people.For well I know that the first to be exterminated will be the CNT-FAI and the Libertarian Youth. However,I still cling to the wonder the Spanish people have already performed. They will, they must pull themselves up again, they are invisinble and unconqu erable.

Yes,indeed I wish I could help you and Margaret with the Fereero case. I hope sincerely you two will succeed anyway to save him from Mussolinis tender mercies.

And Tom Money is free and Sasha did not live to rejoice in it. Sasha who had done so much,who had actually saved Tom from the Chair in the first place. I wonder whether Tom ever realised that or whether he will pay Sasha the tribute he deserved not that he would have claimed credit. Rose Pesetto told me that when the Steel workers were organised and came to Homestead no one dared mention Alexander ~~Berkmanhamx~~ Berkmans name. Sad isn't it bu very human to forget the pioneers of an ideal.

Please my dears write me again soon to my London private address 6,Sneath Ave. London N.W.11

With affectionate greetings to you my dear Margaret and you old scout.

Affectionately

871209019

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Signature] 1939 Jan. 18 [Amsterdam, from Guest Book of the] Domela Nienwenheiss [Museum] / Emma Goldman — 1 p. ; 16 × 20 cm.

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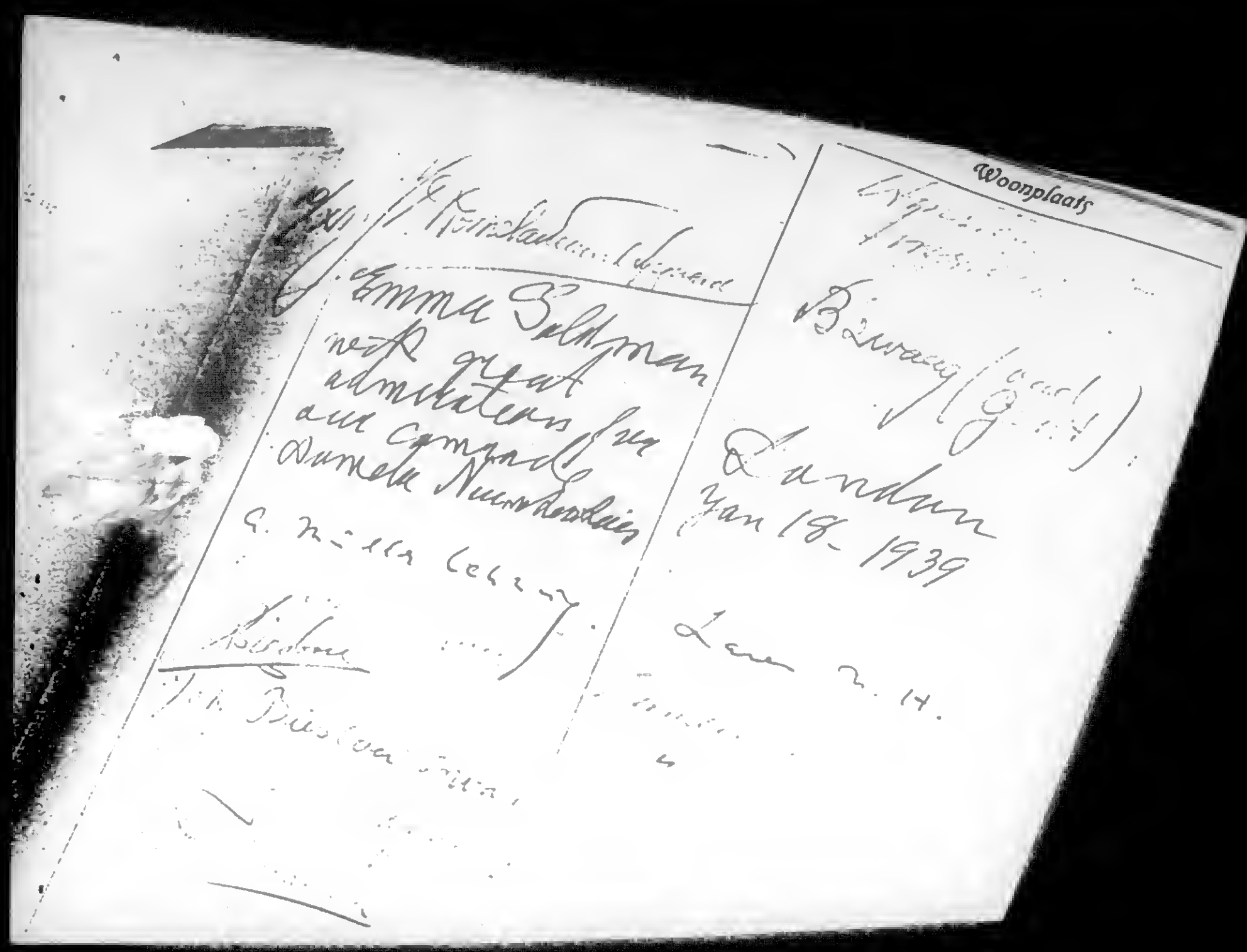

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 17, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin [Gudell]. — 4 p. ; 30 × 24 cm.

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GUERRA DI CLASSE 48
BOLETÍN ESPERANTO 48
BOLETÍN FRANCÉS 34
BOLETÍN ALEMÁN 4.
BOLETÍN INGLÉS 40
BOLETÍN SUECO 38
BOLETÍN BULGARO 38
BOLETÍN PORTUGUÉS 58

Barcelona le 17 janvier 1939.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
Londres.

Chère camarade,

Seulement aujourd'hui je viene de recevoir votre lettre du 19 décembre dernier. Je voie qu'avec mes lettres arrive le même qu'avec lee votres: je paese un gran délai sans recevoir de vos nouvellee, et aprée, tout d'un coup, je reçois plusieurs lettre ou coupuree. Pendant cee troie dernières semaines je n'ai pas reçu rien et aujourd'hui j'ai reçu votre précitée lettre et les écrite que voue avez fait pour "Vanguard".

Je réponds à votre lettre immédiatement, tandis que lee écrits je vaie lee lire pendant la nuit ou demain matin.

Naturellement je faieais référence à votre lettre de nevembre et nos d'octobre. C'est une erreur de ma part.

Vous méviez promis de m'écrire une lettre bien detaillée sur le materiel, avant de votre départ pour l'Hollande, mais je n'ai pas reçu encore cette lettre.

J'ai envoyé à votre adreese tout le matériel que nous avons traduit à l'alleman. Dane l'un des derniere enveis éaait jointe la partie que nous n'avons pas pu traduire pendant les lectures.

J'ai su que voue n'avez pas reçu encore tout le matériel espagnol. Vous recevrez aussi d'autres écrite espagnols mais qui n'ont pas aussi d'importance. C'est prebable que quand cette lettre voue parvienne, vous auriez tout reçu.

Les photos dont vous faiesez référence dans votre lettre du 19 décembre, sont dejà expédiées. Celles que peut-être n'aurez voue pas reçu encore seront celles du Sindicat du Bâtiment, dû à ses grandes dimensions, car il aurait fallu les plier et s'auraient abimé.

Je viens de parler avec Mawa et il me communique avoir reçu l'envoi que vous l'avez fait de Paris, dont il vous remercie. Il dit vous avoir écrit une lettre et qu'aujourd'hui

...

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vous écrira une autre fois. En ce qui concerne les photos il dit avoir fait une collection qu'il a expédiée à votre adresse. Il dit aussi avoir envoyé à votre nom et à l'adresse de l'Ambassade Espagnole à Londres les copies du film. Donc, vous devez vous adresser à l'Ambassade pour les obtenir, car il pense que ces film se trouvent à Londres il y à dejá quelques jors.

En ce qui concerne l'envoi pour la colonie Mon Nou, n'est pas arrivé encore. Mawa vous prie de lui écrire à lui ou à Puig Elias la date exacte de l'envoi du colis et l'adresse de celui a qui était dirigé.

Maintenat deux mots concernant le P.O.U.M.. Je vous serais gré de nous envoyer une copie des publications dont vous faites reference dans votre lettre. Nous avons entendu parler de cela, mais nous ne possedons pas aucun exemplaire. Nous avons quelques articles du journal vraiment trotskyste, mais non de celui des poumistes. Vous devez vous rappeller de ce qui disais Andrade dans un article quíl a publié en 1936 en Angleterre et que vous Même nous avez fait parvenir. Il serait intéressant que vous cherchiez le numéro de la revue dont je crois que s'intitule "The Plebs". Dans cette article vous trouverez une très tendencieuse information sur le mouvement anarchiste espagnol; il n'a pas aucune difference avec les informations des stalinistes. Mais malgré tout cela, la C.N.T . les a donné un défenseur. Ils peuvent dire de la C.N.T. tout ce qu'ils voudront, mais ils n'ont pas le droit de parler mal de celle-ci dans la presse étrangère, car ils savent très bien que les condenations auraient été très differentes si nos organizations n'auraient pas intervenu.

J'espère pouvoir vous dire quelque chose sur ce que lón publie dans "Man" et "Solidarity", car je veux me renseigner amplement sur cette affaire.

C'est vrai que Federica et d'autres compagnons ont fait une intervention près des autroitéè afin d'obtenir la libertés des rares compagnons étrangers qui encore sont en prison.

En ce qui concerne les camarades Klose et Mille je peut vous dire que tout les deux, avec Engels, se trouvaient dans l'autre coté. Mille est mort dans l'hôpital de la prison, assisté par Engels et Klose. Engels est dejà en liberté. Il a été à Barcelone et j'ai cause longuement avec lui sur cette affaire. La semaine dernière il est parti pour la France. Klose se trouve encore à Valence. L'on nous a assuré quíl est dejá en liberté, mais je ne peux pas l'affirmer tandis qu'il ne soit pas venu en Barcelone.

Klose was such the Barcelona representative. He left for France when released from Franco's prison.

Pizano Nino ne se trouve non plus à la prison. Il a été mené à Vich d'où il s'est enfui et a pu passer la frontière. Nous avons des nouvelles des camarades italiens qui sont en France, nous disant qu'il a bien arrivé à ce pays. Pour vous c'est très désagreable le problème des prisonners, mais pour moi aussi est très pénible car touts les jours je reçois des plaintes de l'étranger et des organizations, et chaque jour nous recevons des reclamations de lún ou de l'autre coté. Nos organizations font des démarches

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 17, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin [Gudell]. – 4 p. ; 30 × 24 cm.

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pr's des autorités pour obtenir leur liberté. Nous esperons qu'avec la sortie des volontaires pourront partir les derniers qui sont encore empressonnés. Le gouvernement et la Comission Internationale qui se trouve en Espagne ont promis les faire partir avec les autres volontaires.

Herrera a reçu aussi un exemplaire de votre livre "Ma dessillusion" mais il n'a pas reçu encore "Anti Climax". Il a fait la réclamation à Camara. L'on fait dejà la traduction de "Ma dessillusion".

Nous espérons que vous pourrez nous faire parvenir un exemplaire du livre de Berckman que sans douts vous trouverez en Hollande. Malgré que les circonstances sont très difficiles pour faire des éditions, je croie que nous pourrons continuer le travail.

Je suis content que vous ayez reçu le film de Paris. Ce qui concerne le déboursement, c'est dejá reglé. Nous avons envoyé à Mascarell toutes les coupures qui a fait la censure, mais il nous a communiqué que l'on a fait le film sans ces certaines coupures. C'est très probable que les mètres qui sont en blanc soient ceux qui correspondent à ces coupures et que les camarades de Paris n'ont pas ajouté au film. Sur cela, nous avons écrit à Mascarell.

Demain je ferais la traduction de vos articles et je ferai parvenir une copie à toute ceux que vous m'indiquez.

J'espère que votre voyage à Hollande ait donné des bons résultats. Je vous serias gré de me dire quelque chose dans votre prochaine lettre concernant l'Institut et les affaires que vous avez reglé dans celui-ci.

Recevez mes salutations bien fraternelles,

Я Вам уже давно писал что от Жан Ау-
[illegible] ответ. Теперь тоже сообщаю что
3 С.Е.С.I. Марсейль, тоже получил. Сердечно Вам
[illegible] моя подруга тоже. Каждый день здесь
[illegible], теперь уже везде пусто. Даже белье
[illegible] нужно, уже не хватает, нету. Кто еще
[illegible]ще нам затруднят, это наши "приятели
[illegible]" товарищи." Все вывозят в Россию. Даже
[illegible]. У нас есть документы об этом, но не хотят
[illegible] об этом. Конечно, теперь и фашисты так
[illegible], что ужас. Некоторые уже теряют
[illegible] и думают что война уже проиграна,
[illegible] добровольцами. Теперь все работы

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23412

[illegible] на фронт, до [illegible]. Это единственное [illegible], что время [illegible] и Модесто, [illegible], Тарагону отдали почти что без боя. Должны были почти наши части чтобы задержали врага. Я думаю что у нас будет скоро перемена, потому что все уже признают, что так не может продолжаться. Барселона тоже не та самая, все меняется, настроение и вид. Почти что все мужчины ушли на фронт. CNT и FAI не ожидают мобилизации. Уже ушли на фронт 3 батальоны. Сегодня уходит бат. FAI., без шума, без музыки, тихо. Их провожают маленькие ребята, сыновья. Комитеты остаются без людей. Есть некоторые, где уходят все, со секретарем во главе. Трудно описать настроение всех, но готовые погибнуть раньше чем сдаться фашистам.

На вопросы которые Вам не ответил на днях, опять буду писать.

Сердечный привет Вам

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 18 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. — 2 p.; 29 × 21 cm.

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24548

Am 18. Januar 1939

Liebe Emma, endlich haben wir wieder ein paar Worte von Dir und sind froh darüber, obwohl die Dinge von denen Du sprichst an sich nicht erfreulich sind... (Uebrigens fast gleichzeitig nach längerem Schweigen wieder ein Lebenszeichen von Rudolf.) Ja, Emma, wir wussten sehr wohl, womit Du beschäftigt warst, und sprachen zuweilen darüber, dass Deine Arbeit in Amsterdam sicher ein schmerzliches Versinken in Erinnerungen und Anlass zu vielen ernsten Gedanken sein würde.. Wenn Du einen Trost bei dieser Erinnerung hast, liebe Emma, dann ist es doch der, dass Du dieses Werk weiterführst mit einem Kräfteeinsatz, über den Du schlechterdings nicht hinausgehen kannst. Und wenn wir Jüngeren wohl, leider, auch zerfahrener und verzettelter sind und nicht diese schöne Bruderschaft untereinander haben, wie Ihr sie hattet und habt, Eure Generation, die für die Ausprägung der Ideen das Entscheidende getan hat, so wirst Du uns wenigstens glauben können, dass wir tun werden was wir können, um auch unsererseits die Ideen lebendig zu halten und noch dies und jenes Neue hinzu zu tun. Und so geht Saschas Arbeit wieder weiter, durch Dich selbst, und uns auch.

Dieser Tage habe ich endlich wieder einmal etwas für die Propaganda tun können, nachdem ich die letzen Monate leider allzuviel Polemisches internen Charakters in der Bewegung hatte produzieren müssen. John Andersson, der jetzt sehr gut zusammenarbeitet mit den deutschen Genossen, gibt eine deutsche Broschüre für die Agitation heraus, und ich habe sie geschrieben, sie ist schon in Stockholm und sicher in der Druckerei. Dort habe ich einmal wieder, ganz kurz und einfach natürlich!, unsere Ideen für die Arbeiter allgemein propagandistisch zusammengefasst, so wie ich sie eben zusammenfassen kann. Jeder hat ja seine Art. Du wirst sehen. Ich habe besonders immer wieder auf Spanien verwiesen, und habe alles getan, dass sozialistische, revolutionäre Wollen, unsere Auffassung von "Antifaschismus" gegen die rein bürgerlichen demokratischen Schwindelparolen und Illusionen abzugrenzen. Im Sinne Orobons.

Uebrigens arbeite ich ja ausserdem, aber nur nebenbei, an einer Art Spanienbuch, Du hörtest schon von dem Plan. Es soll eine Art völlig umgearbeiteter und erweiterter Neuausgabe von "Was sind die CNT und die FAI" sein. Aber darein will ich alles setzen was ich nur kann, und es ist eine Arbeit auf längere Sicht.

Dass Dein Büro aufgelöst wird, ist mir nun aber sehr schmerzlich, ja, es erfüllt mich sogar mit Empörung. Auf die quantitiven Erfolge der Arbeit kommt es doch nicht allein an. Euer Büro war jedenfalls das einzige Auslandsbüro der CNT-FAI, das von anarhhistischem Geiste und und in anarchistischer Verantwortung geleitet wurde! Ich kenne die Leute, die zum grossen Teil an der Finanzlage der CNT schuld sind! Es sind die, die hier, Idioten die sie sind!, am Besuchstage "Eures" Königs in ihren Autos mit der englisch-französischen Flagge herumfuhren. Warum hat die CNT als Chefs ihrer Aussenarbeit in Paris die grössten und verantwortungslosesten Dummköpfe bestellt, die in ganz Spanien aufzutreiben waren? Das ist eine Frage...

Freilich, die tragischen Dinge in Katalonien sind nicht dazu angetan innere Streitfragen aufzuwerfen. Ich hoffe immer noch, ich glaube immer noch an die Kraft des spanischen Volkes, auch der 19. Juli selbst war ja ein Wunder in verzweifelter Lage, in einer Lage, in der jedes andere Volk erledigt gewesen wäre. Allerdings sehe ich auch immer mehr die Gefahr herannahen, dass aus dem spanischen Konflikt doch noch der Weltkrieg hervorwächst. Schon wenn die Franzosen Mehr schicken und ein wenig toleranter werden an der Grenze, wird Italien wohl Massen von

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Truppen nach dahin senden, und die Katastrophe naht heran. Das geht über menschliche Kräfte. Dann wird es kein Halten geben. Und wie hätten die Hitler und Konsorten noch 1936 erledigt werden können; wenn die Arbeiter des Westens gehandelt hätten!

Du hast recht, es scheint ein gewisses Erwachen zu beginnen - spät, spät, und wird sich ein Weg finden zum Kampfe? Ein Ansatzpunkt? Man kann nur hoffen und leider so wenig tun, wir kommen ja nicht an die Massen heran! Die Dinge werden einen Lauf nehmen, den wir nicht bestimmen, und wir können dann nur versuchen, unsere Kleinigkeit dazu zu tun, um unseren Sinn, unsere Richtung in die Entwicklung bringen zu helfen!

Du hast sicher auch meine letzten Kopien erhalten, die ich an Spain and The World für Dich sandte?

Aus Schweden noch immer kein Entscheid, die von Andersson eingeleitete Démarche liegt bei den Behörden fest... Ich bin mir leider nicht sicher und habe natürlich keine Ahnung, was ich im negativen Fall mache... Na, vorläufig hoffe ich noch immer dass es geht.

Liebe Emma, damit für heute genug. Wann gedenkst Du denn zu reisen? Nimm von uns beiden viele herzliche Grüsse!

Dein

Helmut

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21 de Enero de 1939.

Querida Lucia:

Dos cartas de Cristin y tuya de fechas 10 y 20 de Diciembre me fueron reexpedidas a Amsterdam, en donde estuve trabajando un mes en el Instituto Social, arregalndo los escritos de nuestro camarada Alejandro Berkman y mi coleccion y pnuestro pequeno. Le escribi a Cristin, la que no puse al correo porque debido a las malas noticias acerca de la situacion en Cataluna. La mandare con la presente. Tengo la suerte de poder contar hoy otra vez con la ayuda de nuestro camarada espanol, que tanto ha colaborado conmigo desde que llegue a Inglaterra hace dos anos para trabajar por la C.N.T.-F.A.I. y la S.I.A. Por ello puedo escribirte en espanol.

Muchas gracias, querida, por el interes que demuestras acerca del accidente sufrido por mi. A traves de mi vida siempre me he aferrado a la formula de que nada me matara excepto la "muerte". Asi es que no habia razon para alarmarse por un mero golpe en la cabeza. Fue una cosa muy pequena, de veras, comparada con la gran tragedia que se cierne sobre todos vosotros.

Durante mi estancia en Espana, estaba segura de que la amiga Ethel Mannin me reemplazaria durante mi ausencia en el Canada y ello me hizo creer que la S.I.A. quedaria en buenas manos. Desgraciadamente dicha amiga se ha vuelto pacifista y como resultado no parece que le interesa tanto la S.I.A. como antes . Ha expresado el deseo de dejar su puesto en varias cartas, pero en ninguna tan decididamente como en su ultima de fecha 19 de Enero. En ell me escribe diciendo que os agradeceria que la relevaseis de su responsabilidad. Me dice que esta dispuesta a ayudarme a mi como en el pasado siempre y cuando yo continue en Inglaterra al frente del trabajo. Esto no puede ser por varias razones. Primero, que mi nombre en Inglaterra es anatema. Esto ha sido demostrado por la falta de cooperacion a todos los esfuerzos que yo habia hecha hasta que Ethel se encargo de la S.I.A. El mero hecho de que ella ha podido conseguir suscripciones por mas de 250 libres meramente por medio de una carta, mientras que yo trate por semanas y meses, organice conciertos y mitines y pedi constantemente, sin un resultado similar, es prueba de que mi nombre no sirve en este pais. Mas importante aun es que apoyada en la promesa de Ethel Mannin, yo escribi a los camaradas en el Canada anunciandoles que haria viaje definitivamente. Desde entonces me han

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enviado los fondos necesarios y me han escrito de que estan haciendo todos los arreglos precisos para los mitines y demas cosas que ayuden a mis actividades po la S.I.A. y C.N.T.-F.A.I. en el Canada. Veras, por tanto, lo imposible que para mi es el no marchar y quedarme aqui.

He escrito a Ethel Mannin hoy otra vez, procurando convencerla para que continue en la S.I.A. Si no se aviene a ello definitivamente, vere a otra camarada, tambien inglesa, acerca de quien yo te escribi hara cosa de un ano. Su nombre es Grevelle Foster. Ella ha estado en Espana creo que unos 18 meses. Conoce espanol y frances, lo que seria una ventaja sobre Ethel que no conoce dichos idiomas. Ademas tiene muchas relaciones en Londres que podrian ser beneficiosas si consiente hacerse cargo de la S.I.A. Por supuesto que el camarada Barr le ayudaria. Tambien tengo en vista a la camarada Dr. Ruth Prothero, de quien tambien te hable. Creo que ella estara dispuesta a hacerse cargo de la S.I.A. La unica dificultad es que ella depende de su trabajo para vivir, lo que no ocurre con Grevelle Foster. Desgraciadamente los donativos que se reciben para S.I.A. no permiten pagar salarios, especialemante ahora que la Oficina de la C.N.T. se va a cerrar y no se recibira ayuda ninguna de Espana. Hasta ahora no puedo decir quien de estas dos camaradas consentira hacerse cargo de la S.I.A. y como nos arreglaremos si Ruth se dispone a ello. Me encuentro sumamente preocupado con respecto a todo este asunto. No puedo pensar en dejar S.I.A. Por otra parte no puedo quedarme aqui para atender a ella. Tratere, pues, hacer todo cuanto de mi dependa para hacer un arreglo satisfactorio. Mientras tanto Ethel Mannin ha mandado otras 100 libras a Camara, que es el unico punto luminoso en el cielo nebuloso de estos dias.

He leido tus dos boletinos 21 y 22 que dan los puntos levantados por seccion arge tina de la S.I.A. para ser discutidos en el Congreso que se ha de celebrar en Paris en Julio. El que trata de la actitud de S.I.A. con respecto a otras organizaciones politicas, incluso Rusia y los comunistas, me parece muy peligroso, pues como le expliquc a Cristin cuando estuve en Barcelona, cooperar con Socorro Rojo o los comunistas fuera de Espana, resultara en que la S.I.A. sea tragada por ellos como lo han hecho con todos los que han tratado de asociarse a ellos. Confio que tu, querida Lucia, y las otras camaradas os opendreis a esto con todo vuestro ahinco, pues no se si estare de vuelto del Canada a tiempo para acudir al Congreso. Tengo pensado preparar un informe haciendo presente la imperiosa necesidad de navegar aparte de cualquier conoccion con Rusia o los comunistas. Fue un triste dia aquel en que los camaradas de la C.N.T. se sometieron a la dictadura de Stalin. Me hago cargo de que fueron forzados a hacerlo, pero temo que el precio pagado fue demasiado alto y las consecuencias demasiado desastrosas para la heroica lucha en Espana. Seguramente que despues de esta amarga experiencia con los comunistas, vosotros no debeteis someterse una vez mas a los designios de nuestros anemigos - los comunistas - de coferos entre sus redes.

Mi corazon late fuertemente con las noticias y peligros que asolan a Cataluna. Ojala estuviese entre vosotros para compartir en vuestra lucha, vuestra victoria o lo que pase. Pero como no sera asi solo confio que Barcelona realice tambien el milagro de Madrid. Mientras tantoo me complace mucjho tu actitud y la de las demas companeras de Mujeres Libres. Herrera me ha dicho el ejemplo tan grande que habeis dado a los hombres con vuestra actitud al defender vuestros

derechos con motivo de la prorroga de quitaros vuestro local. No he recibido aun el estado de cuentas que me dices enviabas. Supongo que llegara un dia de estos. Mis cariños a Mercedes. Pile que le contestare a su carta pronto, y que estoy orgullosa en su manera de proceder tambien.

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21 de Enero de 1939.

Querido Pedro:

Desde que te escribe la ultima vez he recibido tus dos cartas del 22 y 23 del mes pasado. La primera me fue reexpedida a Amsterdam, en donde estuve trabajando durante un mes en el Instituto Internacional, arreglando todo el materialdejado por nuestro camarada Alejandro Berkman, asi como mi propia coleccion y la de nuestro companero. Como habia creido, encontre una copia de "BOLSHEVIC MITH". Esta junta con una copia de "ANTICLIMAX", fueron enviadosinmediatamente a nuestro amigo en Perpignan que manda el correo a Martin. Espero que llegara a su poder, aun que toma mucho tiempo para que mis cartas lleguen a sus manos. Recibi una carta de Martin el otro dia de fecha 3 de Enero en la que me comunica que habia recibido mi catta del 1 de Diciembre, lo qu quiere decir que esta tardo un mes en llegar a sus manos. Esto no es nada satisfactorio, especialmente en estos tiempos, cuando cada dia aumenta el peligro que se cierne sobre vosotros. Esto ya lo he debatido conmigo misma, haciendome la pregunta si debo escribir a ti y a Martin ahora. No podria hacerlo si fuese a creer todo lo que se dice en estos dias en la prensa europea acerca de la situacion en Cataluna. Solo mi gran fe en el corage de nuestros comaradas y el pueblo espanol, que me hace esperar que en Barcelona se repetita el mismo milagro que salvo a Madrid. Asi es que me he decido a escribir para contestar a tus dos ultimas cartas.

Con respecto a la primera, me gustaria mucho contribuir regularmente a TIMON, pero me es imposible hacerlo actualmente. Aun quedad mucho que hacer para liquidar la Oficina de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. Ademas me encuentro en una situacion dificil con respecto a S.I.A. Nuestra amiga Ethel Mannin, quien a mi regreso de Espana, definitivamente me prometio hacerse cargo de la S.I.A. durante mi ausencia en el Canada, ha considerado ahora el asunto, y teniendo la pesimista idea de que todo se ha perdido en Espana, incluso de la Revolucion, cree que este el el momento sicologico para dejar a S.I.A. Esto me causo una impresion muy pesima. Los camaradas en el Canada, no solo han conseguido reunir el importe de mi viaje , sino que han arreglado todos losdemas detalles con respecto al mismo y no uedo dejar de ir. Por otra parte no puedo dejar a S.I .A., la que yo he creado aqui y que despues de todo ha producido ciertos resultados, si bien no muy grandes. Adi es que he de encontrar a alguna persona en la que se pueda depender para que se encargue de los asuntos de S.I.A. mientros yo este usente. Ello me tomara todo el tiempo disponible y por ello no podria dedicar ningun momento a escribir en TIMON. Sin embarco, estoy preprando un articulo para SPAIN AND THE WORLD que versara sobre el caso TOM MOONEY, ahora que por ultimo ha sido puesto en libertad. Asi sera posible decir que fue nuestro camarada Alejandro Berkman el que desde un principio hizo

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todo lo que fue preciso para salvar la vida de MOONEY. Si crees que pueda ser interesante lo podrias utilizar para TIMON. Tendria que enviarte via Perpignan, pues por correo no creo que seria pasado por la Censura. Pero de esta forma no se puede decir cuando llegara a tu poder. Mientras este en el Canada procurare enviar articulos de vez en cuando para TIMON si aun existe. A proposito, no he visto ningun otro numero de dicha publicacion desde el numero tres, que la traje desde Espana, por lo que no comprendo como es que los otros numeros no han llegado, en la conviccion en que estoy de que ni tu ni los demos camaradas han dejado de enviarlo.

Mientras este ocupada con publicaciones, deseo decirte que aun no he estado por nuestra Oficina, por lo que no se si MADRID ROJO Y NEGRO ha llegado. Llegue muy cansada de Holanda el jueves por la noche y desde entonces he estado trabajando en casa contestando la numerosa correspondencia que se habia acumulado. El lunes ire por la Oficina y entonces te comunicare si ha llegado o no.

Ahora con respecto a tu muy interesante carta del 23 de Diciembre. Nuestro buene camarada que me hace las traducciones y que tambien escribe esta carta, me ha hecho un extenso resume del contenido de esta carta tuya. Deseo, pues, contestarla enseguida, pues si no me haria una traduccion completa , pero como me he impuesto de los puntos mas importantes, deseo contestarlos si esperar mas tiempo. Primero, hiciste muy bien, querido Pedro, al no hacer precion acerca de V. para que continuase con la Oficina en Londres de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. Yo he tenido siempre la opinion hace ya algunos meses, que los resultados obtenidos no justifican los elevados gastos que dicha oficina causa. Si yo no hubiera decidido ir al Canada, tal vez hubiera tratado este invierno otra vez levantar a los "muertos", pues esto es exactamente lo que son los ingleses, cadaveres andantes con agua en lugar de sangre en sus venas. Si, han contrub do dinero a favor de Espana; han formulado interpelaciones en el Parlamente y ahora hacen manifestaciones callejeras pidiendo armas para Espana, pero no se ve interes ninguno por la C.N.T.-F.A.I. La mayoria de los trabajadores no saben nada de dichas iniciaciones y los que saben algo han hecho cuanto han podido para que no se sepa el papel juagado en la lucha en Espana por la C.N.T.-F.A.I. Estos dos anos han sido para mi muy trsites debido a los exigues resultados producidos por mi trabajo. Admito que siento mucho que la Oficina tenga que ser liquidada. Por otra parte me parece que la C.N.T. ha hecho bien. Sin embargo, no estoy conforme, querido Pedro, cuando me dices que yo ahora me sentire con mas libertad para trabajar por nuestros ideales que cuando representaba a la C.N.T. Si la situacion ahi no fuese tan grave el enemigo acercandose cada vez mas, tu y todos los demas camaradas a quienes tanto quiere y que se encuentran en tan inminente peligro, tal vez me sentiria con mas libertad, pero ahora es imposible hablar de los errores cometidos por parte de la C.N.T. Y permiteme que te diga tambien por la F.A.I. O exponer la traicion de los gangsters de Stalin . Me siento tan amarrada ahora o mas, que cuando trabajaba por todos vosotros, la C.N.T. y la F.A.I.

Esto me lleva al segundo punto en tu carta, en donde dices que los camaradas de la F.A.I. estan dispuestos a limpiar nuestras lineas de la corrupcion apuntada y retrotaer nuestro movimiento a su primitiva politica de ideales y principios propiamente anarquistas. No veo como podreis atentar alguna oposicion a la C.N.T. sin causar una division entre nuestros camaradas, que es principalmente lo que Franco espera. Espero, por tanto, que tanto tu como los demas camarada esperareis hasta que Franco sea vencido y no hareis nada que vaya

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a danar la moral del movimiento libertario. Una cosa sin embargo se me ocurre, no puedo creer que entre los que teñias en el pensamiento cuando me escribistes acerca de la corrupcion a que te refieres, sea tambien V. He que es abrupto y muy crudo. Igualmente se que modo de pensar es insular; que desconoce por completo la situacion europea. Se trata del proletario tipico, que ha llegado a ocupar un puesto de responsabilidad, tal vez demasiado grande para su capacidad mental, pero no puedo pensar que nuestro M. se porte de dicha manera o que solo desea poder. Le he estudiado cada vez que he estado en Espana y me da la impresion de ser muy sencillo, con una gran devosion a nuestra causa, si bien muy dogmatico y testarudo. Confio que no te referirias a el cuando tratabas de lo que te hablo.

Concuerdo contigo que el Pleno de Regionales y Peninsular se ajustaban mas a nuestras ideas, con mucha mas vida e interesante que el Pleno general. Tambien los acuerdos resultaron mas revolucionarios y llenos del espiritu del 19 de Julio. Solo puedo confiar que no este lejos el dia cuando estos acuerdos sean puestos en practica. Si se hubieren tenido en cuento aun que sea en 1937, la posicion ahora no seria tan grave.

Si, Sant. me hablo a largo acerca del plan. He pensado en el bastante desde mi regreso de Espana, pensando como podria yo ayudar, pero hasta ahora no veo la manera de poder prestar ayuda. Tu mismo dices que el asunto es sumamente privado, asi que una no puede hablar a aquellos cuya colaboracion se desea sin hablarles de lo que se trata. En cualquier forma, en Inglaterra nada puedo hacer. No existe ninguna persona a quien yo podria acudir sobre el asunto. Vere si puedo hacer algo en el Canada o en los E.U. Creo que podre enviar a alqguien del Canada a los E.U. con una carta para Rocker y otros camaradas de confianza, y les pedire que hagan todo lo que puedan para conseguir los fondos necesarios. Sant. no me indico a quien deberia ser enviado los fondos, por lo que te ruego me contestes a vuelta de correo diciendo a quien tendria que mandarlo. En tu cartas mencionas a Rocker. [redacted] Te haras cabalas acerca de lo tachado, pero fue que confundi a Rocker con Roca, pero ah ra veo que se trata de Rodolfo Rocker. Solo puedo repetir lo que digo acerca de que me digas a quien en Francia se ha de mandarse la ayuda, y ciertamente procurare por todos los medios allegar fondos.

Te envio estos carta por conducto de Camara. Tal vez por su conducto te llegue con mayor rapidez que a traves de nuestro amigo de Perpignan. No he decidido aun cuando embarcare. Todo depende de lo que ocurra en Cataluna. No puedo pensar que pondre el oceano entre mi y Espana. Es bastante triste estar tan lejos como Inglaterra cuando deseo tan vehemente estar con vosotros , pero si el milagro se consuma en Barcelona saldre para el Canada a fines del mes proximo, y por esto me gustaria que me contestases pronto.

Me alegro mucho saber de la brava actitud adopatada por le camaradas de MUJERES LIBRES. No me sorprende, pues me dieron la sensacion de ser consecuentes camaradas, mucho mas que algunos de los

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hombres que conocí. Me disguto mucho en el Pleno la actitud reaccionaria de los camaradas que votaron contra que las mujeres atendieran la seccion. Me resulta tan anticuado; mas de 50 anos atrasados en comparacion con otros pueblos de Europa al tratar con mujeres. Si no hubiese sido que yo atendi el Pleno en nombre del trabajo que estaba haciendo en Inglaterra, hubiese protestado entonces y hubiese dejado la seccion. No cabe duda que muchos de los camaradas espanoles tienen mucho que aprender, aun de paises burgueses.

Tengo que terminar ahora, querido camarada. Mi buen secretario no sabe aun que tienen otra carta que escribir para Lucia. No puedo explotarlo mas con esta para ti.

Siempre con afecto y fraternalemente, y con muchos saludos para tu companera. Tambien mis afectos y carinos a los camaradas de la F.A.I.

P.D.
Querido Pedro, me olvidada de un asunto importante. Las monografias que dices estan en preparacion. Desde luego mandame una tan pronto como te sea posible. Todo material y documento de la F.A.I. confio que no lo demoreis, pues en la situacion presente toda hora cuenta. Cuando hable a Sant. me dijo que tenia todo el material listo y reproducciones fotograficas del material de la Primera Internacional que iba a mandar al Instituto Internacional de Historia Social, pero hasta ahora nada ha llegado y los camaradas a cargo de la seccion anarquista en dicho instituto estan muy preocupados acerca de esto. Ruegote le interes que envie un lote enseguida. No puedo expresarte la necesidad de salvaguardar todo lo que sea posible, lo cual solo podra ser realizado si os dais prisa. Seria tragico perder tan importante material para que las futuras generaciones sepan del heroismo y martirio de la C.N.T.-F.A.I.

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 21, London [to Manuel] Mascarell, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p.; 14 × 20 cm.
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Londres, 21 de enero de 1939.

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Querido camarada Mascarell,

La adjunta carta fue escrito mientras me encontraba en Amsterdam. No la habia puesto al correo por las noticias tan terribles en la prensa acerca de la situacion en Espana. Espero dia por dia en la esperanza de que se experimentase un cambio en el peligro que se acerca mas y mas sobre Barcelona, pero hasta ahora las noticias continuan siendo desastrosas. Solo mi gran fe en el pueblo espanol y especialmente en nuestros propios camaradas lo que me hace que no pierda la fe completamente sobre la situacion. Segun es, me aferro a pensar que Barcelona realice el mismo milagro que Madrid, pero es tortura el tener que depender de la prensa capitalista por noticias autenticas y tambien estar tan lejos de los camaradas que estan arriesgando todo al poner al paso de los salvajes al servicio de Franco.

Dime si tienes noticias directas de la C.N.T. Que arreglos hacen ellos. Me gustaria saberlo. Escribeme tan pronto puedas, pues estoy muy preocupada.

Fraternalmente,

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[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 21 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. – 4 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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Jan 21st 39

Dearest Ethel,

I received your letter of the 16th inst.but had no time to reply. I arrived Thursday after a tedious trip and very tired. It is only now that I can write you. You did right my dear not to come to town to see me. Had I known you are so rushed with your book I should not have suggested a meeting between us for Friday.For well I know what it means to be torne from one's writing. When you will feel freer let me know I will be happy to see you any time.

Dearest Ethel I have had the feeling for some time that you want to be relieved from the SIA. I was therefore not surprise to lea n that you intended asking the comrades in Barcelona to reliev you from your responsibility. That is your right of course. What I cannot understand is your saying that now is the psycholigic moment to give up SIA altogether. Granted that your verdict is correct that everything is lost,"the Revolution crushed and the war at an end" it would seem that now more than ever is the SIA necessary because the refugees are increasing by the thousands and help is more desperately needed than before. Besides,it is not true that everything in Spain is at an end. To believe this is simply not to know the Spanish people,to ignore the fact that slavery is preferable to the sturggle for Liberty which to them is the only raison d'etre of life. It is also not to know that whatever outcome the war will have the Spanish people and especially the CNT-FAI and Libertarian Youth will not be subdued for long.They will again as they have in the past fight on as guerribas and they will fight on not for the Republican government but for their economic and social emancipation. I am as certain of that as I am certain that the danw follows the night. I am certain because I have studied the temper and feeling of the Spanish comrades at close hand. I only wish you had been in Spain and had seen with your own eyes what I have seen. You would never think of giving up SIA at this most crucial moment of the struggle of our comradee.

I realise that your change to Pacifism has much to do with your desire to withdraw from SIA as its responsible representative. Though why it should I can not grasp. I should think even Pacifists must see the need of suplying food to a starving people,starving not

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[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 21 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. – 4 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

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because they cannot purchase food but because they are not permitted to do so on a large scale because they are being starved out by the so called Democracies at the behest of Mussolini and Hitler. The ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ more convincing the reason to strain every nerve to help the victims of the most criminal conspiracy against a whole people the world has ever seen, the more imperative to hang on to SIA.

You say thereis no difference for the masses between Fascism and the Republican government. Forgive me dear ut this is political and social ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ shorsightedness. I certain hold no brief for the Spanish Republican government or any government what efer its boast. I know as few do how reactionary Negrin is and what he has done since he came to power. But the very fact that the CNT-FAI can still go on fighting for their revolutionary achievements which by the way, are far from having been "crushed" proves that there is a difference even between the Ngrin government reactionary as it is and Hitlers, Mussolins or Francos regime. In one of your former letters which I have not at hand now you expressed the thought that anything is prefarable than war, even Fascism. If I am wrong please forgive me. But I rather think this was your thought if not the actual wording. I confess I was amazed at such an idea. It is hardly necessary for me to assure you that I too think war a hidious thing but not ~~xxxxx~~ when a whole people have risen and ~~xxxx~~ are fighting in defense of the Revolution, in denfense of more than their lives, in defense of their right to organise their lives as they deem fit, for the right to be free. There never was and never can be a more compelling right, at least not to me. For, I consider slavery, the hidious dehumanisation, the complete loss of all of all indiviudal and social expression ~~xxx~~ that goes with Fascism the most horrible cringing existance I can think of. However, granted that your present position is correct does not the fact remain that millions in Spain are starving? Does not the appalling fact remain that the crashest discrimination is being practiced by all who raise money and send food to Spain against our people make SIA doubly necessary? I receive a letter from Vazquez with a letter from the Iron workers Syndicate and a list of names of their members addressed to the Iron workers in England begging that food parcels should be sent to them because now help comes to them from any other source. They write that the Railway workers have undertaken to collect the parcles and deliver them direct to the people on the list. This is only one proof of many that our people are being shamefully ignored and that the only help and assitance they have and do receive is thourg SIA and the ~~xxxx~~ Anarcho Syndicalist organisations in France, Sweden, America and some countIree in South America. I say therefore that it would be unfair to give up ~~SIA~~.

You worry about the upkeep of the office, my dearest you seem to have forgotten that we have the Film. I am not fool enough to expect fortunes from its returns but there is no doubt in my mind that the expense of the office, the SIA share of rent, lightsmgas and telephone could easily be raised through the Film For instance Glasgow wants the Film for a month and is prepared to pay £1 ~~xxxx~~ showing. Others are to pay £1,10 for one time. I am therefore sure

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the expenses could be covered without making an inroad on the receipts for SIA. My anxiety is about Ralph. I don't know how he will live but as he has managed somehow, nenever breathed a word how he lived before, he will I suppose again manage. Naturally, SIA cannot stop because of this concern. Perhaps I can send Ralph something from time to time.

You suggest that I should remain in England to continue the work of SIA. My dear Ethel while I do not wish you to think that I want to keep you to your word I must nevertheless call your attention to the fact that it was your difinite promise to look after SIA while I would be away in Canada that I wrote my comrades and personal friends that I was coming. In point of fact I wrote them only on my return from Spain and after I had asked you again whether you would be willing to continue with SIA. Since I wrote my friends they have sent me the money for my passage and have made all arrangements for my work there. To go back on my promise to the Canadian comrades a thing I have never done nefore would be extremely distasteful to me. Still I would do that if my struggle for SIA had not brought such poor results. You know yourself how little my name counts in this country. True you say you will help me. I have no doubt of that but I cannot continue for long to hide my identity behind your name. And my name has proven anathema in England. I hate to deceive myself so I must face the fact that I have failed utterly to rouse interest, or to make even personal friends. I am just as much alone here as in 24 when I came here to live and carry on my work. So what good would I do SIA if I gave up the plan to sail for Canada? On the other hand I am known on the American Continent not so well in Canada as in the U.S. I am sure I can achieve more for SIA and the Spanish comrades even in Canada than I have here. I have explained this to you many times. It is this and not because I want to burden you with SIA that I must leave England for a time at least.

However, I do not wish to coax you into doing something which you no longer care to continue, much less do I wish to hold you to your promise freely given. I never believed that people should be morally forced to do things in which they no longer have faith. And you seem to have lost faith in the need of SIA and the gallant struggle of our comrades. So you must do as you think best of course.

I know only of one other English woman who might be willing to take charge of SIA and who might be suitable though certainly nothing compared with your importance. It is Grevelle Foster the comrade for whom you sent me a credential once. She is way over the week end. I will see her during the week and have a talk with her. If she consents I would very much like you to meet her I mean if you will be willing to help her as you say you would me if I remained in England. I thought at first of Sonia, but she seems hopeless, she has so many irons in the fire. Before I left for Holland I begged her to prepare a letter when James Harrison would return to be sent out to I.L.P branches and other organisations for the Film. They bothe met me Thursday. They had done nothing about the letter. It was no use they said. I suppose I am stupid but I simply cannot understand giving up interest and effort for people in their supreme hour. Anyhow, I will not ask Sonia to do anything for SIA. If Mrs Foster refuses I will write the comrades in Spain that I must give up the Bureau of the SIA as well as the Bureau of the C.N.T.

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so little in England I must go where I can achieve more and at the sea. time not go throgh such agony as I have the last two years beating my winge against the wind,trying so hard and so persistantly to take root, to rouse interest and responce in the grand wprk undertaken by the ONT-MAI,indeed the first in all revolutions,in maing friends . I have failed in all this. True I have found you. Whether you know it or not you have been my only spiritual support regardless of our recent mis understandings though I have even failed to satisfy you. Please believe me I am not wanting to be tragical. I am merely facing reality.

I am so glad you could send another £100 to Marseille . T This again proves how much more your name has done than mine and you will admit with less drudgery.The greater the loss to SIA if you will withdraw. For the rest you will have to decide the step you want to take. I will be in the office all afternoon Monday.

With love.

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Barcelona 21 enero 1939.

Camarada EMMA GOLDMAN,
Londres.

Chère camarade,

Je viens de recevoir votre lettre du 5 crt. que vous avez écrit à Amsterdam. J'ai reçu aussi celle que vous avez adressée à Mariano, dont j' ai fait la traduction.

Je vois que tout le matériel arrive et je crois qu'avant de votre départ pour le Canada vous aurez tout ce que vous m'avez prié de vous envoyer .

J'ai a vous communiquer que le camarada Klose et d'autres camarades italiens qui étaient emprissonnés à Valence, sont dejá en liberté et ils sont arrivés à Barcelone. Touts ces camarades sont preparés pour partir d'Espagne avec la première expédition de volontaires qui partira.

Ich habe mit Klose schon gesprochen.

J'ai reçu une lettre du camarade Arnold Engels qui est dejà à Genève. Il me communique avoir passé bien toutes les frontières et qu'il se propose travailler à Genève.

J'espère pouvoir vous communiquer des bonnes nouvelles sur les autres camarades qui encore sont en prison dans ce coté. Cependant, je peux vous assurer qu'ils pourront partir avec quelqu'une des expéditionsdes volontaires.

Le camarade Esgleas est revenu du front et il m'a promis reproduire son discours du Plénum. J'espère que dans ma prochaine lettre je pourrais vous transmettre ce discours dont vous êtes si intéressée.

Je vous serais gré de bien vouloir communiquer à ce bureau la quantité du matériel qui reste dans le bureau de London, pour des fins denotre comptabilité. De notre part, nous continuerons à remettre au camarade Barr tout le matériel que nous vous faissione parvenir avec votre nom. S'il y a quelque chose d'un intérêt spécial, nous allons le souligner pour qu'ils fassent sa traduction.

Je prends bonne note de votre nouvelle adresse.

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En ce qui concerne le matériel d'information, je commence dès aujourd'hui à l'envoyer à Toronto et je souligne les parties les plus importantes.

Avant de votre partie pour le Canada j'espère recevoir de vos nouvelles concernant la liquidation du bureau.

L'affaire du film est sufisamment clair et à Paris vous attend une copie. Le camarade Mascarell n'attend que vos nouvelles pour savoir où il doit adresser cette copie.

En ce qui concerne le matériel du Comité Péninsulaire, l'un de ces jours vous recevrez quelques choses qui encore manquent. Je suis surpris du que vous n'ayez pas rien reçu de ce matériel. Je suis sûr que ce materiel ne peut pas s' égarer car il est en main des camarades qui ont fait toujours tout ce dont ils se sont sympromis à faire. Il y a des fois qu'il tarde beaucuopp à arriver, mais jusqu'à maintenant il ne sést rien égaré.

Dans l'une de mes lettres de la semaine dernière je vous ai remis un autre exemplaire de l'article sur les luttes des guerrilles en Espagne. J'espère qu'il vous sera parvenu.

Je vous remets un autre exemplaire du livre de Santillan dont il parait qui a été interdit par la censure. Je vous enverrai un exemplaire par une voie et un autre je vous enverrai par des lettres, c'est-à-dire que vous allez recevoir ce livre dans plusieurs enveloppes.

Je pense que vous pourrez faire la traduction de tout l'article du livre de Toryho. C'est un matériel que jusqu'à présent n' a pas été démenti par personne.

Il serait aussi très intéressant de traduire à l'anglais tout le livre "Madrid Rojo y Negro"; mais qui est capable de réaliser cette oeuvre en Angleterre? C'est un de e meilleurs livres que lón a fait. En Espagne ce livre a eu un succès formidable.

J'ai reçu la lettre de Steinberg qui étai annexe à la votre, ainsi que celle qui était adressée à Marckwald. J'ai écrit dejà à Steinberg, mais je vais le faire aujourd'hui une autree fois. J'ai reçu tout ce qu'il a envoyé, dont je le remercie.

Par sa lettre je vois qu'il est malade. Je me rappelle qu' à Berlin il n'etait pas très fort et sans doute le clima de l'Angleterre ne le vas pas très bien. Il doit être surchargé de travail avec les problèmes des juifs. C'est une de les plus grandes hontes de notre temps ce qu'il arrive en Allemagne et dans d'autres pays fascistes. D'autre part il est aussi un des persecutés car il a dû fuire d' Allemagne.

Je ferais tout le possible afin de traduire àlallemand le matériel le plus important. Jusqu' à la fin de janvier je l'enverrai à votre adresse particulière et après cette date je le ferais à celle de Toronto.

Je n'ai pas fini encore de traduire votre article. Aussitôt que je l'aurais fini je vous écrire l'impression qui à cause parmi les compagnons.

Dans ma prédedente lettre je vous ai communiqué mon entretien

...

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avec Mawa.

Sans doute vous aurez des nouvelles sur les fonts attaques qui maintenant ont lieu contre Catalogne. Nous vivons moments d'un grand péril. Toute l'Espagne est mobilisée. Touts les hommes partent pour le front. La plupart des maisons et des fabriques sont vides ou demi vides. A cause de cela, nous avons des difficultés dans le travail de ces bureaux et des éditoriales. Nous n'avons pas pu éditer regulièrement nos bulletins car il nous manque du papier. Dans les imprimeries aussi l'on n'a pas pu tirer les livres et les revues nécessaires car touts les hommes sont partis pour le front. L'on vient de me communiquer que le livre de Berckman il est preparé pour le mettre en machine, mais ils se trouvent avec des difficultés car la plupart du personnel est parti. Donc, il doit souffrir un retard et cela ne sera pas le pire. Il serait encore plus malheureux si les italiens arriveraient plus près de Barcelone. . S'il serait question d'un autre peuple que celui d'Espagne, sans doute la lutte serait échuée. Mais les epagnols se défendent d'une manière inconcebible. Quand l'on a fait la mobilisation générale lón puvait attenire des soulèvements, mais il est arrivé ttout le contraire. Tout le monde, sans attendre le jour de son incorporation, ont parti comme des volontaires.

D'autee part, ici tout est pareil. Barcelone est bombardé chaque jour et tout le monde vit dans l'espérance d'une aide de l'extérieur efficace.

Recevez, de ma part et de celle des compagnons qui travaillent avec moi, les plus fraternelles salutations,

Von heute ab ich werde auf Ihre Adresse einige Kuverts mit interessanten Material zu schicken. Sollte hier schief gehen, da werden wir es in Sicherheit haben und Sie werden es hier zu schicken. Wenn Sie Zeit haben, kann Sie es auch durchsehen um informiert zu sein, sollten Sie weg fahren, sagen Sie bitte dem Gen. Barr, er soll alles beraiten. Das ganze Material wird registriert, jedes Kuvert wird ein Numer haben (mit blauem Bleistift geschrieben). Bitte erzählen Sie es dem Gen. Barr damit er weiss um was es handelt.

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Heute, Sonnabend, Barcelona ist 4 Mals bombardiert. Erst Mal sind es 18 Deutsche Flugzeuge gekommen. Glücklicherweise die haben nicht viel Schaden getan, weil die sind angegriffen worden von Er-unsere Airoiaten.

Herzliche Grüsse
Euer Martin

Im vorigen Brief habe ich Ihnen mitgeteilt, dass ich den Packet von Camara bekommen habe. Ich bin sehr dankbar. Ich bekam auch von Sternberg und habe ihm geschrieben, von ihm aber bekam ich kein Brief bis jetzt. Er soll nach Perpignan schreiben, ich werde ihm die Adresse geben.

Grüsse von Simon und andere Genossen

Martin

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 22 [London to I. da] Camara [Pires, Marseille, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

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Jan 22nd 39

Dear comrade Camara. Inclosed are two letters to Pedro Hererra and Lucia Sanchez Saornil. Please see that they get to them. I call your special attention to the letter to our good comrade Pedro. Unless you can send it with an absolutely reliable courier do not send it at all. I hope though you will find a way because the letter is most important. You may think me childish to expect that you are in a position to get letters to our friends in Barcelona when the savage enemy is creeping near and nearer I assure you I would despeare if I did not continue in my abding faith that Barcelona will perform the same miracle as Madrid has. The trouble is one cannot rely on the daily Press and no word is coming from Barcelona. I wonder if you have any direct news how much our people are prepared and how long they will be able to defend Barcelona. The very thought that Franco may get to that once glorious city sends cold shivers down my back. Please write me soon.

Fraternalgreetings to our young comrade and yourself. Salud.

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[Letter, 1939 Jan. 22, London to I. da Camara Pires, Marseille (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 29 × 23 cm.

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20723

22 de Enero de 1939.

Querida Lucia:

Dos cartas de Cristin y tuya de fechas 10 y 20 de Diciembre me fueron reexpedidas a Amsterdam, en donde estuve trabajando un mes en el Instituto Social, arregalndo los escritos de nuestro camarada Alejandro Berkman y mi coleccion y pnuestro pequeno. Le escribi a Cristin, la que no puse al correo porque debido a las malas noticias acerca de la situacion en Cataluna. La mandare con la presente. Tengo la suerte de poder contar hoy otra vez con la ayuda de nuestro camarada espanol, que tanto ha colaborado conmigo desde que llegue a Inglaterra hace dos anos para trabajar por la C.N.T.-F.A.I. y la S.I.A. Por ello puedo escribirte en espanol.

Muchas gracias, querida, por el interes que demuestras acerca del accidente sufrido por mi. A traves de mi vida siempre me he aferrado a la formula de que nada me matara excepto la "muerte". Asi es que no habia razon para alarmarse por un mero golpe en la cabeza. Que una cosa muy pequena, de veras, comparada con la gran tragedia que se cierne sobre todos vosotros.

Durante mi estancia en Espana, estaba segura de que la amiga Ethel Mannin me reemplazaria durante mi ausencia en el Canada y ello me hizo creer que la S.I.A. quedaria en buenas manos. Desgraciadamente dicha amiga se ha vuelto pacifista y como resultado no parece que le interesa tanto la S.I.A. como antes . Ha expresado el deseo de dejar su puesto en varias cartas, pero en ninguna tan decididamente como en su ultima de fecha 19 de Enero. En ell me escribe diciendo que os agradeceria que la relevaseis de su responsabilidad. Me dice que esta dispuesta a ayudarme a mi como en el pasado siempre y cuando yo continue en Inglaterra al frente del trabajo. Esto no puede ser por varias razones. Primero, que mi nombre en Inglaterra es anatema. Esto ha sido demostrado por la falta de cooperacion a todos los esfuerzos que yo habia hecha hasta que Ethel se encargo de la S.I.A. El mero hecho de que ella ha podido conseguir suscripciones por mas de 250 libras meramente por medio de una carta, mientras que yo trate por semanas y meses, organice conciertos y mitines y pedi constantemente, sin un resultado similar, es prueba de que mi nombre no sirve en este pais. Mas importante aun es que apoyada en la promesa de Ethel Mannin, yo escribi a los camaradas en el Canada anunciandoles que haria viaje definitivamente. Desde entonces me han

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enviado los fondos necesarios y me han escrito de que estan haciendo todos los arreglos precisos para los mitines y demas cosas que ayuden a mis actividades por la S.I.A. y C.N.T.-F.A.I. en el Canada. Veras, por tanto, lo imposible que para mi es el no marchar y quedarme aqui.

He escrito a Ethel Mannin hoy otra vez, procurando convencerla para que continue en la S.I.A. Si no se aviene a ello definitivamente, vere a otra camarada, tambien inglesa, acerca de quien yo te escribi hara cosa de un ano. Su nombre es Grevelle Foster. Ella ha estado en Espana creo que unos 18 meses. Conoce espanol y frances, lo que seria una ventaja sobre Ethel que no conoce dichos idiomas. Ademas tiene muchas relaciones en Londres que podrian ser beneficiosas si consiente hacerse cargo de la S.I.A. Por supuesto que el camarada Barr le ayudaria. Tambien tengo en vista a la camarada Dr. Ruth Prothero, de quien tambien te hable. Creo que ella estara dispuesta a hacerse cargo de la S.I.A. La unica dificultad es que ella depende de su trabajo para vivir, lo que no ocurre con Grevelle Foster. Desgraciadamente los donativos que se reciben para S.I.A. no permiten pagar salarios, especialmente ahora que la Oficina de la C.N.T. se va a cerrar y no se recibira ayuda ninguna de Espana. Hasta ahora no puedo decir quien de estas dos camaradas consentira hacerse cargo de la S.I.A. y como nos arreglaremos si Ruth se dispone a ello. Me encuentro sumamente preocupado con respecto a todo este asunto. No puedo pensar en dejar S.I.A. Por otra parte no puedo quedarme aqui para atender a ella. Tratare, pues, hacer todo cuanto de mi dependa para hacer un arreglo satisfactorio. Mientras tanto Ethel Mannin ha mandado otras 100 libras a Camara, que es el unico punto luminoso en el cielo nebuloso de estos dias.

He leido tus dos boletines 21 y 22 que dan los puntos levantados por seccion argentina de la S.I.A. para ser discutidos en el Congreso que se ha de celebrar en Paris en Julio. El que trata de la actitud de S.I.A. con respecto a otras organizaciones politicas, incluso Rusia y los comunistas, me parece muy peligroso, pues como le explique a Cristina cuando estuve en Barcelona, cooperar con Socorro Rojo o los comunistas fuera de Espana, resultara en que la S.I.A. sea tratada por ellos como lo han hecho con todos los que han tratado de asociarse a ellos. Confio en tu querida Lucia, y las otras camaradas oponendose a esto con todo vuestro ahinco, pues no se si estare de vuelta del Canada a tiempo para acudir al Congreso. Tengo pensado preparar un informe haciendo presente la imperiosa necesidad de navegar aparte de cualquier conexion con Rusia o los comunistas. Fue un error el dia aquel en que los camaradas de la C.N.T. se sometieron a la dictadura de Stalin. Se hace cargo de que fueron forzados a hacerlo, pero temo que el precio pagado fue demasiado alto y las consecuencias demasiado desastrosas para la heroica lucha en Espana. Seguramente tu deseas evitar otra experiencia con los comunistas, vosotros no debeis sometiros una vez mas a los designios de nuestros enemigos - los comunistas - de caeros entre sus redes.

Mi corazon late fuertemente con las noticias y peligros que asolan a Cataluna. Ojala estuviese entre vosotros para compartir en vuestra lucha, vuestra victoria o lo que pase. Pero como no sera asi solo confio que Barcelona realice tambien el milagro de Madrid. Mientras tantoe me complace mucho tu actitud y la de las demas companeras de Mujeres Libres. Herrera me ha dicho el ejemplo tan grande que habeis dado a los hombres con vuestra [illegible] defender vuestros

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[Letter, 1939 Jan. 22, London to I. da Camara Pires, Marseille (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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21 de Enero de 1939.

Querido Pedro:

Desde que te escribe la ultima vez he recibido tus dos cartas del 22 y 23 del mes pasado. La primera me fue reexpedida a Amsterdam, en donde estuve trabajando durante un mes en el Instituto Internacional, arreglando todo el materialdejado por nuestro camarada Alejandro Berkman, asi como mi propia coleccion y la de nuestro companera. Como habia creido, encontre una copia de "BOLSHEVIC MITH". Esta junta con una copia de "ANTICLIMAX", fueron enviadosinmediatamente a nuestro amigo en Perpignan que manda el correo a Martin. Espero que llegara a su poder, aun que toma mucho tiempo para que mis cartas lleguen a sus manos. Recibi una carta de Martin el otro dia de fecha 3 de Enero en la que me comunica que habia recibido mi catta del 1 de Diciembre, lo qu quiere decir que esta tardo un mes en llegar a sus manos. Esto no es nada satisfactorio, especialmente en estos tiempos, cuando cada dia aumenta el peligro que se cierne sobre vosotros. Esto ya lo he debatido conmigo misma, haciendome la pregunta si debo escribir a ti y a Martin ahora. No podria hacerlo si fuese a creer todo lo que se dice en estos dias en la prensa europea acerca de la situacion en Cataluna. Solo mi gran fe en el corage de nuestros camaradas y el pueblo espanol, que me hace esperar que en Barcelona se repetita el mismo milagro que salvo a Madrid. Asi es que me he decido a escribir para contestar a tus dos ultimas cartas.

Con respecto a la primera, me gustaria mucho contribuir regularmente a TIMON, pero me es imposible hacerlo actualmente. Aun queda mucho que hacer para liquidar la Oficina de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. Ademas me encuentro en una situacion dificil con respecto a S.I.A. Nuestra amiga Ethel Mannin, quien a mi regreso de Espana, definitivamente me prometio hacerse cargo de la S.I.A. durante mi ausencia en el Canada, ha considerado ahora el asunto, y teniendo la pesimista idea de que todo se ha perdido en Espana, incluso de la Revolucion, cree que este el el momento sicologico para dejar a S.I.A. Esto me causo una impresion muy pesima. Los camaradas en el Canada, no solo han conseguido reunir el importe de mi viaje , sino que han arreglado todos losdemas detalles con respecto al mismo y no uedo dejar de ir. Por otra parte no puedo dejar a S.I .A., la que yo he creado aqui y que despues de todo ha producido ciertos resultados, si bien no muy grandes. Adi es que he de encontrar a alguna persona en la que se pueda depender para que se encargue de los asuntos de S.I.A. mientras yo este usente. Ello me tomara todo el tiempo disponible y por ello no podria dedicar ningun momento a escribir en TIMON. Sin embargo, estoy preprando un articulo para SPAIN AND THE WORLD que versara sobre el caso TOM MOONEY, ahora que por ultimo ha sido puesto en libertad. Asi sera posible decir que fue nuestro camarada Alejandro Berkman el que desde un principio hizo

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todo lo que fue preciso para salvar la vida de MOONEY. Si crees que pueda ser interesante lo podrias utilizar para TIMON. Tendria que enviarte via Perpignan, pues por correo no creo que seria pasado por la Censura. Pero de esta forma no se puede decir cuando llegara a tu poder. Mientras este en el Canada procurare enviar articulos de vez en cuando para TIMON si aun existe. A proposito, no he visto ningun otro numero de dicha publicacion desde el numero tres, que la traje desde Espana, por lo que no comprendo como es que los otros numeros no han llegado, en la conviccion en que estoy de que ni tu ni los demas camaradas han dejado de enviarlo.

Mientras este ocupada con publicaciones, deseo decirte que aun no he estado por nuestra Oficina, por lo que no se si MADRID ROJO Y NEGRO ha llegado. Llegue muy cansada de Holanda el jueves por la noche y desde entonces he estado trabajando en casa contestando la numerosa correspondencia que se habia acumulado. El lunes ire por la Oficina y entonces te comunicare si ha llegado o no.

Ahora con respecto a tu muy interesante carta del 23 de Diciembre. Nuestro bueno camarada que me hace las traducciones y que tambien escribe esta carta, me ha hecho un extenso resume del contenido de esta carta tuya. Deseo, pues, contestarla enseguida, pues si no me haria una traduccion completa , pero como me he impuesto de los puntos mas importantes, deseo contestarlos si esperar mas tiempo. Primero, hiciste muy bien, querido Pedro, al no hacer precion acerca de V. para que continuase con la Oficina en Londres de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. Yo he tenido siempre la opinion hace ya algunos meses, que los resultados obtenidos no justifican los elevados gastos que dicha oficina causa. Si yo no hubiera decidido ir al Canada, tal vez hubiera tratado este invierno otra vez levantar a los "muertos", pues esto es exactamente lo que son los ingleses, cadaveres andantes con agua en lugar de sangre en sus venas. Si, han contrub do dinero a favor de Espana; han formulado interpelaciones en el Parlamento y ahora hacen manifestaciones callejeras pidiendo armas para Espana, pero no se ve interes ninguno por la C.N.T.-F.A.I. La mayoria de los trabajadores no saben nada de dichas i titiciones y los que saben algo han hecho cuanto han podido para que no se sepa el papel juagado en la lucha en Espana por la C.N.T.-F.A.I. Estos dos anos han sido para mi muy trsites debido a los exigues resultados producidos por mi trabajo. Admito que siento mucho que la Oficina tenga que ser liquidada. Por otra parte me parece que la C.N.T. ha hecho bien. Sin embargo, no estoy conforme, querido Pedro, cuando me dices que yo ahora me sentire con mas libertad para trabajar por nuestros ideales que cuando representaba a la C.N.T. Si la situacion ahi no fuese tan grave el enemigo acercandose cada vez mas, tu y todos los demas camaradas a quienes tanto quiere y que se encuentran n tan inminente peligro, tal vez me sentiria con mas libertad, pero ahora es imposible hablar de los errores cometidos por parte de la C.N.T. Y permiteme que te diga tambien por la F.A.I. O exponer la traicion de los gangsters de Stalin . Me siento tan amarrada ahora o mas, que cuando trabajaba por todos vosotros, la C.N.T. y la F.A.I.

Esto me lleva al segundo punto en tu carta, en donde dices que los camaradas de la F.A.I. estan dispuestos a limpiar nuestras lineas de la corrupcion apuntada y retrotaer nuestro movimiento a su primitiva politica de ideales y principios propiamente anarquistas. No veo como podreis atentar alguna oposicion a la C.N.T. sin causar una division entre nuestros camaradas, que es principalmente lo que Franco espera. Espero, por tanto, que tanto tu como los demas camarada esperareis hasta que Franco sea vencido y no hareis nada que vaya

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a danar la moral del movimiento libertario. [illegible]
no ocurre, no puedo creer que entre los que [illegible]
cuando me escribistes acerca de la corrupcion [illegible]
esa tambien V. He que es abrupto y muy crudo. [illegible]
modo de pensar es insular; que desconoce por completo la [illegible]
europea. Se trata del proletario tipico, que [illegible]
un puesto de responsabilidad, tal vez demasiado [illegible]
pacidad mental, pero no puedo pensar que nuestro M. se [illegible]
cha manera o que solo desea poder. Le he estudiado más [illegible]
he estado en España y me da la impresion de ser muy sencillo, [illegible]
una gran devocion a nuestra causa, si bien muy dogmatico y [illegible]
tarudo. Confio que no te referirias a el cuando tratabas de lo que
te hablo.

Concuerdo contigo que el Pleno de Regionales y Peninsulares se ajustaban mas a nuestras ideas, con mucha mas vida e interesante que el Pleno general. Tambien los acuerdos resultaron mas revolucionarios y llenos del espiritu del 19 de Julio. Solo puedo confiar que no este lejos el dia cuando estos acuerdos sean puestos en practica. Si se hubiesen tenido en cuenta aun que sea en 1937, la posicion ahora no seria tan grave.

Si, Sant. me hablo a largo acerca del plan. He pensado en el bastante desde mi regreso de España, pensando como podria yo ayudar, pero hasta ahora no veo la manera de poder prestar ayuda. Tu mismo dices que el asunto es sumamente privado, asi que una no puede hablar a aquellos cuya colaboracion se desea sin hablarles de lo que se trata. En cualquier forma, en Inglaterra nada puedo hacer. No existe ninguna persona a quien yo podria acudir sobre el asunto. Vere si puedo hacer algo en el Canada o en los E.U. Creo que podre enviar a alguien del Canada a los E.U. con una carta para Rocker y otros camaradas de confianza, y les pedire que hagan todo lo que puedan para conseguir los fondos necesarios. Sant. no me indico a quien deberia ser enviado los fondos, por lo que te ruego me contestes a vuelta de correo diciendo a quien tendria que mandarlo. En tu cartas mencionas a Rocker. [redacted]
Te haras cabalas acerca de lo tachado, pero fue que confundi a Rocker con Roca, pero ahora veo que se trata de Rodolfo Rocker. Solo puedo repetir lo que dice acerca de que me digas a quien en Francia se ha de mandarse la ayuda, y ciertamente procurare por todos los medios allegar fondos.

Te envio estos carta por conducto de Camara. Tal vez por su conducto te llegue con mayor rapidez que a traves de nuestro amigo de Perpiñan. No he decidido aun cuando embarcare. Todo depende de lo que ocurra en Cataluna. No puedo pensar que pondre el oceano entre mi y España. Es bastante triste estar tan lejos como Inglaterra cuando deseo tan vehemente estar con vosotros , pero si el milagro se consuma en Barcelona saldre para el Canada a fines del mes proximo, y por esto me gustaria que me contestases pronto.

Me alegro mucho saber de la brava actitud adopatada por los camaradas de MUJERES LIBRES. No me sorprende, pues me dieron la sensacion de ser consecuentes camaradas, mucho mas que algunos de los

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hombres que conocí. Me disgusto mucho en el Pleno la actitud reaccionaria de los camaradas que votaron contra que las mujeres atendieran la seccion. Me resulta tan antiguado, mas de 50 Años atrasados en comparacion con otros pueblos de Europa al tratar con mujeres. Si no hubiese sido que yo atendi el Pleno en nombre del trabajo que estaba haciendo en Inglaterra, hubiese protestado entonces y hubiese dejado la seccion. No cabe duda que muchos de los camaradas españoles tienen mucho que aprender, aun de países burgueses.

Tengo que terminar ahora, querido camarada. Mi buen secretario no sabe aun que tienen otra carta que escribir para Lucia. No puedo explotarlo mas con esta para ti.

Siempre con afecto y fraternalmente, y con muchos saludos para tú companera. Tambien mis afectos y cariños a los camaradas de la F.A.I.

P.D.
Querido Pedro, me olvidada de un asunto importante. Las monografias que dices estan en preparacion. Desde luego mandamo una tan pronto como te sea posible. Todo material y documento de la F.A.I. confio que no lo demoreis, pues en la situacion presente toda hora cuenta. Cuando hable a Sant. me dijo que tenia todo el material listo y reproducciones fotograficas del material de la Primera Internacional que iba a mandar al Instituto Internacional de Historia Social, pero hasta ahora nada ha llegado y los camaradas a cargo de la seccion anarquista en dicho instituto estan muy preocupados acerca de esto. Ruegote le interes que envie un lote enseguida. No puedo expresarte la necesidad de salvaguardar todo lo que sea posible, lo cual solo podra ser realizado si os dais prisa. Seria tragico perder tan importante material para que las futuros generaciones sepan del heroismo y martirio de la C.N.T.-F.A.I.

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[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 22, London [to] Lilian [Wolfe, Stroud, England] / Emma Goldman. – 2 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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Jan 22nd 39

My dear Lilian. As you see I am back in London. I spent four weeks instead of two at the Institute. Berkmans and my life were so linked together it was impossible to arrange the material of one without also digging into the dead past of the other. So it took four weeks to do it.Naturally it had to be a very superficial job else I would have been forced to remain in Amsterdam two or three months. As it was the painful memories were most trying to bear. But I am happy to know that the record of our work is in good hands, a much fitter monument to the memory of my old pal than if I had one made of stone.

Dear Lilian I feel the same about Toms collection and arch ive. In the Institute it will be a living factor for those who will come to study the ideas to which Tom had dedicated his life. I reread our correspondence with him and his with us. I found two things which I took the liberty to take.They are a letter from Dreiser and my reply which I had sent Tom asking him to let Owen read it and send it back which he had evidently forgotten to do. And also a copy of my reply to Theodore Dreiser. I feel sure you will not mind because they are really mine which dear Tom had kept.As I said I am sure he had them tucked away and had forgotten them.

I inclose the two cards I found from Malatesta to you which you asked for.

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My heart is heavy with the appalling situation in Spain.I cannot bear to think what will become of our brave comrades if Franco should succeed in tearing into Barcelona.Never before has there been such a cold-blooded butchery of a heroic people and such a criminal ind ifference to this inhuman deed. I should despare utterly if I did not hope that Barcelona will perform the miracle of Madrid.

I do not know yet when I will sail for Canada.It all depends on the outcome in Catalonia.

Goodby my dear for the present.Remember me kindly to Tom and his girl.

With love. Emma

I saw much of Arthur and Madleine,in fact he helped me much with our material,packing and classifying it for the Institute. They are both grand people. They send their love. Naturally I gave the letters you sent me in the box to Arthur to keep them safely for Toms collecti on. You must go to Amsterdam some day and see the Institute.It is wonderfu l

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Hon. Treasurer
EMMA GOLDMAN
Hon. Secretary

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

Telephone: GERRard 9[illegible]

Sunday

Dearest Emma,

I have a splitting headache but I am writing you now to save ringing tomorrow - I have a lot to do tomorrow, and also I hate long telephone conversations, and all this SIA matter isn't very suitable for over-the-telephone discussion.

I expect to finish my book this week, by keeping at it and working till midnight when I can, and then I can suggest a meeting time without the feeling of work dragging at me. I shall have done in the book in 4 months, under pressure from Jarrolds; had I taken 6 months I should have done it quickly. Its a book that needs about a year, actually. When shall I be allowed to work leisurely ?

I couldn't meet your train last Thurs. as Thursday is always my day with Jean. I thought about you and hoped someone would meet you, so I was glad S. and J.H. turned up. Its naughty of Sonia not to have done anything about the film, for even though she has a house to run - so have I , and a profession into the bargain !

I will gladly meet Mrs. Foster next week . We could have a discussion together, perhaps, we three. I feel that if the SIA has to close down in England it won't be such a loss to the Catalonian people - not a loss in the way that it would be if the French section had to close down. Here one achieves so little. Of the 68 letters to scientists sent out I have had precisely one reply !!

I am always willing to write an appeal to try to raise funds, to send letters to the papers, but I need someone all the time to suggest this and that to me. Its not that I am incapable of thinking things out for myself but that the knowledge at the back of my mind that I ought to be thinking up SI A schemes drags at me, nags at me, and worries me - do you understand , Emma dear ? When you have been there and asked me to do this and that it has never been too much for me , I've always gladly done such things as Bulletin articles, letters, film leaflets - anything I could; if we are able to get this Mrs. Foster I will gladly co-operate in the same way; its not the work I mind at all, but the responsibility....Barr saying we ought to try to form some local SIA grpups, Recchioni saying why don't we organised a social ; my heart sinks when they say such things, for I know such things ought to be done, but I feel I simply

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cannot take my mind off the work I am trying to concentrate on to attend to such matters; and I worry because I don't accept such suggestions, and feel I am not doing enough, and that the SIA needs someone with more time to give to it - I have always said this.

Then again it worries me about the office; I have guaranteed the rent till the end of Feb. but after that - I don't know ; I can't see the film bringing in enough at 30/- a time somehow.

I need someone to do all such worrying over details and organisational things - such as the formation of local groups, socials, etc - for me. If this Mrs.Foster ~~will~~ has the leisure, plus the organisational ability, and the inclination , it would be splendid, for she could always call on me for any writing that needed doing, and use my name always for what it is worth in any connection. I am also willing to continue being the treasurer-but in that event if Mrs.Foster takes over we must have some understanding about the degree of my responsibility, the extent to which I should or should not be consulted abt expenses being incurring them.

It might explain the position if you actually showed this letter to Mrs.Foster when discussing the matter with her.

Another difficulty about my remaining solely responsible is my tendency to go abroad for a month or more at a time. I want to go away in Feb. possibly to Arabia Deserta with Reg, and I couldn't hardly conduct SIA affairs from such a distance.

I got a receipt from Barcelona for £130; I don't understand this as I understood they were to receive £130 worth of food - it seems odd sending the receipt for the money. Anyhow I hope they did receive it in the shape of food. I wish I knew. I never heard any more from the Marseilles comrade despite his promise to let me know just how the money was spent. I reminded him of this promise when sending the £100. I still have some more money to send. Lilian Wolfe of Whiteway sent me £5 the other day, and there have been a few small amounts come in. I have asked Ralph to let me know exactly how much, but I have not heard from him in reply to my last one or two communications.

I am wondering what will happen to the SIA homes and hostels if Franco gets into Barcelona. The whole thing is so tragic beyond words. That so magnificent a struggle should end in defeat seems unthinkable. I dreamed about it last night and that I was issuing an emergency appeal for money for food.

Do you not think that the common people of Germany and Italy are not happier under their Fascist regimes than the tragic Spanish people in the throes of war ? That is why I say that any Gov. is preferable to war. Nor can I see that any longer the Spanish people are fighting in defence of the Revolution; it has become - alas - a purely anti-Fascist struggle.

Well my dear, let me know what happens about Mrs.Goville, and we will meet next week. Meanwhile please believe in my sincerity and affection

always — E

No, my pacifism has nothing to do with my wishing to be eased of the full resp. for the SIA. The reasons are as given here in this letter

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LONDON, W.1

23rd January, 1939.

Dear Lilian and Will,

Thank you both for your kind letter of December 20th which you, dear Lilian, induced your good man to write for both of you. Your part was merely by proxy, but it did not matter - I enjoyed your letter just the same. Yes, I know that Jean and J. have been in New York. I heard from Jean to this effect. I wish I had been at your party to see Angelica, Rudolf, Millie and the Lyonses whom I want very much to meet, and I am particularly happy that you had my very dear friend, Eleanor Fitzgerald, there. I hope you will have her often. She is making such a brave struggle to exist and she needs friends badly, though she is always surrounded by a lot of people, few realise the beautiful spirit and the fine qualities of our own dear Fitzi.

About the appeal of the Spanish scientist and the names I wanted you to get for me to whom I wanted to send a copy - not to lose any more time than was already lost I have decided to bank on your good nature, Lilian dear, to send you a batch of the letter with the appeal which we have mailed to 65 British scientists. You will be able I am sure to get names of important men and women in the world of science and letters to send them our bulletin which contains the appeal. As I do not yet wish to give my Canadian address for them to reply to, I am leaving the London address because all mail will be forwarded to me wherever I am. I hope the men and women you will approach will show more interest in Spain than their colleagues in England. I understand that only a few have responded of the 65 who were reached. Please, dear Lilian, do this job not only for me but for the Spanish women and children.

I found on my return from Holland that the few friends who have worked valiantly with me, foremost among them Ethel Mannin, are all in the throes of the blackest pessimism because of the present situation in Catalonia. I admit that the situation is harrowing, I cannot bear thinking what will become

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of our own comrades should the Franco savages succeed in reaching Barcelona. At the same time I insist that those who already despair and who write me that the war is lost and the Revolution squashed, simply know nothing of the spirit and the character of the Spanish workers and peasants. They do not know that these people will defend their revolutionary achievements to the last man, for the Spanish people are the only ones extant in the world to-day to whom Liberty is not an empty sound, or something written on parchments. They can no more live without it than they would if all the air were shut off from them. I therefore am convinced that Barcelona will yet perform the same miracle and will represent the same epic greatness as Madrid did two years ago. Please, my dearest, do not give up these marvellous people, for now more than ever is it necessary to rouse everybody to cry from the very housetops about the crime that is to be committed in Catalonia. To come back to the letters for the scientists, of course you will send one to Professor John Dewey, Professor Beard and all the others in the various Universities in the States, and especially in New York.

Your letter had to be forwarded to me to Amsterdam where I had gone to arrange tthe material and correspondence of my old pal Alexander Berkman. I thought it would only take me ten days or two weeks, and that I would only have to devote this time to his archives. Our lives had been so interwoven, however, that it was impossible to do anything with his material without at the same time arranging my own, so I remained a month instead of ten days. The work was painful, as it meant digging into the dead past, but it was necessary. I cannot think of a more worthy monument to the memory of Alexander Berkman than that his writings and his thoughts should be in so great an institution as the one in Amsterdam, perhaps the most unique in the world. It certainly has the most perfect collection, dating over a hundred years, of anarchist writing in every language of the world, and it has an equally great mass of material of the social struggle in general. It is indeed, a marvellous place, to which I will probably have to go back some day if I should ever get the time, the means and the leisure to do some more serious writing.

I have not heard from Jeanne lately. I hope she is well and that J. too is in the best of health. Send them my love. Perhaps you will also send them this letter. It will save me repetition. Although my report is minus two chapters, I am sending you a copy. I wonder if you have a way of making some copies or having them made and send them to any of your friends? I think I will mail one copy to Jeanne. She has been the most devoted of all the newly-found friends on my last short odyssey in America. I feel she ought to have a copy of her own and not wait until some copies can be made. Please write me again soon. You will still reach me in London, I am sure, as I do not intend to get away before the latter part of February.

With love to both of you,

Emma Goldman

at 959 Bathurst St
Toronto

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 23 [London to] Arthur [and] Madeleine [Müller-Lehning], H[a]arlem, [The] N[et]h[erlands] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Emergency 31
Harlem, N H

23rd January, 1939.

Dear Arthur, Dearest Madeleine,

I sent you a postcard Saturday of my safe arrival. It was a tedious trip on the ship and from Harwich to London, but the time passed very quickly with you, my dear Madeleine. I regretted to leave you behind. I wish I had the power to bring you both here. My life and work for our Spanish comrades would be less irksome than now.

Enclosed is a copy of the letter I wrote the Professor. I hope it expresses all that is needed without having made it too gushing or too subjective. I rely on you, my dear Arthur, to do the rest. I am sure it will not be anything so embarrassing to you to tell the good Professor about the meaning and importance of the fifty years I have put into the material, and the forty-seven years our Alexander has devoted to our ideas, of which by the way he spent sixteen years in two dreadful American prisons. I hope also that the conditions I have made to be put into the contract express your suggestions. If there is anything more, let me know and I will mention it when I have to write Professor Posthumus again.

On my return I discovered that I have a vast amount of accumulated correspondence with our Spanish comrades, and material which I brought with me every time I came out of Spain or which has been sent to me. You will see that the printed material will be a free contribution to the Institute; not so the Spanish correspondence. That will have to be included in the archives. They will have to be sealed, as I want nothing used of my correspondence with our Spanish comrades or with those I had to plead for with for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Another thing is that I want you to be able to go through all this material before the lady with a long name sticks it away in her stronghold. I wish you write me and tell me whether I am to address it to you at the Institute or to write her that you are to go over the stuff before it is sealed. In my next letter I will send you the German translation of some of the material sent out to me from Spain,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 23 [London to] Arthur [and] Madeleine [Müller-Lehning], H[a]arlem, [The] N[et]h[erlands] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

namely the documents prepared by the Peninsular and Regional Committees of the F.A.I. for the Plenum. After you have read them, I want them included in the Spanish material and sealed until such time when it can be used. Besides all that I shall send a lot of correspondence with other people in the United States and Canada that has accumulated during the last couple of years and which was not included in the boxes that came from San Tropez and Nice. Part of that will also have to be sealed. I will specify that when I send the stuff. In other words, the archive will be very considerably increasedand enlarged and should therefore appeal to the Professor as being of sufficient importance to pay the price I suggested. As I have written regarding the payment, it is nonsense to expect me to wait until next year when the whole world may be plunged in a universal blood bath as a result of the rivers of blood that have already been shed in Spain and are now being drained from the people to the last drop. Surely it will be possible for Posthumus to raise the necessary amount, but if that is entirely out of the question you must arrange with him that a large amount should be paid now and the balance in smaller amounts. Anyhow I know I can rely on you in arranging the best way possible. I feel I am burdening you, my dear, but what is the good of having newly discovered friends whom one had known for so many years at a distance, without exploiting their sweet dispositions, their kindness and their willingness!

To-day the plate and the bracelet you gave me will be shipped to your friends. My suitcases were not opened. I could have brought all kinds of "contraband" along! Before closing I want to tell you once more how much I enjoyed being with you and having you with me in Amsterdam. I am so sorry that I had to be the cause of chasing your dog, but with all my love for you, my dears, I could not face the possibility of being bitten again. As you see, I am no hero after all.

With love to both of you,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 23 [London to Arnold Roberton, Calgary, Canada] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24560

23rd January, 1939.

Dear Friend,

Your letter of January 6th arrived in our office while I was away in Holland. I returned only last Thursday and am writing to-day in regard to your query regarding our film, and also your film "The Heart of Spain". As I am sailing for Canada some time next month I will naturally bring one film, "Dawn Over Spain" with me, which I mean to use on behalf of the S.I.A. "International Anti-Fascist Solidarity". We have another film like it which, however, must remain in our organisations, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and S.I.A. Naturally I shall first have to use "Dawn Over Spain" in connection with the proposed lectures on the Spanish struggle I am to deliver in Toronto and other cities. I should be delighted if you could also arrange for me to speak in Calgary. I have been there before many years ago and I had a large attendance. With Spain as my subject there should be no difficulty in rousing the interest of people in your city on behalf of the heroic struggle the Spanish workers and peasants have made and are making to this day. We might then arrange for an exchange of films which cannot be done before I myself have reached Canada.

I know that the Canadian press, like the press of the world, is rejoicing over the advance of Franco in Catalonia. I hope that you and the others who are working with you will not be influenced by this. True, the situation is appalling, but those who think that Franco has already conquered simply do not know the Spanish people as I know them. I have been in Spain in 1936, 1937 and last year, each time covering a number of cities and villages, investigating the industrial collectives and the collectives on the land, visiting every front, and I can assure you that even if Franco should succeed in reaching Barcelona he will never succeed in subduing the Spanish workers and peasants. They will defend every inch of groun,d every stree,t every house. I know whereof I speak, for I haveonly recently again come in touch with the marvellous spirit of men and women at the front and in the rearguard.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 23 [London to Arnold Roberton, Calgary, Canada] / [Emma Goldman].– 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Please let me hear from you again by return mail what the chances are in speaking at Calgary. I want very much to tour Canada as far as Vancouver. If you are in touch with people or organisations who have worked for Aid for Spain in other cities outside Calgary, will you be good enough to send me their names and addresses. I want to get in touch with them.

Fraternally,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 23, [London to] Marion and Cesar [Saerchinger], N[ew] Y[ork] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24582

115 E. 52nd St. New York City

23rd January, 1939.

Dear Marion and Caesar,

Your Christmas and New Year greeting arrived here in my absence while I was in Amsterdam working in the marvellous Institute which is called the International Institute for Social History. The work was very painful, it was digging into the dead past of Alexander Berkman and myself, but it was worth while. I came back only Thursday and am taking the first chance I have to dictate this letter to you, my dears.

I did not know that you had been back in England, but I did learn that Mr. Nelson died. I suppose in his case, as in many incurable cases, death is to be welcomed for the one who has suffered so much, but it is sad for those who remain behind. I would have written your sister a line of condolence before I left for Holland, but all my life I have felt tht words in a great loss are banale and meaningless, so I did not do it. I hope that she does not consider me unfeeling, which I certainly am not. Dear Marion, you say that you are enclosing a cheque for a copy of "Living My Life". No cheque came with your Christmas card or in the envelope. I don't know what could have become of it. Perhaps you forgot to enclose it. You will remember Pauline Turkel - she also wrote me that she was enclosing a cheque, which she failed to do, and then sent it on after she had mailed the letter. Perhaps the same thing happened to you.

I have returned to make arrangements about my sailing for Canada, but I am terribly loath to put the ocean between me and my Spanish comrades. The situation is appalling. I should despair utterly if I did not have an abiding faith in the Spanish workers and peasants who have already performed so many wonders. I am clinging to the hope that Barcelona may repeat the miracle and the epic of Madrid. In any event I shall have to wait until the outcome of the unegen battle that is going on in Catalonia before I can definitely say when I will sail. If I do get to Canada perhaps you and Caesar can make the trip in the car and visit me, because my chances of getting into the States are

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 23, [London to] Marion and Cesar [Saerchinger], N[ew] Y[ork] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

growing more and more remote. America continues to be the land of great contradictions. My heart was gladdened when I saw the response made in America by all classes of people to the frightful needs and suffering of the Jews in Germany and in Austria. I really felt proud of my erstwhile country when I saw the stand taken by the State Department in regard to the impudent demand of Hitler that Ickes should be punished for his daring to criticise the unholy man. On the other ~~xxx~~ hand~~x~~ is the ever-growing reaction now going on in New York and no doubt all over America, the old witch-hunting is again abroad, so what chance have I? But as I say, America is the land of contradiction. Proof of that is that Tom Mooney has actually been released at last. I am only sorry that Berkman is not alive to rejoice in Tom's liberation, for it was my old pal, Alexander Berkman, who saved Mooney's life in the first place. Well, the main thing is that he is out. I only hope that he will not soon cease to be the martyr he was during 22 years.

I wonder if you know where Pauline Turkel is living. To make sure I enclose her address. I know she would be glad to see you again, dear Marion. I suppose you are very busy anyway, else I would want you to meet some other friends of mine, Mr. and Mrs. William Mendelssohn, 545, West End Avenue, New York City. I am writing them about you. I always like to be a go-between with my different friends who I think would like each other. Besides, you might be able to help in the effort that will be made to get me back to America when I reach Canada. Please keep this to yourself, as this is not to be made public for the present. What about the children? Have they remained in England, or are they with you? Give them my love and take some of it for yourself.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 23 [London to] Albert [De Jong, Haarlem, The Netherlands (fragment?)] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24493

Jan.23rd 39

Lieber Albert. Die beiliegende Kopie meines Schreibens an Albert Jensen wird Sie informieren dass Zensel Muhsam wieder verschwunden ist. Die Russische Zeitung teilt mit dass sie aus dem Hotel verschwand wo sie gewohnt hat und es war bis jezt unmoglich auszufinden was aus ihr geworden ist. Sie werden begreifen dass eine sofortige Kamagna unbedingt notwendig ist um sie vom Tode zu retten wenn es uberhuapt nicht schon zu spat ist.

Es tat mir leid sie nicht mehr zu sehen.Ich hoffe Ihre Grippe ist vorbei. Ich fand hier masenhaft zu tun fuhle aber so verzweifelt uber die Situation in Katalonien dass ich vollstandig kaput bin. Vielleicht wenn ich irgendwo waere wo man Interesse and Tatkraft finden wurde aber hier in England ist alles apathetisch. Die verdammte Kommunisten die zum allgemeinem Fiasko beigetragen haben marschieren jezt durch die Strassen und fodern ARMAS FOR SPAIN. Die rbarmliche Lugenbande mit ihrem sadistischen Fuhrer der ja Waffen schicken konnte. Nie gab es eine solche Heuchelei und ein solches Verbrechen gegen ein ganzes Volk. Ich wurde verzweifeln wenn ich doch noch nicht glauben wurde dass Barcelona das Wunder Madrids zeigen wird.

Herzliche Grusse on Bep wen ich ihren Namen richtig schreibe die Kinder und die Kamaraden die bei Euch sind.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 23 [London to] H. Yaffe, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24625

Mr H Yaffee
1038, Jacob Alvarado St
Los Angeles

23rd January, 1939.

Dear Comrade,

I have your letter of December 8th, which however, arrived after I had left fo Holland. It was forwarded to me there, but I was too busy to write you. Perhaps it was not only lack of time, it was rather awful fatigue from the daily work in the International Institute for Social History which consisted of arranging, organising and classifying the writings and correspondence of my dear old pal, Alexander Berkman, and also my material. During four weeks I lived so much in the past that I could not tear myself out into the present frigthful situation of the world, or find enough energy to write the comrades in America from whom I had received many letters. Now that I am back in London to the old routine, I am trying to catch up with the accumulated mail.

First of all, let me thank you and the comrades for having contributed fifty dollars towards the expense of my passage to Canada. I have not yet received them from our dear comrade, Jeanne Levy, but there is no desperate hurry. The appalling situation in Spain holds me here, as I cannot bear the thought of putting the ocean between our heroic comrades in their crucial hour and myself. I therefore must wait for the outcome in Catalonia before I can book my passage to Canada.

I admit the situation in Spain looks apparently hopeless, but I know the temper of the Spanish people, especially of our comrades of the C.N.T., the F.A.I. and the S.I.A. I know that if thereis one Spanish man or woman alive the fight will go on. I have infinite faith that our comrades will not retreat. They will defend every inch of soil, soil that has already been drenched by the precious blood of a heroic people. So I must wait. But I am certain Jeanne will send on your contribution from the Los Angeles comrades.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 23 [London to] H. Yaffe, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

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24626

Dear comrade, I wish I had your optimism about the possibilities in England regarding Comrade Rocker's works. I have been here too long to share that optimism. I know for instance that the one publisher who has so far expressed interest in "Nationalism and Culture" will never import a thousand sheets even at a dollar, besides you say it would cost 1.50. But I will make another attempt to get in touch with him and tell him of your offer. As to the "The Six", I would have to submit a copy first before they would take any steps on it. Can you send a copy as quickly as possible. It might yet reach me before I sail for Canada. I will then submit to one or two publishers, but I can tell you beforehand that they will not risk importing sheets to the number of a thousand as you suggest. As to my selling any books, I repeat you simply do not know the possibilities in England for literature. It is not an exaggeration when I tell you that in the last three years of my work in this country I do not believe that we have disposed of $20 worth of literature, so it is simply ridiculous to hope for any results in this country. It is a different thing if a reputable publisher would undertake to put Rudolf's books on the market. They have facilities of reaching the critics and the public at large. We have none.

However, I might be able to do something in Canada. If you wish, you can send on for me c/o Comrade Joe Dessor, 759, Bathurst Street, Toronto, a dozen copies of "Nationalism and Culture", and a dozen copies of "The Six". I do not want you to give me any of the books free of charge. I would rather Comrade Rocker should get whatever there will be above the cost price. Only, if you wish me to dispose of books and make them accessible to the people in Canada, you will have to give me the lowest price you can.

Please give my affectionate greetings to Tom Bell, to C.V. Cook and Sadie, to Charles Spreading, and all the comrades.

Fraternally,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 23, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / R. Sturgess.— 1 p.; 30 × 21 cm.

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ANARCHO - SYNDICALIST UNION

24362

Telephone GERard 2636

21 Frith Street LONDON W 1

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN.

23rd. Jan. 1939.

Miss Emma Goldman.

Dear Comrade,

The A.F.B. desire our comrades in Spain to know that whatever circumstances may arise, we intend to make every effort to continue the activities of the Anarchist Movement in this country. Interest in our ideas is widening and never has been keener.

I am writing to you as the official representative of the C.N.T-F.A.I. in order to ask you to convey this message to Barcelona.

For and on behalf of

THE ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Yours fraternally,

R. Sturgess,

General Secretary.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 24, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Roc

C.N.T. A.I.T. F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

London, 24th January 1939

Dear Rudolf,

Your letter of the 27th December was forwarded to me to Amsterdam. It found me amidst thousands of pieces of parchment, correspondence and a lot more. You may believe me when I say that it was a most painfull experience to dig into the dead past of Sasha's and mine but the material had to be arranged. At last it is in safe hands although even that is not certain. Holland is already three parts fascist. In case of war the Germans will march into it and meet with very little resistance. What will become of the International Institute then I dare not think of. It is true that the most important material has already been shipped to England and the Director promised me faithfully that in case of a crisis the stuff I left with them will also be shipped. In any event I could not burden the Institute with 18 boxes not knowing what they contained , so that had to be unpacked and all the stuff and books classified. Arthur Miller Lehning was of the greatest assistance to me. He packed a number of parcels and made a memmorandum of what each one contained. I have a list of the material sealed not to be used until further notice. Among this was Sasha's correspondence with me and my letters to him, as well as the correspondence you had with him. I have various letters that I do not want to be used until I have followed Sasha to the final end. That will all be specified in the contract. As I have already stated the material is more accessable to me and safer than if I had left it with the Sanstroms in St Tropez.

I came back here to make final arrangements for my departure to Canada but the situation in Spain is so harrowing I simply cannot put the sea between me and our Spanish comrades. The next few weeks will undoubtedly decide their fate. I want to wait until I know what is to become of them. I cannot bear to think of the blood bath that will be made should Franco's savages succeed of getting hold of Barcelona. Not one of our people will remain left. Indeed they will be the first to be exterminated and there will be even less protest against this collossal crime than against the butchery of the Spanish people in general. Not a paper in this city mentions the CNT-FAI though they do speak about all other political parties. It is too harrowing to think of the price our comrades have paid and will yet be called upon to pay.

Another thing that makes my sailing uncertain forthe present is the fact that my good friend Ethel Mannin who has become a pacifist does not want to continue in charge of the S.I.A. She wrote me that inasmuch as " the war is lost and the revolution crushed it was the psychological moment to give up the S.I.A." If I did not know Ethel to be of sterling sinberety and honesty I should really be more provoked with her than I feel - for if she had not definitely

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 24, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

told me she would take charge of the S.I.A. while I was in Canada I should probably not have arranged with the comrades there and in America to raise my necessary fare and organise meetings. I cannot possibly disappoint them now - neither can I get away without leaving someone with connections in this country to look after S.I.A. I consider this moment more important to continue the work for S.I.A. than ever before. Already the number of refugees who have flocked into Barcelona cannot be estimated. Besides if some of our people should manage to get away at the last terrible moment, though I know they will stand their ground no matter how great the danger to them, we will need more than we can raise to keep them alive in France. The question yet remains whether France with its cowardly submission to the British Government will let them in although they will stand branded for ever as the indirect helpmates of Franco.

You cannot imagine dear Rudolf that I am not in a very cheerful and hopeful mood. I know that I would feel even worse if it were not for my abiding faith in the wonders the Spanish people have already performed. I cling with all my might to the hope that Barcelona me demonstrate the same miracle as Madrid did - that alone gives me courage to go on in spite of the overwhelming difficulties confronting us here. It is a sad fact that in contemplating a meeting of protest and the demand for money for arms we have not among our people one single outstanding name that would draw an audience. After two and a half years of steady work I myself hardly draw 200. Nevertheless we are considering another meeting which may be the last for me in this country.

My dear Rudolf it is very well to say that no words need be lost on the man in Vienna. Unfortunately he has a way of creeping in everywhere and getting the sympathy and support of people who do not know anything about him and it is not possible to inform these people - it would look as if I wanted to interfere with anything that is done for the man. One thing is certain he must have lost all the money in Vienna that he received from the International Intitute for his archives and the books which he got from the Communist group in London else he would not send out letters to the four corners of the earth begging for support or begging that he be helped back to England. It is a pretty dissagreable and distastefull situation. All I can do is to keep my hands out of it. I confess I feel sorry for him - after all he has worked for years for our ideas in his own way though it may not have been a very honourable way at all times. He is old now and one hates to think that he is also destitute. As to Guy Aldred I have heard nothing recently about him nor do I care. I am very glad indeed that his stupid effort to harm you has had no result. I feel relieved that you will not be bothered much for some time to come. Fortunately the deepest tragedty is a redeeming feature. The fascist huntsmen's hunt of the jews has at least helped the thousands of refugees who were longing to reah the U.S.A. I am certain you will not be worried.

My dear I was glad to have some news of Max and Millie. They certainly did right to move to the country. Max always preferred it to the city. I do hope they are financially secure for the last years of their lives. Should you see them again give them my love. Tell them I have never forgotten them.

I am sending you enclosed the ~~first part of~~ the material that safely came out of Spain. I will keep on sending it as Helmut makes copies for you. You can keep this for use when the time comes.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 24, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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you will realise the part the damnable Moscow gang has played in Spain. I am certain that if our comrades fail to drive off Franco the largest responsibility will have to be laid at the feet of Stalin's satraps. They have left nothing undone to destroy the unity, to sabatage our comrades with food and arms and to destroy the magnificent work done in the collectives. That the future historians will tell.

My dear I will write you again when I am not rushed as I am to-day.

I suppose this will be forwarded to you.

I shall add a line to Millie to tell her she must take the utmost care of the material that will go with it.

Affectionately,

Emma

Dearest Milly, Send the inclosed to Rudolf if it can reach him safely. In haste

E.G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 24 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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17028

Jan.24th 39

Dearest Ethel. It is what of you to write me a long letter when you are so driven with your book and every minute is presious.Indeed, indeed my dearest I understand perfectly how you feel about being torn from your work,dragged back,as it were, from the world in which you live in while writing, into the damnable world of reality. Because I understood I valued your efforts for SIA so much more.Nor do I blame you for a moment when you feel that you cannot be distracted so much. As to your sincerity and willingness to help,my darling how could I doubt that when I know how beautifully helpful you have been? I am only too painfully aware that I never should have accomplished the little I did,if it had not been for your name and your help. It is precisely for this reason that I feel the loss to SIA if you will withdraw.

Well, I have tried Grevelle Foster,she came to the Office late yesterday afternoon. She cannot take on SIA.She has a paid job(I always thought she had an independent income) she is working for the Priestley group of foster parents of refugee Jewish children which keeps her busy all day. So thats that. I am seeing Ruth Prothero in a few hours.She is the splendid comrade who was at the Aragon Front 16 months completely dedicate to our people. I doubt however whether she will take on SIA. She is till on the job in the Hospital, when this ends this month she will have to look for another job,and her work means many hours on duty,often day and night. Besides, even if he had means to pay her a salary she would never accept it from SIA,and of course we have no means for that. I fear therefore,she too,will have to be ruled out. Next comes Sonia, I am seeing her and James tomorrow.Sonia would be first rate if she were not herself in delicate health,had a sick daughter, her son, the oldest is now in America,and two men to look after. Still I will ask her. If she too refuses there is Marie Louise,Veros wife. The trouble here is that Vero Rechioni is making constant appeals for the Colony he has been interested in and anthing Marie Louise will do for SIA is bound to interfere with SPAIN AND THE WORLD.Altogether the whole business looks hopeless.

The more I think of what you have achieved with two appeals and very little expence the more I consider it a terrible loss if you should difinitely decide to give it up. I have already

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17026

written you that I do not mean to press you but I would like to put the matter before you as follows: since the work for the SIA consists ~~mx~~ primarily in an occasional appeal ~~amx~~ Bulletin and a few letters to answer could you not consider in carrying on the way you have so far?I mean for Ralph to open the letters enter the amounts contributed and send them on to you as he has since I left for Spain.You could even be relieved of writing individual replies by having a short letter mimiographed and merely the date and name ~~to be~~ inserted which you might sign. You say it would be necessary to organise locals etc.Yes it would,and I have tried again and again but with no result. ~~Mx~~ Besides, I do not think that Grevelle would have been able to do that,or Ruth or Sonia,none of them have experience in that. So nothing would be lost if SIA carried on without locals. The thing that might be advisable which I could do before I sail is,to call the people together who have shown such interest by repeated contributions and to submit a membership proposition to them with monthly contributions and with the suggestion that each one should undertake to interest their circle of friends. That would in no way add to your burdens and would yet mean a regular source of income for SIA. Last but not least is,your fear what will happen if you go abraod as you plan to do in Feb. I don't see how that can interfer since it would not matter at all if letters were to be acknowledged when you return,or as I said a uniform litter could be prepared,signed by you and Ralpph could fill in the date and name of the doner. Please,do not feel I am harassing you. It is only my concern in SIA which makes me plead with you not to go back on SIA.

As to the rent,you say you have guaranteed a month. I too will guarantee a months rent. The Film for Glasgow will bring four pounds.Thats another month security. Feb,March,April. Surely the Film will bring something.~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Light,gas and telephone could surely be paid from~~xxx~~ the amounts coming in for SIA,such amounts like Lilian Wolffes who does not insist that all should go to Spain, or such as the amount Penrose sent. I may also be able to prevail on the few comrades to contribute towards that expence every month. I will call them together before I leave.All in all,dearest,that should not worry you,nor the fear that you will be dragged back from your writing. So will you consider it once more and tell me.

I have written Camara Peris and Garree the comrade at the head of the AntiFascist organisation in Perpignan to let ~~me~~ know at once where to the children of the Colonies of SIA have been evacuated. They will probably know. I am sure that our people will remain to the last breath,but that they have already taken care to remove the children I was sick at heart when I read that Francos savages had gotten to Sitges, the place where two thousand children had already been instaled when I came to visit them. The plan was for 20,000 and it was all conceived and organised by Segundo Blanco the CNT man as Minister of Culture and Juan Puig Elias the great Anarchist pedagogue within six months. All that labor for nothing. I am certain however that the children wereremoved before Francos hords reached Sitges.

You say the struggle has deteriorated into a war like

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 24 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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all wars. Yes, to the Government, the Communists and all the other reactionary elements of the Anti-Fascist vectorw. But never to our people. I know whereof I speak, Ethel dear, because I had ample upport unity on my last visit to convince myself that not one man or woman of the CNT-FAI, The Libertarian Youth, or the POUM saw in the war anyth ing else but a means to conquer Fascism for the Revolution. To them the war is not for conquest, loot or power, never.

Darling what an idea you meeting me at the Station? I never thought of that and I should have been very angry if you had done so. Its only that I wanted to save 8/6 which it costs from Liver pool Station, else I should not have bothered Sonya or James and they live in town. Much less would I have wanted you dragged away from your work.

I am inclosing the SIA Bulletin which I recieved yesterday. It is in an atrocious English. I hope you will not feel hurt in being des ignated as an under secretary. I cannot understand what made Lucia use such a term for you when I made it very clear that you have taken charge of SIA in my absense and that you are the treasurer as well as SIAs representative in England. Please forgive them "for they know not what they are saying". I assure they did not mean to desparage your import ance. In their statement you will find that the 130 pounds where initi ately turn into tins of milk. I am sorry Camara is so slow in replying to questions. I have just written him a card insisting he should spec ify exactly how many tins the amount purchased.

Yes, indeed it "is tragic beyond words that so magnif icient a struggle should end in defeat". I not only dream about our people in Spain and the horrors awaiting them, I am being pursed day and night by the thought. Everything in me crys out against the wanton butchery, the treachery of the hypocritical democracies, the indifference of the International proletariat. I feel like John McNare to whom I talked over the phone, going down to Downing street and smash all the windows. Only I also feel like publickly horse whipping Chamberlain. I would, I would, if only I thought it would rouse the workers to follow suite, and force the miserable man to lift the Non-Intervention Pact. Only youth knows how to go head formost. One in my age reflects too much, weighs and measures the gains while a whole gallant people are being destroyed like rabbots. O, Ethel why do I go on living. Was it not enough to live through the Russian debacle And now again the Spanish? I cling to a straw that this is not the end. It cannot be the end. Not while the magficant spirit and unceasing courage of our Spanish comrades lasts.

No, dearest I do not think that the "common people in Germany and Italy are happier than the tragic Spanish people in the throes of war. The happyness of the German and Italian people, if such exist, is the happyness of cringing slaves. The happyness of the Spanish people is that of resulitonary pride and passionate love of freedom. The difference was demonstrated on the 19th of July 36 when the people rose as one man to repulse the military olique and the Fascist con spiracy. Who was there in Germany, Austria or Italy ~~to do the~~

among

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people who show such magnificent courage and daring? Besides, even if the common people in Germany or Italy were realy happier it would prove more forcibly how necessary it is to stake ALL on freeing the world from the blackest of reaction which is Fascism by all means available. All, through history it was not the common people who were the forrunners and pioneers of social changes, in fact of every thing, creative art included. The common people only followed the heroic example. All had to pay a bitter price. But without it the world would still be in darkness and the human race more abject slaves than it is, even to day. And so I can only repeat, no price is too great in the struggle for social changes that will free all men from economic boundage, social slavery and spritual bajectness...

Dearest you keep saying the Spanish struggle has become a mere struggle for anti-Fascism. Even if it were true which I have already stated it is not there would be nothing wrong in it. After all, there is a vast difference betwesn what the Spanish people mean by anti-Fascism and the Duchess of Athol or any such sentimental ladies, or for the Attlee, Citrine, Wilkinsons, Nsgrine and the rest. Anti-Fascism to the Spanish people means the chance to continue their revolutionary constructive work. They have never lost sight of that. For well they know that while under democracy they will also have enemies to fight it will still be possible to do it. Under Fascism all chances will be lost for many years to come. I am amazed that you do not realise that, or that you can suggest for a moment that there is no difference between Italy, Germany and Russia, and let us say England reactionary as it has become. If the masses fail to act in this country it is more the fault of their leaders that hold them under the thumb. In Fascist countries it is the black scourge that has parglised the energies of the people and has destroyed their capacity to think or act. Don't you see dearest that everything in life is relative, there are nuances in color as well as in social issues. One simply cannot compare Fascism with political liberties no matter how small they are. You can still feel safe in your cottage, or go wherever you will, or do your work as you think best. In Italy, Germany, Austria and Russia you would be in a concentration camp. There in is the difference. It is for this reason that I consider that Fascism must be wiped off the earth. But one can be an anti-Fascist and a revolutionist as well. Thats why the Spanish comrades never ceased to be revolutionists though they called themselves anti-Fascists at the same time.

Let me hear from you when you can spare the time.
With my abiding love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 24 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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Jan 24th 39

Lieber Helmut. Ich kam Donnerstag zurruck und fand Dein Schreiben vom 18.d.m. Und auch die Kopien.Ich bin mir jezt nicht ganz glar was Du schon abgeschrieben hast.Ich habe soeben nachgesehn.Ich finde dass ic Dir alles was ich aus Spanien erhalten habe in Deutscher Ubersetzung hast Do abgeschrieben und mir zuruckgeschickt.Ich habe jezt nur noch den ersten Teil des Spanischen Tostes den ich hierbeilegen werde wenn ich morgen fruh den Brief ineschreiben alsse.Auch sende ich Dir einen interessanten und wichtigen Brief den ich von Hererra bekommen haben Ich bitte Dich ihn zu ubersetzen und mir so schnell wie moglich zuruck zu senden. Die Ubersetzung vom FA[1] Material kannst Du mir spater schi Bitte mach dann 3 Examplare.Auch von dem Brief da ich Rudolf eins schi muss. Ko,isch ist Hererra, der Inhlat des Briefes soll nur Rudolf be kannt gegeben werden.Nun weiss er doch dass es bei mir mit dem der Spanischen Sprache schlimm geht,ich muss es doch jemanden zum uber setzen geben. Na ich bin sicher Hererra wird nichts dagegen zu sagen habe wen Du es bist.Ich fur meine person habe dieslebe Zuversicht zu Dir wie zu mir selbst.

Unsere Spanier bleiben naive wenn es auch die tuchtigsten sind. H. und Sant.wollen man soll ihnen in ihrem Vorhaben helfen.Nun kann das hochsten mit Geld geschehen das dann so verwerted werden kann zu dem Zweck von dem ich Dir ja erzelte.Nun hat Hererra keine Vertraun person in Paris angegeben der man Geld schicken konnte.Ausserdem durft es sehr schwierig sein Geld zu bekommen ohne den Kamaraden zu sagen wo fur dasselbe gesammelt wird. Jedenfals werde ich Rudolf schreiben Er rid schon einen Weg finden.

Aber was soll es jezt wo unsere Leute der grossten Gefahr ausgesezt sind.Ich bin seit Francos blutigen Marsch auf Katalon vollstandig verzweifelt.Nicht dass ich an den Geist oder Mut unserer Leute zweiflei.Aber schliesslich sind sie ja auch nur Menschen.Sie konne beim besten Willen nicht uber ihre Kraft gehen.Franco ist ihene thausand fach uberlegen an Mannscaft und Waffen so wohl wie Flugzeuge er greift von allen Seiten an und unsere Kamaraden werden dirrect niedergemezelt. Das Blutbad dass die wilde Horde vornehmen wird lasst sich gar nicht ausdenken.Un dann all die Erungenschaften der SIA wahr haft grossartiges haben unsere Genossen geleistet an Colonien,Hospi taler, Speiseplatze, alles wird zerstort werdem, was wohl aus Sitges geworden ist,diese wundervolle Kinderheime. Und die Kinder,ich kann es einfach nicht fassen. Ich hange mit jeder Fsser an dem Gedanken dass Barcelona doch noch ein Wunder vollbringen wird. Heute hiess es in den Zeitungen dass die Regierung nach Valencia geflichtet ist Ich wunschte die Bande hatte das schon vor einigen Wochen getan.Dann hatte Barcelona so vorgehen konnen wie in Madrid als die Regierung

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als die Cabalero Sippe,leider auch unsre Kamaraden auf und davon gegangen sind.Ers dann fing die rechte Verteidigung der Stadt an. Nur befurchte ich es iwird zu spat fur Barcelona.Ausserdem is diese ungluck liche Stadt dem Angriff der uberwaltiger Kriegsmacht Francos mehr aus gesezt.

Ich bin fest uberzeugt Negrin und seine Kommunistische Minister haben es zur jeztigen Situation gebracht und unsere blode Kamaraden haben sich zum Abgrund fuhren lassen. Angesichts dieser grossen Tra godie,dieses blutigen Endes ist es zum wahnsinnig werden dass man hier sizt und so hulflos ist.Nicht einmal eine Versammlung kann man hier zu stande bringen. Die einzige die fruher geholfen hat,die Ethel Mannin ist plotzlich Pacifistin geworden.Hatten doch die CNT-FAI keinen Wiederstand geleistet ~~xxx~~ am 18 July schrieb sie mir dann hatten sie auch nicht mehr vorlohren. Es ist zum schreien. Wenn ich auch nur die geringste Hoffnung hatte etwas fur unsere Leute zu erreiche wurde ich versuchen zu diesem elendigen Kaffer der hier herscht zu kommen und ihn offentlich auszupatischen,denn etwas drastischer wurde ihn nur zum Martyrertun verhelfen. Du darfst mir glauben lieber Helmut es ist dieses keine Pose oder Phrase wenn ich Dir sage ich würde mit begeisterung mein Leben hergeben wenn ich damit das verbrecherische Leben der Francos und seine Helfer beenden konnte.Nicht ~~damit~~ das damit grosses erreicht werden konnte,aber als Protest gegen den Heuchelmord von soviele Opfer wacre es eine grosse Befriedigung fur mich. Ausserdem hat man ja schon eine revolutionäres Debacle erlebt,soll man jezt auch noch weiter leben? Lieber Helmut verzeihe dass ich meinen Jammer Dir und Dora auflade. Aber ich habe hier niemanden der ebenso empfindet wie ich und mein Leid verstehen wurde.

Ja ich weiss Du und einige,ach so wenige habt und werdet Schass und meine Arbiet weiter fuhren,den Ttost habe ich wenn er auch unmoglich die neue Wunden die Spanien mir verursacht nicht heilen kann. Immerhin ist es eine grosse Genugtuung einige wahre Genossen und Freunde zu haben die unser ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Ideal fur den Sasha und ich geoebt und gekampft haben ~~xxxxxxx~~ eiter zum leben verhelfen werde.

Ich bin momentan nicht indem geistigen Zustand zu sagen wann ich nach Kanada reisen werde. Es hangt wirklich von dem Ausgang in Spanien ab.Ich bin fest uberzeugt dass der Kampf mit Barecelona nicht zu ende sein wird,aber solten einige von der CNT-FAI nach Paris kommen dann werde ich uber Frankreich fahren um sie zu sehen. Aber was solten sie schliesslich in Frankreich? Wenn es ihnen gelingt dsvon zu kommen dann werden sie nach Valencia oder Madrid gehen wollen um dort wieder zu kampfen

Liber Helmut du darfst der CNT nicht bose sein dass sie das hiesige Burau nicht mehr stutzen konnen.Gewiss sie haben ihre Sache in Paris in unverantwortliche Hande gelassen die wohl viel vergeudet haben. Aber wen hatten sie schicken sollen? Man kann tuch~~xxxxxxxxxx~~tige und zuverlassige Menschen nicht aus dem Aermel schutteln.Ubrigens hat die CNT-FAI richtig getan denn es hat sich hier wirklich nicht gelohnt so viel Geld und so viel Kraft hineinzustecken.Es wurde blutwenig erreicht Es tut mir schrecklich um SIA leid.Ethel Mannin will auch dieses jezt nicht weiter machen.Es hatte keinen Zweck schrieb sie mir nachdem der Krieg verloren und die Revolution erstickt wordend ist". Was soll man mit solche Leute machen die so schnell ihren Glauben und ihren Mut verlieren? Es war eine Hollenarbeit hier fur Spanien zu wirken Nun ich kann SIA mir nicht dir nicht aufgeben.Ich muss jemanden finden der die Arbeit weiter ~~fuhrxx furxxxxxxx~~ fuhren kann s nst werde ich

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in Kanada keine Ruhe finden. Denn gerade jezt ist es notwendig alle Kraft einzusetzen um unsere Kamaraden in ihre heorische Acheit zu helfen. Was uberhaupt aus ihnen werden wird,die Kinder, die thausende Fluchtlinge? Es ist nicht auszudenken.

Stelle Dir vor gestern erhielt ich noch ein paar Zeilen von Vazquez mit dem Spanischen Bulletin datiert den 12 ten Jan. Trotz der Gefahr die immer naher und naher kam hatten unsere Kamaraden noch Sinn fur Bulletins and Zeitungen.Hat es noch je in der Welt eine solche Uberwindungskraft gegeben einen solchen Mut angesichts des Todes? Ich weiss kein deartiges Volk. Wie man da noch norgeln und verdammen kann verstehe ich einfach nicht.

Um auf die Moglichkeiten hier zurruckzukommen die wirst die ode in Ideen,Urteilsfahigkeit und Gedanken sehen wenn ich Dir sage dass die sogenannte Anarchistische Federation hier mich aufge fordert hat ich solte den Genossen in Barcelona benachrichtigen dass sie fur unsere Ideen in England weiter arbeiten werden. Diese Leute haben diese naderhlab Jahre keinen Finger fur Spanien geruhrt,jezt haben Sie die Unverschamtheit zu glauben es liegt den Spaniern etwas ob dei Federation die aus ein paar dummer unwissende Bengels besteht oder nicht. Aber aus diesem Material ist unsere Bewegung zusammen gestellt.Was ist da also zu erwarten?

Lieber Helmut ich werde die Korrektur machen xxx wegen Lewin.Ubrigens wolte ich Dich noch fragen ob ich Deinen Bericht Arthur Muller Lehning senden darf,ich meine Deinen Bericht uber den Kongress der I.A°A° Merkwurdig wie Menschen manchesmal zusammen kommen. Ich kenne Arthur seit 25 als ich ihn in Paris traf. Wir haben in Spanien in 36 die Reise nach Valencia gemacht.Aber erst jezt wehrend meines Aufenthaltes in Amsterdam,undere Zusammenarbeit im Institute und unsere tagliche Kamaradschaft habe ich erst Arthur und Madleine kennen und lieben gelernt.Und ich glaube so ist es auch ifrerseits geschea. Gerade wie mit Dir und Dora. Warum es eigentlich so lange gedauert hat? Na die Hauptsache ist wir sind jezt eng verbuden mit Euch und mit Arthur und sein liebes Madel.

Bitte ubersetze den Brief von Hererra so schenll wir mog lich und mache mir einige Kopien.Auch eine Ubersetzung von dem Spanisch Text der hier beiliegt mochte ich,ich glaube nicht dass die Deutsche Ubersetzung die Egor gemacht hat von diesem Text ist.Jedenfals hat die Ubersetzung zeit aber nicht der Brief.

Frankreich will also ihre unerhorte Frechheit ihrer Grausamkeit hinzufugen.Heute bringen die Zeitungen dass man die Spanische Fluchtlinge nicht hereinlasst in Frankreich.Soll dass heissen dass man die verzweifelte Menschen wie Ratten inder Falle Franco preis geben wird? Es ist zu entsatlich.

Herzliche Grusse an Dora. Deine verzweifelte Kamaradin.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 24, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Harry Weinberger. — 2 p. ; 31 × 22 cm.
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24253

HARRY WEINBERGER
COUNSELOR AT LAW
70 WEST 40TH ST., NEW YORK
LONGACRE 5-3532-3533

January 24, 1939

Mrs. E. G. Colton
6 Sneath Avenue
London, N.W. 11
England

My dear E.G.:

I was surprised to receive your letter of January 9th from Amsterdam. I was glad to know that at least you are in a peaceful country, though according to the newspapers reports it sounds as if Germany may be turning her eyes toward Holland.

Before I talk of anything else, let me first dispose of your personal questions. I enclose copy of letter from Roger Baldwin and I think he is absolutely right that at this time nothing can be done in Washington. As a matter of fact I believe a resolution will be introduced within the next few days looking toward the impeachment of Miss Perkins for not deporting Bridges, who is reported to be a communist. I understand that Fitzie has written you about Joe Coffin. My own opinion is that inasmuch as you intend to come to Canada, that when you finally arrive there and if the atmosphere is clear, your friends can get busy on the question of getting you a temporary visa. I am of the opinion that even a Committee would not do any good at this time.

As a matter of fact just now I am working on the Grover Cleveland Bergdoll matter re getting him and his wife back into this country, so I can feel the pulse in Washington at various times when I am there.

It is too bad that there is not someone who would undertake to write on A.B. and yourself for the purpose of getting a Ph.D. As a matter of fact I agree with you that there is quite a possibility of a worthwhile book of your letters and A.B.'s to each other and to other people. Perhaps one of the American publishers might be willing to underwrite such a job to be done by you in collaboration with someone else, so that the physical work of copying, typing etc. could be divided.

Note that you expect to sail about the middle of February. You state you will be in Toronto. Do you mean that would be your permanent resident address? I certainly will come up to visit you.

The situation in Spain leaves me heart sick, especially when I feel that England, France and the United States having failed to supply arms, is probably the reason of the defeat of the loyalists,

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 24, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Harry Weinberger. – 2 p. ; 31 × 22 cm.

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while Italy and Germany are not only supplying arms but also supplying men. With world politics being all muddled, with decency something to be had at a great discount, when treaties and one's word seems to be less than a scrap of paper, it seems that a revaluation of values of the worthwhile things of life are necessary.

Political office or a newspaper or a magazine are the only sounding boards through which the world can be made to listen.

I have gotten a cable address again. It is my old one of HARWEIN. If by any chance it should be necessary for you to cable me,(I hardly think it will be) you can use my cable address.

I am with all best,

Sincerely,

HW:BW
Enc.

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[Letter, 1939 Jan. 24, New York to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / Harry Weinberger.— 1 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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24254

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
31 Union Square West
New York City

January 13, 1939.

Mr. Harry Weinberger
70 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

I regret to say that I think nothing at all can be done about a visa for Emma Goldman Colton. There is not a chance in the world that it would be granted in the present temper of the country and the hot spot on which the Department of Labor sits while Congress is in session.

Mrs. Margaret DeSilver, 98 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, is making some sort of effort, and you might care to communicate with her.

Sincerely yours,

ROGER BALDWIN

RNB:DG

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 25 [London to R.] Sturgess, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 28 × 21 cm.
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24364

Jan.25th 39

Dear comrade Sturgess.

Your invitation to attend tomorrows meeting reached me only yesterday evening. As I have a previous engagement it will be impossible for me to attend. Besides, I am sailing for Canad soon.My presence tomorrow could therefore be of no help whatsoever. Thank you just the same.

I am sorry I cannot transmit the message of the A.F.B to the Spanish comrades. It is impossible toreach them now. I confess that I should hesitate to do so were it still possible to reach Barcelo For it can be of very little confort to the Spanish Anarchists in their epic struggle faced with extermination to learn that the A.F.B will continue their efforts"whatever ~~circumstances~~ circumstances arise" The A.F.B. and the comrades who belong to it have done so little to help ourcomrades in Spain that it seems like adding insult to injury to tell them now in their crucial and possbly last hour what they will do in England for their ideas. However if there were still a way to get to our Spanish martyrs I should suggest that you send the message direct. I simply would not have the heart to do so. May the A.F.B really show what they can do to make Anarchsim a living factor in England. It is nowhere more needed. I wish you all the greates success.

Fraternally.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 25, Chicago [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Jeanne [Levey]. – 1 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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1538 Merchandise Mart,
Chicago, Illinois
January 25, 1939.

My very dear E. G.:

I suppose you think I have been neglecting you. For the past two weeks Rudolf Rocker has been here and I have been busy arranging a series of lectures and affairs for him. My time has been so taken up I can hardly call my soul my own. I have not forgotten my dear Emma. I think of you so much. I have been wondering whether or not you have been to Amsterdam and back and when you expect to go on your Canadian trip.

Just had a letter from Fitzy. She has been trying through Jo Coffin the young lady who is connected with the Government Printing office to get you into this country. Perhaps my trip to New York will not be in vain since Fitzy definitely promised me she would help me. Emma dear, why don't you try to come into the country even if they would not allow you to lecture in public. We certainly could have crowds in the homes where you would not be restricted. Do you know Miss Jo Coffin? She seems to know you and knew Sasha very well.

Am enclosing herewith a check for $50.50 which I have had for some-time. Let me know what is new with you. I am also asking Fitzie to see what she can do about helping me dispose of some of your pamphlets. It would be nice if we could raise some money for you in this way. I certainly feel that if I had the opportunity to travel throughout the country I would not have any difficulty in raising quite a sum through these pamphlets. Somehow there seem to be so few people who are able or who have the inclination to really excercise some effort.

I hope you will be in Canada so time in May because Jay and I expect to drive to New York about that time and if you are there, we could arrange some meeting place. It would be very convenient for us to drive to see you, at some point. Please let me know just what your plans are and when you anticipate leaving on your trip.

Hope we shall see you soon. In the meantime let me hear from you. Jay joins me in sending our fondest love.

Always,

Jeanne

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 25, Marseille [France to] Emma Goldman, London / I. da Camara Pires.— 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.
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I. DA CAMARA PIRES
40, LA CANEBIÈRE
MARSEILLE
TÉL. DRAGON 59.0
DRAGON 84.5

20712

Marseille, le 25 Janvier 1939

Emma Goldmann
21 Frith Street
Shaftesbury Avenue
London, W.1.

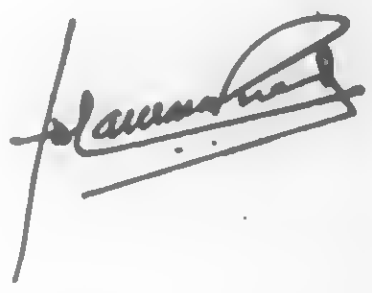
Chère camarade Emma,

Je viens de recevoir ta lettre, à laquelle je m'empresse de repondre.

Hélas, les lettres que tu joins pour Herrera y Lucia resteront surement quelques jours en mon pouvoir, car j'ignore en ce moment ou je pourrai les envoyer. Mes dernières nouvelles sont que nos Comités ont déjà abandonné Barcelone, qui sera surement perdue. Inutile de te dire que, dès que j'aurai le moyen de les toucher, je leurs ferai parvenir tes missives.

J'essaie encore d'avoir le courage d'esperer malgré des grosses nuages qui planent sur le ciel international, et qui me font craindre le pire.

Fraternellement à toi,



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 26? [London to] Jo [Coffin, Washington, D.C.] / Emma Goldman. – 2 p. ; 28 × 23 cm.
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24429

My dear Joe. Please forgive this carbon copy of the letter I wrote you. The original disappeared from under my hands I am terribly sorry. I am sending you that you may know what I have been working for. EG

26th January, 1939.

My dear Joe,

I cannot tell you what a surprise it was to me to read in Fitzi's letter of the 14th instant that you still remember me and my dear dead pal, Alexander Berkman and that you still remember the many interesting events we have passed through together. In these terrible times, when it is so difficult to know who is one's friend or who has gone the way of all flesh, it is a comfrot to know that a few are left who have remained staunch and faithful. Thank you, my dear.

Fitzi tells me that you might be able to do something to get me back to America. That would indeed be wonderful, for I have felt a l along that in my case the ordinary cold official way of approach is no good whatever. It requires someone who knows me and who can present my purpose in getting to the States in a way that would appeal to those who are in a position to help secure visas. I could not think of anybody more suitable than you, or anyone who would put his whole heart into it and work ardently, so here are the answers to the questions you put to Fitzi. First, I come under the name of E.G. Colton, that is my legal name and in that name I have a British passport and am therefore a British subject. Secondly, I plan to sail for Canada the third week of next month. I will therefore arrive there about the end of February. I plan to start off for a week or so in Montreal. Here is my Montreal address:

After that I will go to Toronto which will be my headquarters in Canada. The address there is c/o Mr. Jo Desser, 759, Bathurst St. Thirdly, I would like six months. It is true, I want to be able to lecture there on European events, but also I want terribly to see my niece, Stella Ballantine, who has had a nervous breakdown and is very ill. She has always been as my own child, and I feel her illness very deeply. I want terribly to be able to take care of her and do what I can to bring her back to her former beautiful and vivid self. Fourthly, this is a more sentimental reason - June 27th I will be 70 years of age. I would like very much to have it among my friends in the United States which has been my home for nearly 40 years and where I have lived and worked and may I say without

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exaggeration, suffered a good deal, too. I realise that this can have no bearing on those who are likely to help you in securing permission. This is more for yourself, dear Jo, simply to let you know how very much I would like to get back. Whatever price I have paid in the States, it has tied my with a thousand strings and they pull me back.

There is much I would like to write you about myself and also to find out about you, but I will wait until I hear from you. I know you will be interested to know that for the last 2½ years I have worked hard to help the valiant Spanish people in their struggle, especially the refugee women and children. I am enclosing a copy of a bulletin which I have been getting out from time to time together withfriends who have worked with me. Please let me hear from you soon. It is a great joy to know that you are on deck and that since we have established connections you will write me often.

With my old affection,

Emma Goldman

I forgot to tell you that there would be no use approaching Persons. She has already told Rayer Baldwin she would not give me a visa. Unless some one upon her own hee approached Roosevelt himself the effort would be useless. Mrs Roosevelt was suggested to her as the most influencial people would approach on any event it would have to be done carefully & quietly. I leave it to you.

The inclosed might interest you

Ever. E-G

870929577

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 26 [London to Facundo Roca, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p.; 26 × 20 cm.
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20846

26 de Enero de 1939.

Querido camarada,

He estado terriblemente preocupada con motivo de la situacion en Barcelona y la suerte que puedan correr nuestros camaradas. No se reciben aqui otras noticias que las publicadas en la prensa capitalista. Es verdad que hoy recibi una carta de fecha 21 de Enero de nuestro camarada Martin Gudell, pero en ella nada me dice con respecto a los camaradas de la .I.A. No se que pensar de ellos y estoy muy preocupada. Espero que tu tengas noticias frescas y te ruego me las envies a vuelta de correo. Me gustaria saber igualmente si puedo seguir enviando paquetes con ropa para los ni os de refugiados que vengan a Perpignan, por lo que creo que esto se necesite. Dime si se necesita esto y lo embarcare enseguida. Si hay que mandarlo a Cerbere o a ti.

Otra cosa que me gustaria saber enseguida . Se ha recibido un telegrama en la senas en donde resido de la camarada Emilia Roca. Es la companera de Juan Puig Elias. Estaba a cargo de una colonia de 30 ninos llamada Mon Neu, en los Pirineos. El telegrama es de Perpignan. No sabes lo que me ha alegrado el ver que ella podido escapar y estiy segura que los ninos saldrain con ella. No he ido por casa aun, asi que no se el nombre del hotel, que segun me dicen, se indica en el telegrama. Cuando llegue casa esta noche pondre el nombre del hotel en la presente. Te incluyo una carta para ella, y te ruego le hagas una visita y me escribas en frances diciendome si los ninos se encuentran con ella y si puedo hacer algo por ellos, dandome todas las noticias que poseas acerca de nuestros camaradas.

Fraternalmente,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 26 [London to] Emilia Roca, [Perpignan? France?] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 17 × 20 cm.

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20847

26 de Enero de 1939.

Querida companera Emilia Roca,

Tu telegrama llego a la casa en donde vivo, pero ya habia salido para la Oficina, asi que no estoy enteado de todo su contenido, excepto que te encuentrasa en Perpignan. Solo antes de yer recibi las cartas ue los ninos me habian escrito, y me alegro mucho saber que los pauqtes que yo habia enviado llegaron sin novedad. He estado la mar de preocupada acerca de ti y los ninos desde los ultimos acontecimientos en Cataluna, y no sabes el contento que me ha producido el saber que has podido salir de alli; pero y los ninos? Escribo al camarada Garret, de Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista, incluyendole estas lineas para ti y i indole te visite y pregunte que es lo que puedo hacer por ti. Me gustaria saber como pudiste salir y la suerte del camarada Juan Puig Elias.

Esperando saber de ti pronto y con carinos para todos los ninos, te saluda fraternalmente,

870929579

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 26 [London to Emilia] Roca, [Perpignan? France?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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20848

26 de Enero de 1939.

Estimada camarada Roca,

[illegible] que no te escrito hace algun tiempo no te he olvidado un momento. He tenido la mar que hacer desde que regrese de Espana y sabiendo que tu tambien te encontrabas bastante ocupado no quise molestarte con mis cartas, pero ahora tengo que escribirte. Me persigue dia y noche el espectro que se acerca mas y mas a Barcelona. De acuerdo con la prensa de esta tarde, los salvajes parecen que por ultimo han conseguido llegar a la ciudad, pero me rehusa a creerlo hasta que tu u otro camarada me lo confirme, pues se la determinacion de los camaradas de nuestra organizacion de de la J.L. y estoy segura que se resistiran hasta lo ultimo. He recibido una carta de Martin Gudell de fecha 23 del presente. Aunque me escribe que la situacion es grave no expresa temor acerca de lo que pueda ocurrir en Barcelona. Me dice que la mayoria de nuestros camaradas en los diferentes Centros y puestos de labor han dejado sus puestos con el proposito de luchar hasta lo ultimo, pero cualquiera que sea, tu debes tener noticias concretas, por lo que te ruego me contestes a vuelta de correo. No me importa la verdad, por muy mala que sea, pero lo que no puedo pasar es permanecer en igonorancia de lo que esta ocurriendo. No dejes, pues, de escribirme, enseguida.

No tengo que decirte lo que siendo y siento con motivo de [illegible]tracion de las "democracias" y la aparente indeferencia del proletariado mundial. Nunca se ha cometido un crimen tan grande contra un pueblo. Desesperaria por completo si no supiera que nuestras camaradas demostraran todavia al mundo el gran sacrificio que han hecho y estan haciendo.

Con el corazon henchido, fraternalmente,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 26 [London to] Angelica [Balabanoff, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. – 4 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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26th January, 1939.

Dearest Angelica,

I have been hearing about you from my dear friends, Jeanne Levy and the Mendelssohns, which is better than not hearing about you at all, but you will admit that it is not quite the same as hearing from you direct. It is a long time since you have written me, my dear, and I wondered all the while what can be the reason. True, you will say that I too have not written, but you must bear in mind that I have been in the thicket of the Spanish struggle and when I returned to this country I was overwhelmed with work for my comrades who have made such a marvellous show in fortitude and courage. You may believe me when I tell you that since the Spanish struggle began I have lost all personal interest or personal ambition, whatever I had of it. I was and am entirely steeped in the greatest epic that is being played in Spain. This is my excuse for not writing you. I am certain that you, too, are busy. Still, you were far removed from the scene of battle and you must still have had some time for a few lines at least. Well, it really does not matter. The main thing is that you have kept up your own end, as I have been made to understand by the friends who have kept me informed of your doings. I am sending this letter to my friends, the Mendelssohns, as I have not the remotest idea where you are. I thought at first I would send a letter care of Eugene Lyons, because he wrote me once that you are his neighbour, but on second thoughts I came to the conclusion that he may be out of town and that it will be better to ask the Mendelssohns to get this letter to you as soon as possible.

Dearest Angelica, in the light of the universal crime committed against Spain, and in the present harrowing situation of Catalonia, it seems almost sacrilegious to write about a matter that is so far reote from my present thoughts and feelings, and yet I must do it because I feel that your fair name is involved as well as the integrity of one I have known since his boyhood. I refer to George Seldes and the unfortunate litigations that you or your attorney have begun against him. I confes I was shocked when I received his first letter, telling me that you had brought a suit

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 26 [London to] Angelica [Balabanoff, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. – 4 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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ag inst him. I know at once that whatever losses you may have have sustained, the suggestion of a suit could not possibly emanate from you, you who are so unworldly, so far removed from the miserable bickering over money matters. I wonder, have you not become a victim of an aspiring lawyer, for it is certain to me that whatever the outcome of the litigations may be it will be he and not you who will benefit by it.

At first I thought that it must all be a mistake, that George Seldes had simply misunderstood you and the motive which may have induced you to consent to legal transactions, but I see from his second letter of January 6th that you have already won your first suit and that thousand dollars had been paid you from the magazine, Ken, of which your lawyer pocketed 500. I should never have believed it, and indeed I cannot grasp it now, that you should have engaged in this unfortunate business. Forgive me if I seem to interfere. I readily admit that the whole matter is not my business, except for my abiding faith in your honesty and sincerity and also my belief in George who I do not consider capable of underhand dealings. I would like to know your side in any event. Perhaps the litigations will not seem quite so shocking to me. George's letter tells me that you have filed another suit or intend to do so. Do you not think this unworthy of you, my dear. In the first place I do not believe that George is overburdened with wealth. His books do not bring quite the fortune your lawyer may suppose, but even if his income were great I should still consider it strange that you did not try to settle whatever claims you had with him out of Court in a comradely manner. Please believe me, my dear, that I do not want to meddle. I was merely made sick at heart to see that some American lawyer was able to get around you, you of all the impractical people I have known in my life - beautifully impractical because you have remained beautifully idealistic. Anyway write me about the matter, if you care to. I hate to see a feud among two of my friends. I hope that I can wipe out your grievance and help you to realise that George is one of us and that he certainly is incapable of cheating anybody, least of all you.

And now to something which is much more uppermost in my mind, in fact it haunts me day and night, and that is the Spanish and especially the Catalan situation. Perhaps if I had not been in Spain repeatedly and had not come close to the men and women of the National Confederation of Labour, the F.A.I., the Libertarian Youth, and the S.I.A., I would not feel so intensely the danger to them, though I would still feel the crime and injustice the democratic countries are committing against a people so loyal as the Spanish are. I would not feel so deeply the apathy and indifference of the international proletariat, but added to my grief over the harrowing situation in Spain is the deeper suffering for my own comrades. I know that they will be the first to be exterminated although they were the first to drive back the

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military conspirators and the Fascists in the glorious July days. I also know that for 2½ years they have been the only ones in Spain determined to fight to the last man and last drop of blood in order to conquer Fascism. Perhaps you will think that I am imagining when I tell you that those responsible for a hundred crimes committed in Spain itself and also in attempting to undermine the morale and break the spirit of the Spanish people, have been none others than Stalin's satraps. I know whereof I speak. When I last came back from Spain, three months ago, I succeeded in getting out a vast amount of material to prove the sinister part palyed by the Communists in Spain. The time is not far when ~~them~~ this documentary evidence will be given to the world at large. You will therefore understand why I feel so broken up over the tragic end, not of the battle - it will take a long time before that end will come - but of Catalonia and possibly Barcelona. Indeed I should despair utterly were it not for my abiding faith in the Spanish people and especially in the flaming spirit of my comrades. Just think of it, I have yesterday received a letter dated January 21st from one of my most reliable comrades who has been sending me masses of material. You could not believe that a man in such danger as everyone is in Barcelona, within sound of the guns of the enemy and exposed to the unceasing bombardment of German and Italian bombs, could write as this letter is written - with no reference whatever to his own safety and with a burning conviction that Barcelona will be defended inch by inch and house by house. I tell you, my dear, that nothing like it has ever been shown in human history, no not even by the people in the Russian Revolution. Anyway I am hanging on every line that comes out of Barcelona. I can think of nothing else than the fate awaiting all men and women who are known to belong to the C.N.T.-F.A.I., to the U.G.T. and to the P.O.U.M. Everyone will be exterminated if they do not succeed in escaping at the last moment.

However, distressed as I feel about this, I am consumed with disgust over the complacent indifference in this country on the part of the working classes. So much are they under the thumb of their leaders that they have not made one single direct step that would morally force Chamberlain and the National Government to lift the Non-Intervention Pact. O yes, they have attended meetings, that have contributed money, they have helped to send tins of milk and for the last ten days they are demonstrating on the streets calling for arms for Spain. How tragic, but then the workers in England are by no means the only ones - the French masses have done no better - or the Americans. That is the shame and the outrage of the whole thing.

Well, my dear Angelica, I thought to go on living after the Russian debacle was quite an effort; I cannot bear to think how one can go on living should the glorious beginning in Spain also ~~[illegible]~~ fail, but of all living things man is the most adaptable. That, too, is a tragedy.

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 26 [London to] Angelica [Balabanoff, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. – 4 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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I plan to sail for Canada some time next month. I have no idea what I am going to do there, but whatever it will be it cannot possibly prove less satisfactory than my efforts for Spain have proved. I am in touch with American affairs, so I know that reaction is rampant there as everywhere else. I am therefore not foolish enough to hope too much that I might be given a visa to enter the States. I admit I would like to. After all, America has been my home for more than half of my life. My near ones and dear ones are there - among Stella, who is so ill and whom I long terribly to see and possibly take care of her, and of course my comrades are there, and a thousand recollections. Some friends will try to get permission, but as I said, I am not very hopeful. After all, why should I expect the impossible when there are tens of thousands of refugees robbed of home and hearth and driven like cattle from border to border. Nevertheless I will sail fo Canada. It will also bring me near to you, my dear good comrade, but it is not to be until the latter part of next month, so you can still reach me here - better to my private address, 6, Sneath Avenue, N.W. 11. Should you see Eugene Lyons, give him my fraternal greetings. Tell him I am sending him an autograph album of the kind he admired at the Mendelssohn's. I am mailing it to them together with this letter to you.

With my old love and devotion,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 26 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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24462

26th January, 1939.

Dear Martin,

Your letter of the 21st of this month from the unfortunate, besieged Barcelona, came like a ray of light from the terrifying bleak sky. I cannot tell you how relieved I felt that you and the other brave comrades were still alive at the time of writing and that you are continuing the battle - not that I doubted for a moment that our comrades will fight to their last breath. It is my undying faith in their fortitude and their almost superhuman courage which prevents me from utter despair. If only I could cry this out from the housetops, make everyone who pretends sympathy with Spain realise the epic greatness that is being lived by the Spanish people. Unfortunately I cannot even do that. The Press, while clamoring for arms for Spain rather at a late hour I think, continues in its conspiracy towards everyone that mentions the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I could not even organise a meeting. People keep saying what is the use. Nevertheless I am determined that something shall be done next week, either a meeting or a manifesto - not that I am foolish enough to believe that that would have any effect on the treacherous position of those who are responsible for the Non Intervention Pact and who cling doggedly to it in the face of the greatest crime against the heroic people in history, but it will be some relief to myself to cry out against the appalling injustice. Besides I feel certain that even if Barcelona should fall into the hands of Franco and his hordes, the Spanish struggle for freedom and independence will continue and our efforts at this end or wherever I will be, will have to go on.

I need not tell you my intense anxiety about you and all the other dear comrades, especially those I have met only a few months ago, and all the comrades whom we saw with our brave Jover and Sanz. I received the bulletin and a short note from Vazquez. The bulletin is permeated with a burning faith in the spirit of the Spanish and the need of destroying Fascism. I will see if I can make some use of it in some form. Anyway you can be assured and assure all the comrades that I am and will continue to plead their cause with all the strength at my disposal. It is little enoughthat I can do, so I must at least do that much.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 26 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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The C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bureau will not be liquidated. True, our work will have to be on a very small scale, but whatever it will be possible to do will be done. You can therefore continue to address Comrade Barr at 21, Frith Street. Actually you could also use the same address for me until about the third week in February, when I mean to sail. It is only that I am not in the Bureau every day, so it is more convenient for me and more direct to address me at 6, Sneath Avenue, N.W. 11. This brings me to your letter where you say that you will begin to send me material to Canada. If you have not yet done it, please wait. Otherwise the material will be old by the time I arrive. There will be plenty of time if you will begin to mail material by the 15th February, not before.

Now for your letter: together with it I received two envelopes with material. I will certainly read it and then put it in an envelope and seal it so that Comrade Barr can keep it for you until you instruct him to send it on wherever you will be. About the material which you sent me - I have received everything in the German translation, but only one part, it seems to be the begining of the bulky documents, in Spanish. I have received nothing else. You say that in your last letter before the 21st you sent me material regarding guerrilla warfare. The only letter I have received before this was dated January 3rd and that contained nothing of any material. Perhaps another letter in between the 3rd and the 21st will yet arrive.

I feel tremendously relieved that our people are out of prison. It would be too cruel if after nearly 18 months incarcertaion their lives will be threatened in Barcelona. I hope fervently that they may get out before it happens. In any event you must remember me fraternally to Klose. I do not suppose that Comrade Esgleas now has the time or the mood to send me the notes of his remarkable address. It can wait until he and his are in greater safety than they are in Barcelona. I am fairly haunted by the thought of the children of Federica and the new-born babe to the Comrade who lives with them. No less distressed am I over my anxiety about Lucia and the comrades who work with her in S.I.A. - Mercedes and the rest. I pray that you may all get away when you realise that you can no longer save Barcelona. I do not have to tell you that I believe in the necessity of fighting to the last, but on the other hand it would be too terrible to waste so many precious lives of those who will be needed to make the world realise the crime it has committed - the outrage against every conception of humanity and justice.

The only material we have got in the office consists of albums and the Darruti pamphlet. Most of it will go to Canada where I hope to be able to dispose of them and to send the money to Paris for your department. My vast correspondence with you, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and with Hererra I will seal and send to the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. It will be added to all the other material I have left with instructions that it must remain sealed until I call for it again. I feel it will be much safer than leaving it with private people. Besides, Arther Muller-Lehning

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 26 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

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will be in charge of it, so it will be quite safe.

I will await the material from the Comite Peninsulaire and anything else that you might send me. As regards the two books which have fortunately arrived, the one called Madrid, Rojo y Negro and Toryoh's work, which you suggest might be published in the English language - my dear the difficulty is not the translation, it is to find the publisher who would be willing to publish them. ~~Rxrh~~ I am not hopeful of anyone in England, but perhaps I will have more luck with an American publisher when I get to Canada. I will ask our good comrade here who has been invaluable with translations from the Spanish, to make a sort of synopsis of the two books, which I might then send to some publishers, but you can rest assured that I will try my utmost. As to using some chapters from Toryoh's work, that will depend whether "Spain and the World" will continue. I am afraid that it will not be able to exist much longer. In fact, the few comrades there are are clamouring to make it a group paper, which usually means the death warrant of a publication. They are having a meeting to-night and will decide what to do. Perhaps if the paper has to go, our young editor with the help of others will publish a monthly magazine. I myself feel that would be much more important and certainly reach people who could in return help to create a movement here. You say that you wrote me in one of your last letters about some trouble you had with Mawa, I have not received that letter, and therefore do not know what the trouble might have been. I have had letters from Madame Emilia Roca who is at the head of the wonderful colony Mon Nou, telling me that the parcels I sent had been received. To-day I was surprised to be called up from the house where I live that a telegram had arrived signed by Emilia Roca from Perpignan. I do not know the contents of it, but the very fact that it comes from Perpignan, leads me to think she must have escaped and that she certainly has taken the 30 children with her. I cannot imagine that she would leave without them. I can only hope that the same thing was done with all the children in the S.I.A. colonies, with those at Sitges and in fact all children. They are the most innocent victims of the cruelty and the savagery of the world.

I wrote Masquerel about the film but have received no reply I suppose he feels too distressed over the situation in Catalonia to write. I am glad you have received the parcel sent by Steinberg. I will call him up to tell him that.

Dear, faithful Martin, I wish I could express in words how I feel about the gallant fight you are all making and how intensely I want to be with you, if only to share your lot. Please give my fraternal greetings to all the comrades and tell them their courage will stand as a shining example to the whole world. Some day to realise the ideals for which you have all fought so gallantly.

Fraternally,

880726105

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 26, London [to] The Manchester Guardian, [Manchester, England] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 30 × 24 cm.

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Copy.

26th January, 1939.

To the Editor of
The Manchester Guardian.

Sir,

On June 30th, 1936, you were good enough to print in the issue of the Manchester Guardian of that date, a letter of mine dealing with the case of Mrs.Zensel Muehsam, the widow of the poet, Erich Muehsam, who had been tortured to death in one of the concentration camps of the Third Reich. In that letter I called your attention to the disappearance of Mrs.Muehsam and to the fact that all efforts made to ascertain her whereabouts had been in vain. It will interest you to know that it was precisely my letter in your valuable paper which started a campaign on behalf of Zensel Muehsam, taken up by the Labour Press in Sweden, Holland, France and the United States, but it was only in March, 1937, when a letter signed by Mrs.H.Stassova and addressed to Mr.Roger M.Baldwin, the Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, reached the whereabouts of Mrs.Muehsam. Madame Stassova wrote that Zensel Muehsam "spent some time in a sanatorium and is at present in Moscow." In point of truth the sanatorium was the Cheka prison, and she was not released until much later after March 23rd. However, Mrs.Muehsam was finally liberated and continued to live quietly but under rigid surveillance.

Now comes the news that Mrs.Zensel Muehsam has again disappeared from the hotel in Moscow where she was living and that she left no trace of her whereabouts. This information was contained in the paper, "Derniere Nouvelles" published in Russian in Paris by Mr.Muilukov under of 18th January, 19[illegible] . The report goes on to say that every effort to ascertain what has become of Mrs.Muehsam had brought no results. The suggestion is made that she may again be in Cheka prison or exiled to a concentration camp or perhaps may have lost her life in the not uncommon manner of all opponents of the present ruler of Russia.

I am taking the liberty again of appealing to you to make the possible plight of Zensel Muehsam known to your readers. I am certainthat it will again prove, as it did in 1936, the beginning of a campaign to save the unfortunate woman the doom to which she is exposed.

Sincerely yours,

Emma Goldman,
21, Frith Street, London, W.

880207089

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 27 [London to] Nic[h]olas Kopeloff, N[ew] Y[ork] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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24508

Psychiatric Institute Medical Center N Y City

Jan.27th 39

Dear Nicolaus Kopeloff.

I am writing you again in behalf of Stella.The letters Ian Ballantine who is in London now received from his father about his mothers condition and the letter from Fitzi I received have made us mos uneasy about Stella. The doctors in charge are suing some new methods and from what we gather from the letters there is also to be some kind of a new method which seems terribly d astic and/may cause grave consequences. You can imagine how we feel. It is for this reason that I beg you to gsee the physiciaans in charge of Stella and get from them a frank statement for me just how grave is Stellas present cond ition and if they do not fear dire results. You have no idea how dis tressed and worried I feel.

Another matter can you find out from them whether I might have some effect on Stella were I to take care of her? I mean of course if I could get a visa to return to the States. Thsi is of course very questionable though I do think that Wash might let me in if I stated that I want to come only to take care of my niece. It would be necessary to tell the doctors what I mean to Stella and she to me and whether ~~the~~ my unexpected appearance would not pull her out of her depression. Some friends want to try to help me back.So far I have told them that it must be without reservation on my part. But Stellas health and mental recovery means so much to ~~be~~ I would be willing to waive all rights of lectures or public appearance if only I can get to her and help her.

I know you not feel I am taking advantage of your friendship for me and Stella when I ask you to write me soon and give me a frank account what the physician at the Center will tell you.

Affectionate greetings to your mother and yourslef. Remeber me also kindly to your wife.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 27 [London to Babsie and Morris Goldman, Huntington, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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24477

Jan 27th 39

My own beloved Moishe, dearest Schwester.

You will say I too have grown lazy since I have not written you sooner in reply to your letter of the 27 of Dec, just a month ago. Ascribe it to the fact that it reached me in Amsterdam where I was digging into the dead past arranging Sashas and my writ ing for the International Institute of Social History, and the living drama that was being played in Spain. It was excruciating to be torn between the past that meant so much to me and the cruel present in Spain. I was not fit to write you or anyone else, or able to tear myself away from what I was doing. I went to Amsterdam for ten days to arrange Sashas material. I thought I could do that without also having to touch mine. But you know yourself how interlinked our lives were and how impossible it was to try to do the one without the other. So I remained four weeks instead of ten days and even this time made it impossible to do a thorough job. I merely classified the material that had to be sealed and which will not be used by any one without my authorisation and the general material such as MSS, gebaral correspond ence and masses of clippungs Sacco Vanzetti and Mooney material that can be used by social students now. Among the ~~xxxxx~~ sealed correspond ence are quite a number of your letters darling mine. Your last I have received shows that you have not changed in spirit, humor and your philosophic attitude to this rotten world of our, more rotten and horrible than it has ever been. I love you for it my Moishale. I often wish I too could feel so detacht. But your old Schwester has remained a sort of human ballun going up to the very heights of hope and expect ation only to come donw with a terrible thud. All my life I have hovered between this feeling that the world must come to its senses, the people creat the good Life only to fall into the depths of despair. I suppose I will remain like that until the end.

About the material that is now in the Institute I could not wish for a more worthy monument to the memory of Sasha than to have his writing s in such a wonderful place, the most unique of itsx kind in Europe. I do not mean as far as size or richness of mat erial I mean its specific social historic imprtante. It certainly has the largest Bollection of Anarchist material in every language, Socilsit documents and papers for the last 150 years, the most remarcable Russian material. In short it is a mint. Moreover it is

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 27 [London to Babsie and Morris Goldman, Huntington, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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presided over by a very Liberal man who is himself Prf.of Political Economy. He has bought up whole archives so that the Institute for Social History is truly International. I am hoping to get something for our material. I am waiting to hear from Prof Posthumous. But all that is at pr sent of minor importance to me with the harrow events in Spain and Stellas tragic condition. A letter from Fitzi tells me Dr Shotac has been to see her and found her looking terrible. Stell told her she should not have come. Fitzi suggests that Stella needs personal care and attention and not setving as an object for experment ation,detacht men who have no personal reason or interest in what they are doing for Stella. Perhaps Fitz is right,but who is there who can give Stella personal attention nurse her back lovingly to her formerself? If only I could get in to America I should not hesitate a moment to devote myself to my own Stella.My only fear would be that th the Center might refuse to take her back if I too should fail. It is all very terrible.

My own beloved Stellas break down should prove to you that it was not indeliference on her part why she never came to see you. The beginning of her trouble must ~~haxafxkonx~~ must date back considerable time.How could she get to your place ~~wx~~ from Bearsville depressed as she was and obsessed by the idea that she had failed in life? That seems to be her main trouble I am told. And Saxe who works like a slave to make their expensive life possible so as to maitain the standard of Dorothy as a musician. If it were possible to say that people do not come to you because "they do not want to" it would be ~~aaxxxtax~~ very easy.But life is too complex for that and human motives are a mass of contradictions. Added to this is the mad ness of modern life in a large city. Really my darling you should not judge so lightly. Whatever the reason for the seeming neglect of you by Stella in the past and by Saxe I know it is not lack of love for you. Saxe does not write me in months. That would never make me lose faith in his affection and devotion. I am certain if it came to any serious situation Saxe would come to my aid as I am sure he did to yours when you were so ill.But it is his preoccupation with his famil and his job which makes him neglectful. I am sure it is that.

About your condition I feel it keenly and I wish with all my heart I could be near enough to relieve Babsie some time. I have always considered her a marvel in her devotion to you and in her capac ity to carry on her ~~proo~~ being an invalide herself. I know she must be fagued out and often dispsirited,naturally. Thats why I yearn to get back to America,to help you and help Stella the two I love so deeply of the rest of the family. I wish I could say I still hope I might be given a visa. I have none whatever but I am sailing for Canada the latter part of next month anyhow.~~xixxxxx~~ I must get away from this complacant country.I failry loath it since the criminal part of Chamberlain and the indifference of the masses in the face of the tragedyin Spain,the cold blooded indifference while people were being butchered. I must get away and I will. Perhaps in the summer Babsie could drive you to Toronto so I can see you both though it would still make it impossible to see Stella. She fairly haunts me day and night.

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As to my comrades in Spain I should despair utterly if it were not for myabding faith in their fortitude, their heroism and their dertermination to go on fighting to the last man. Do not believe for a moment that because Barcelona surrendered and Franco is now lording over that city and Catalonia that the war is finsihed. Far from it. The Spanish workers mean to go on even if it will be as guerrillas to continue the struggle.I know the Spanish people and I know their caliber.That is way I have not lost my fervent belief in them.But I feel broken up over the end in Catalonia the very birth place of the largest Anarchist Syndicalist organisation in the world and the bravest. The surrender of Barceloan from which I returned only three months ago and whose every street I knew and all the gallant fighters was a frightful blow. All in all the world is in an appalling state and its cruelty,mans inhumanity to man at its very pinacle. If it can ~~gen~~ grow more vicious and savage it will once Hitler and Mussol ini get into to Spain to collect their ~~spils~~ spoils.Only then will the real dance of death begin. As to mysafety in Canada,darling there is no saftely anywhere in the world nor do I care much about it for myself.

I expect Ian to dinner in a little while.I will get him to add a line. I hope his fathers letter which is awaiting Ian has not also sad neww about his mother

I embrace you both my beloved ones.

With love

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 27 [London to] Robert [and] Ruth [Low, New York?] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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24509

Jan 27th 39

Dearest Ruth,dear Bob,precious Helene.

I cannot tell you how happy you have made me with your Christmas gift,Helenes picture. How beautiful she is and what a sun beam. She lights up my whole room and she has brought cheer into my heart that is so heavy with our new family sorry and the woe of the world. I cannot thank you enough my dearest Ruth and dear old Bob.Thank you ever so much. I inclose a little money so you can get Helene a small gift for me with a great deal of love.Please do it since I cannot buy anything she might enjoy here. It is only a lone $1 bill.

My dears,my dear you have been silent so long I have often wondered whether you had castems out . Once Stella used to keep me in formed about all our family members but since her illness I never hear about anyone,except an occasional word from Teddy. I have not heard from Saxe in months. Yet I hunger for news about all of you my own precious ones. Now that glorious Helene has broken the ice will no write me dearest Ruth,or you old Bob whom I still cherish as of yore. Please do I miss hearing from you and knowing about you.

I am planning to sail for Canada sometimes next month,toward the end of Feb.Perhaps in the spring you will come to visit me, the three of you. Some friends are going to try for a visa for me to reent the States. But I have no faith in it though I would give anything to get back,if only to see you all,see what I could do for our unfortu ate Stella. She haunts me day and night.

Then too the situation in Spain, the uncertain fate of the most heroic and gallant people in the world. I have been with them and have learned to know and love them.So you can imagine how I feel. ~~But~~ I am hled up by the thought that the Spanish people can never be subdued for long. They will fight until the last man. The greater the outrage and crime of the dmocracies that have betrayed Spain.

My dears I have to send this to Sax to ask him to forwa the letter to you as I do not know what had become of the envelope con aining the photo.It was opened at my office.

Please,please write me soon I am hungry to hear from yo

Embrzce the sunbeam for me. With love

880726096

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 27, Paris [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / F[acundo] Roca.— 1 p.; 29 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23490

Paris, a 27 de Enero de 1939.

Camarada E. Goldman.
L O N D R E S

Estimada compañ-era:

Sirva la presente para acusarte recibo de tu carta fechada el 26 del presente, así como para tranquilizarte en cuanto se refiere a nuestros compañ eros de Barcelona. Efectivamente, nos ha sido confirmada la caida de Barcelona, pero afortunadamente la mayoria de nuestros camaradas han tenido tiempo de salir y llegar a Gerona para instalarse allí, a fin y efecto de reorganizar la resistencia y poder seguir la lucha. Aunque la situación es muy dolorosa y muy angustiosa, tenemos aun mucho terreno para defender por lo cual espero que a pesar de todas las contrariedades y por mas que la tragedia ha llegado ya a su punto culminante, podremos salir del paso. Para esto necesitamos todas l as energías y por muy duro que sea mucha calma.

Sin otra cosa por el momento y en espera de poderte dar mejores noticias, queda fraternalmente tuyo

F. Roca

871005215

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 27, Perpignan [France to Emma Goldman, London] / M. Baruta Vilá and Lucía Sánchez Saornil. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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CONSEJO GENERAL DE SIA
(PROVISIONALMENTE EN
PERPIGNAN.)

20387

CARTA-CIRCULAR Nº25.

A TODOS LOS CONSEJOS NACIONALES Y COMISIONES ORGANIZADORAS DE SIA.

Los acontecimientos militares de estos ultimos dias han roto la resistencia heroica de nuestro ejercito y hemos sido desbordados en el frente catalan.

Es en estos momentos de dolor y dificultades, que escribimos, solicitando de vosotros todas aquellas atenciones que nos son necesarias; y lo solicitamos porque nuestra situacion es delicada en extremo.

Empezada la evacuacion de las compañeras, niños y ancianos, asi como de todos aquellos mutilados e inutiles de guerra, nos encontramos con una cantidad de gente que hay que pensar en situar y distribuir por todo el orbe.

De momento no sabemos lo que nos está reservado. La posicion hostil de los Gobiernos Democraticos parece enfriada en estos ultimos momentos. Pensamos horrorizados en la barbarie que se produciria si nuestros compañeros no pueden ponerse a salvo y sufrimos al pensar que mañana podrian algunos ser devueltos a la España franquista los españoles: mujeres, niños, etc etc, evacuados ahora en Francia.

Agitad el ambiente en tono elevado. No solicitamos limosna ni caridad por nuestro pueblo desgraciado. Nuestra dignidad no lo permite. Elevad los sentimientos humanos y solidarios y respetuosos de aquellos individuos que tienen aun algun sentimiento de dignidad elevada. No queremos aceptar la limosna de aquellos que directa o indirectamente han sido nuestros verdugos.

Es por estas circunstancias que solicitamos-insistiendo-una accion politica de envergadura y elevada, a fin de que seamos considerados dignamente tal como nos merecemos. Somos un pueblo que hemos luchado por las libertades de todos vosotros. Pedimos pues un trato humano y facilidades para nuestros refugiados, para que puedan ganarse el pan con su trabajo. Pedimos a los obreros de todos los paises el calor y valentia para que no seamos ahora tratados como esclavos o cosa inutil. Somos dignos de esto y confiamos en vuestra accion. La Causa Española que es la causa de la libertad del mundo continua y continuara en todo con toda su pujanza.

Confiamos para ello con vuestro esfuerzo y vuestro entusiasmo. No debeis regatear medios. Es ahora cuando debeis demostrar vuestro espiritu solidario, ayudando aquellos que han combatido y combaten a favor de todos.

No olvidad que nuestras desgracias son tambien vuestras. Confiamos con vosotros, ciudadanos y proletarios dignos de todo el mundo para ayudar al heroico pueblo español, dandole medios de vida.

Por el Consejo General de S.I.A.
Lucia Sanchez Saornil-Secretaria.

Por el Consejo Nacional de S.I.A.
M. Baruta Vilá- Secretario.

Perpignan, a 27 de Enero de 1939.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Jan. 27 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17159

POST CARD

Mrs.Colton

18,Castletown Rd

W.14.

Ostend trainleaves Vic. at 2 on Sat. Its an awkwar- time for seeing people off, but if you could manage it naturally it would be grand;only its a bit out of your way Victoria, isn't it ? I will call you up Sat.any how in case you can't make it. Must fly now. Very much love

E

I love that! Isn't it, too, funny!

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[Postcard] 1939 Jan. 27 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].— 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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Thurs. 17160

W. was offered for respectability's sake,but it doesn't matter; I see yr point. Onl. he's a good man,with a big working-class parish & has a hall he could place at our disposal for a useful meeting. Glad about R.W. Called in at office y/day having half an hr to spare & met editor of S & W & reproached him for running that two-instalment Zionist letter.He tells me he is himself pro-Arab but felt it fair to run that letter. Which is all very well, but would he run,say, a Fascist letter, in the interests of hearing all sides ? Took Ralph for a drink; though he looked very seedy & he seemed depressed. Tells me has approached two eminent TU officials re that list,but it's not to be had;he really isn't just sitting & waiting for it to come to him, dear,so deal gently with him. He seemed so 'down' I got quite unhappy about him. Yes,(I told R.too)by all means endorse the cheques in my absence. The

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 28, London [to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

London, n. 28th 39

Fitzi, my Dearest.

I wrote you from Amsterdam, the letter must have reached you shortly after you mailed yours of the 14th which reached me Monday. Bless your generous and devoted heart to try people who might have the necessary guts to help with my reentry into the U.S. I could have told you before hand it won't be Rose Schneiderman. Do I know her, indeed I do when she was a factory girl making siz dollars a week and was "taken up" by the Nurses Settlement and the middle class women who were backing the Womans Trade Union League. Schneider man was already then a climber. She reached the top just because she cared only for her own advancement. It was lovely of you to approach her but I am sorry you wasted your breath.

How different is dear old Jo Co ffin . I don't know what she will achieve but it does my heart good to see her ready response and her recollections of Sasha ~~xxxx~~ you and myself. It is refreshing after the Schneidermans, Dubinskys and so many others to see the spirit of Jo. I wrote her at once, I inclose a copy of my letter. I hope it is what she wanted. I told her not to waste her time with Perkins she was never blessed with much courage. Now that the reactionaries rail against her it is less likely she would do anything for me. In point of fact she has told Roger she would not give me visa. Of course she may draw in her horns if very influential people would approach her. But I think it should be someone over her, if possible Roosevelt him self. Sure he has nothing to fear he only has another year or so in office he might be willing to make the gesture if people who are close to him would broach the matter. Several people have Mrs Roosevelt in mind. I am dubious about her though she pretends to be "democarat ic. What a multitude of crimes this treadbare word is covering. You probaly know that Stella had written to her for an interview. She told her the purpose. Mrs R. replied she could do nothing in the matter it must go through the Minsiter of Labor. I think therefore that if the effort is to be made it should be Roosevelt. Well, we will see what Jo can do. But even if she fails I will be grateful to her for her fine and willing spirit.

About Stella her case is like an ever present aching tooth it gives me no rehite day or night. That such a ghastly thing should have happened to Ruth and Stella so far apart in age and temperament. Stella, so vivid, so alive, so interested in life and in events. It is unbearable to visualise her in her present state. Oh, my dear I'd give anything if I could rush to her side and see if I could not

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 28, London [to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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love and nurse her back to health. That is why I wrote. That one of the most compelling reasons for my wanting to return to America is Stella. Of course it is also my unfortunate brother who is cursed to sit in a chair all day unable to use his artificial leg or get about, an invalide himself with an invalide wife who must make a living for both of them. I yearn to see him. But his case does not seem so small ing to me as Stellas. Much as I long to be at her side I am not at all sure that I could bring back her reason. I agree with you my dear that this experimenting on Stella by strangers who have a cold and detacht interest may aggravate her case. But the fact remains that they have cured Ruth though I have no idea how far she is back to her old self. Have you seen Ruth since her recovery? Is she really her old placid self again? Let me know dearest. It would give me courage and hope for Stellas recovery.

Darling it is not a question of $1000 or even more if Stella could be cured by ~~xxxxxxx~~ the care of some close, loving person. Directly I learned about Stellas breakdown I wrote Harry Ballantine to speak to his mother to send Teddy money for Stella. He did not delay a moment because soon after I received a letter from the Ballantine family solicitor that he had written Teddy in the name of his mother that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ everything will be done to help save Stellas health. I am sure Teddy must have gotten some money from his mother. Since then Ian told me that an ouncle of Teddys had left all the Ballantine children money and his share was four hundred pounds. That means nearly two thousand dollars. But even without that Teddys mother would help along. So it is not that. It is that the Medical Center has done so well by Ruth, it is not surprising that Teddy, Saxe Ian and everyone else have such faith in the treatment she is getting. Then too there is really no one with some influence on Stella who could undertake to care for her, Certainly not Teddy who is even helpless with David. I can think of only one human being and that is you my own Fitzi. Stella adored you and had such faith in you. But how can you be saddled with such a trying job? As I said if I could get into the States I would undertake to nurse and care for Stella. It is only that I would be afraid to take her out of the Center because they might not take her back if I should faile. Then too I ~~xxx~~ have small hope of being permitted to reenter.

Dearest I am torn in a thousand directions, Stella and Spain and all that the conquest of Spain by Franco will mean to millions of our own comrades and the Spanish people at large. Then the effect of Francos victory on the world. I feel so helpless especially in this tarrible complacant country. Canada also holds out little inducement. I wish I had remained in Spain. I have lived long enough, the agony over the debacle of the Russian Revolution was enough for one life. Now the Spanish revolution is also to be crushed. Life holds nothing else for me. I feel like one drowning grabbing the air. It is my ~~xxxxx~~ fervent faith which makes me hold on to life empty and meaningless as it is.

John Kasseel sent me the San Francisco News, looks like a Communist sheet all about Mooneys release. Sure Bob Minor who "helped to sa

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[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 28, London [to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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save" I was not near him in the march. Not a word of Sasha's wonderful efforts. And poor Tom to permit himself to be turned into a mountebank. Our own Sasha needed six years to come back to life and adjust himself to the outside world. Tom seems to have grabbed it easily where he left off. And think of the brasen hypocracy of the Labor leaders now hailing him when it was their insidious work that helped to keep him in prison so long. It is disgusting. Indeed you are right Mat is worth a dozen Toms. Did you ever here the story Lincoln Steffens use to tell about Tom and Mat. He said while he was visiting Tom and listened to his assurance of being innocent Mat who was being visited by some one said to J.B. Macknamara who was also present "Jim aren't you glad we are Not innocent". Wouldn't it be just like Mat. Poor man he is entirely forgotten. Lincoln always said once Mooney is gotten out he would immediately start on Mats case. Now Lincoln is dead and who is there to undertake the job? You bet I would if I were in America. But what is the use saying what I would do IF. They will never let me return.

Goodby dearest. You cannot imagine how it helps me to know that you are in the world as staunch and reliable as always.

Devoted love.

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 28, London [to William and Lillian Mendelsohn, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 21 × 16 cm.

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Jan.28.39

My Dears. I wrote you last Teusday. I am writing again first to ask you to kindly forward my letter to Angelica which will reach you with the same post as this. I am only sending under seperate cover the Bulletin containing the appeal to Scientists and men and women in the worlds of letters and also the covering letter. I fear it will be too much of a job for you two, so will you please send the addresses of Chicago and St Louis to Jeanne and ask her for me to send them out. I rather think a short accompaning note should go with it, merely to say Emma Goldman will soon be in Canada and can be reached there c/o Mr Desser 759 Bathurst St Tonronto On. Canada. Could you possibly have such a note mimiographed and send part to Jeanne. The papkage with letters and bull etins will also contain the Album authographed for Lyons, please give it to him.

I just looked up Jeannes last letter which is dated Nov 15. I am shocked to see that she has not written since more than two months. I am worried about her and Jays health. Will you let her know.

I do not have to discribe to you how I feel about the fall of Barcelona. As late as Jn.21st I received a letter from that tragic city assuring me that our people would defend Barcelona street by street and house by house. That nothing of this has been done leads me to believe that so many lives had already been sacri ficed that the CNT-FAI must have decided at the last moment to save whatever can be saved. Oh, it is all too harrowing to contemp late. The savagery of it, the wanton butchery that will now follow. And above everything the treachery of the so called dem ocracies and the cowardly indifference of the workers in every land

I must close I am too distressed to write more.

Affectionately
Emma Goldman

870929496

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 28 [London to I. da] Ca[m]ara [Pires, Marseille, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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20716

Jan 28th 39

Dear comrade Canara. Thank you for your letter.I understood when the fall of Barcelona happened that you will not be able to forward my letter to Lucia and to Hererra. Just now I received a wire from Lucia from Perpignan asking me I should write her through you so you will now be able to forward my letter and also the inclosed written in German.Christine reads and writes German. Lucia tells me help is desperately needed but she does not say anything about the children from the SIA Colonies.I have asked her to let me know at once as that would help in our emergency appeal.If she has written you about the matter please let me know at once.

I hope now we may also hear from comrade Hererra Vazquez and Martin Gudell. I do not have to tell you how terrible I feel over the loss of Barcelona and the appalling suffering of its people. It is the greatest blow I have received in years. And our comrades I am frightfully worried about them. I had a note from Roca saying our comrades have reached Gerona and are trying to reorganised their forces. Gerona so near the savage enemy. It makes me shudder.

Give my greetings to our young comrade.What about his father and mother?Tell him to write me

In haste,Fraternally.

871005214

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram, 19]39 Jan. 28, Perpignan [France to Emma] G[oldman, London] / Luc[í]a [Sánchez Saornil]. — 1 p. ; 18 × 22 cm.

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F

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 29 [London to] Stella [Churchill, London] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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24315

Jan.29th 39

Dear Stella. As you had written me some time ago that you are very busy I did not wish to impose upon your time.I hoped you would send me a line when you were less busy. But now I must write you and beg you to let me see you. It is because of the frightful catastrophy that has befallen Catalonia and especially Barcelona. Yes,I know my dear there is the calamity Hitler has visited on the Jews of Germany and Austria and the unfortunate victims now adrift in the world and needing aid. There is at least this much neither Englane or France had helped Hitler in his savage pogorms.They have aided and abeted Hitler and Mussolini in their help to Franco and they are therefore directly responsible for the frightfulness now heaped on the whole civil population of Catalonia and Barcelona. For myself I feel that all English people and French who still holding high the principles of justice and compassion should try to undue as far as it is in their power the outrage committed against the Spanish masses . I feel certain that you mydear are of the same opinion and that you will be willing to help Ethel Mannin and myself in some effort to help the children at least who are in such grievious need now. Could you spare an hour any day this week so I can come to see you? Perhaps you will call me up tomorrow afternoon at Gerard 26 36.I will be there from one to six tomorrow afternoon. Or at my home Speedwell 71 35.

I read that you are a grand mother now.I wonder is it Ruth and Donald,or you son who has become the happyparent of the new world citizen,and what is it,daughter or son? I wrote Ruth on my return from Spain but she replied that Donald would get in touch with me as soon as he had a free moment. It never occurred to me that Ruth may then not have been in a condition to get about.Let me know please.

Affectionately.

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870925348

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 29 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16979

Jan.29th 39

Dearest Ethel.The inclosed wire from Lucia Sanchez Saornil makes me go back on my good intentions of not worrying you with letters. I have written to her to day and also to Camara in Marseille to wire me whether all the SIA children have been saved and where they are? I thought it might help us with the emergency appeal which I hope you will agree should be sent out without delay. Not that I do not grieve for all the children,those of Sitges for instance organised by the Minsitry of Education and Culture a CNT member. I shuddered when I read that rancos horde had come there. I visited Sitges and took such joy in the children and the care they were getting. And many,many other refugee kiddies,but I do feel tremendious concern in the SIA waives. I cannot imagine SIA,Lucia or any member would have left without them. I am sure we will have a wire.

Meanwhile we ought to get together as quickly as possible and decide what to do and how to appeal. Or do you care to write the appeal and send it to me I will have it mimiographed. Of course we must wait for the wire so as to be able to quote it in the letter. Anyhow let me know.If you decide to phone do so at the Office I shall be there from 1.o/c to six tomorrow or write me to the house.

The envelope which contained Camaras full statement of the amount of food purchse for the £130 also contained a few lines to me saying the SIA had evacuated but not giving any particulars.

My dear I do not see how you can find ~~xxxxxx~~ £4 too much for sending nine bags of clothes,it is less than 10/ abag of good clothes what could one get for that? I think it was well worth while. Nor are clothes less essential than food especially now when so many are destittus and are sleeping in the open as the papers report. We still have a lot of clothing and it ought to be shipped to either Perpignan or Marseille. I have written Camara and Carrec the secretary of the Petpignan Section of the SIA to let us know at once whether we should send on all we have got in wearing apparal.

The marvelous woman who had mothered thirty destitute children on one of the high mountains in the heart of the Pyrenees has evidently also rescued all of them.I had a wire from her to@ and I would like to send her a bit of money and clothes. She is also in Perpignaan. There is such misery and suffering now among the unfort

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 29 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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16980

unate Spanish comrades one does not know whom to help most The surrender of Barcelona is a mystery to me because a letter dated Jan 21st from Barcelona by one of the most reliable comrad-s contained the information that the comrades are determined to thefend Barcelona inch by inch.That was only a few days before the capprture of the city. It is a puzzle to me what has happened between and why the defense of the city was abandoned unless the CNT-FAI and U.G.T felt that the civil population terrorized by the continued bombardment and starved for days would not support them. I suppose I will know just as soon our people can communicate with me."eanwhile I am in despair over the whole situation.Still something must be done to help with money at least to buy food and to keep the few warm wit with the supply of clothing.

With love.

881010189

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 29 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25103

Jan.29th 39

Lieber Helmut.Beiliegend ein paar Zeilen die ich an Mollie geschrieben habe. Du wirst sehen dass man noch so spat wie den 21st beschbossen hatte Barcelona bis zum letzten zu verteidigen.Waas wohl den Beschluss geandert hat? Und unsere Leute was ist aus ihnen geworden. Roca schrieb mir die verschiedene Kommittees waeren nach Gerona gegangen. Aber was ist mit der Masse unserer Militanten geworden? Ich bin vollstandig gebrochen von dem uberwaltigen Debacle. Ich bitte Dich dringend mir gleich mitzuteilen ob Du etwas nahere weisst.

Martin schribe mir auch am 21sten Dass Klose und alle andere Ausslandische Kamaraden freigelassen wurden. Sie kamen nach Bareclona. Ist dass nicht ein Ironie des Schicksals. Was ist aus Klose und dem andern geworden. Genosse Engels soll glucklicherweise fruher davon gekommen sein, es gelang ihm nach Genf zu kommen. Aber alle andere. Was ist aus Souchy geworden? Bitte schreibe mir sofrot.

In Eile und Verzweiflung Deine alte Kamaradin
deren Herz blutet fur Spanien und die nicht tuns
kann.

900117214

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 29, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Dorothy [Rogers].— 1 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Scarboro Heights
Ontario, Canada.

Jan 29th. 1939

Dearest Emma;

I received your card from Holland yesterday, but was unable to contact Mrs Laddon until today. She would be delighted to have you go to her when you come. Unfortunately she has to leave for New York not later than Feb. 15th. Her brother and daughter are not well and one or the other of them is leaving for some place else by the middle of Feb. and she must be there before they go. However, Mrs Laddon says that if you arrive ~~XXXXX~~ while she is still in Toronto she wants you to go straight to her and if you wish you can stay as long as you like even while she is away. She will engage help to leave with you. But of course she wants to know if you will accept her invitation.

The Dessers have their two rooms rented so I am afraid they will not be able to put you up. I think that the best thing will be for us to obtain a comfortable place for you to go to on your arrival. We will take it for a week or two and then if you do not like it we can make other arrangements when you are here to choose for yourself.

Before I received your card Dein and I had promised to spend next wednesday afternoon with Mrs Laddon. She is rather lonely just now and seems to enjoy talking with us sometimes. I believe she is going to try again to get our Jewish friends together.

We are all heartbroken and very dejected about the tragic news from Spain. I listened to Chenault in over the radio the other day He talked all around his visit to Rome and said exactly nothing of what it was all about.

What is going on in Canada it is hard to understand. Due to placing of Arms and munition orders in the factories here the business circles show optimism, and money is circulating more freely, but wages are low and unemployment is still a major problem. There is definite spread of propaganda ~~XXX~~ of extreme Nationalist type and a determined effort by the Conservatives and the R.C. Church to stir up a red scare.

The secre tary of the IWW reports that some progress is being made by them in Northern Ontario and in Winnipeg. Quebec province is practically a closed book as far as we are concerned. You might be able to hold a Jewish meeting there, although I am not sure of that. If any sort of Communist literature is found any where in a house the owners (of the literature) must either be turned out or the house is padlocked. That means that nobody may go in or out.

All these conditions should make us all the more determined to fight against the rotten system. We need you here dear to put fire in us. For our sakes I hope we can number the days to your coming, and for your sake I hope we [illegible] ourselves to our efforts to be [illegible] of yours in the fight.

love.

Dorothy

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 30, London [to] Mark [Mratchny, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.

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C.N.T. A.I.T. F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

London, 30th January 1939.

Dear Mark,

I could hardly believe my eyes to see your name signed to your letter of December 23rd. I call that a marvelous reform of your bad habits. I hope you do not end up like those who forswear whiskey and go no the water waggon for a time, then go back to the old habit with greater force. I hope that you will indeed be more prompt and regular in your correspondence with me.

I am enclosing copy of a letter I have just dictated to Rudolf which tells all there is to say zbout myself, my plans and the difficulties we are having here. No use repeating the story.

Yes perhaps it is dur growing age that we are so easily satisfied with the very things we once repudiated - so I am not so surprised that you rejoice over the stand of the State department to protecting Ickes against the demands of Hitler that he should be held responsible for daring to attack the unholy man. It may also be that we see so much horror and injsutice about that we are thankful to the fates if we see even the smallest sign of justice and decency. I too am very gland indeed that my erstwhile country has shown greater pride in dealing with the Nazis than Great Britain has; but on the other hand re-action seems to be rampant in America and it is by no means changed by the high sounding phrases made by the President and his cabinet. More immediate action for Spain and less words and sympathy would still save the harrowing situation there.

Dear Mark, I hope you know me enough to know that I am free from the usual conceit of writers in thinking that anything I do is of the greatest impartance. Nevertheless I was surprised that you turned over my report about Spain I sent, to Challenge and the Vanguard before usuing any of it in Freie Arbiter Stimme. This was done once before when "Spanish Revolution" was still alive. Samuel then wrote me that the articles I sent were turned over to that paper. They never appeared because the jurnal died soon after. You say that most of the readers of FFreie Arbiter Stimme read and understand English. If that is the case why continue the F.A.S.?. Would not the amount of work and effort for it bring greater results if invested in English propaganda. I readily believe that "Challenge" and "Vanguard" want to use the material first before it appears in the F.A.S; but inasmuch as "Vanguard"s" appearance is so uncertain and "Challenge" has very little space I do not see how my report can appear there to advantage. I dont mind at all whether it does ot not; but in view of the fact that the F.A.S. has repeatedly asked me to contribute articles to it I am rather surprised that on two important occasions the articles I sent remained unused - not that I mind, but it seems rather queer to me.

I am sorry my dear that the carbon copy of my letter to Ben Capes was so illegible. It was not the ninth copy by the way;

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but unfortunately our small machines do not make many carbon copies.

Dear Mark not believing in the efficacy of nationalism does not mean that we remain "objective and cool" about the plight of the Jewish people. For myself I can say that I feel it very deeply; but I insist that it was the bounden duty of the Jews to fight for their rights and freedom and in every country where they were born and riased to help to create its culture and its civilisation. I fail to see the benefit that it will get by establishing a new State in Palestine with the same old feelings of nationalism and a State. I see no great gain in the possibility of the Jewish masses being put in concentration camps or exploited by Jewish capitalists. That is the only difference between you and me I suppose. As to the Spanish libertarians they were driven to the statement "our revolution is a Spanish revoltuion" only because they were forsaken by the international proletariat and betrayed by the democracies. Prior to that disgracefull and criminal treatment the Spanish libertarians have received from the rest of the world there was never a talk of "our revolution as a Spanish revolution". On the contrary, they always maintained that the Spanish revolution and struggle against fascism are not only to support Spain and Spanish rights but is for the people of the whole world. ~~I see no dear that it is not that~~ Our Spanish comrades always insisted that if they succeeded in crushing fascism in Spain it would undermine fascism in the rest of the world. So you see my dear that it is not that our Spanish comrades have become nationalists instinctively so, but they are being driven at bay by friend and foe; not the least among them some of our own comrades. That has forced them to depend on their own selves and that has also created a nationalistic feeling, which I think is justified in their case. Not so the Jews who have never lifetd a finger to prevent the event of Hitler in Germany or have shown the least resistance in any country. Please do not think that I feel they are getting what they deserve, no, but I cannot close my eyes to the fact that the Jews have failed miserably to defend their own grounds. I insist further that if Hitler had only persecuted the Polish Jews he would have 90% of the German Jews on his side just as Mussolini had nearly all the Jews in Italy on his side. Alas, it is no good to be a coward. In the end no one respects cowards and the price for it is just as great.

Thank you very much for the nice compliment you are making me. I am glad you retain your youthfull head and your old habit of being polite.

As to my plans I have already said you will gather it from the letter to Rudolf copy enclosed.

With love to Yokanna.

Affectionately,

Emma Goldman

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871005191

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 30 [London to I. da] Camara [Pires, Marseille, France] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20426

/ 30th January 1939.

Dear Comrade Camara,

I wrote you yesterday but this morning I received a letter from our dear comrade Martin Gudell. He writes me that a number of our comrades have come away safely from Barcelona among them comrades who worked with me in the Foreign Propaganda Department. Vasáquez was the last to leave Barcelona with his companion and I hope also with his daughter twelve years of age who is very beautifull. Martin did not know whether she is safe or not. The Committee of the Peninsular which I presume also includes the Regional Committee of the F.A.I. are in Geona; but this is a mere grain of dust compared with large numbers of comrades in Catalonia of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. It is to be hoped that most of them have escaped the tender mercies of Franco. I fear to think of what would happen to them if they fail. Perhaps it has already happened.

I am really writing to you dear comrade to ask whether you can continue to send packages to S.I.A. and whether it is possible to send packages to Geona. I know that all our comrades there must be starving and since the influx to Geona is enormous I feel certain that there is not enough food to go round. I will send you the money directly I hear from you for food packages to go to Martin, Pedro Herrera and Vasquez, so they can at least have enough for themsleves and families and give whatever they can to the most needy of our comrades. Will you let me know at once.

I wrote to Garrec to Perpignan asking whether we could send clothing to him for the use of the refugee children and grown ups. We still have quite a lot and we would despatch it at once. I hope he will not delay in writing me.

Please answer at once.

In haste but with kind fraternal greetings - also to our young comrade who must be in great anxiety about his parents. I only hope they succeeded in getting away.

Fraternally,

880726022

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 30, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Manuel Mascarell.— 1 p.; 30 × 23 cm.

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25365

BUREAU D'INFORMATION ET DE PRESSE

SOCIÉTÉ A RESPONSABILITÉ LIMITÉE AU CAPITAL DE 25.000 FRANCS

BUREAUX: BOULEVARD SAINT-DENIS, 28 — PARIS

TÉLÉPHONE: PROVENCE 59-49 -:- ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE: PRESSINFOR, PARIS

Paris, el 30 de Enero 1939.

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LA NOUVELLE ESPAGNE ANTIFASCISTE

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Bureau d'Information et de Presse: Paris - C 2177 - 22

R. C. Seine: [illegible]

Emma G O L D M A N N
21 Frith Street
SHAFTESBUTY Avenue
L O N D O N, W. I.

Chère camarade,

J'ai bien reçu ta lettre du 17 courant, à laquelle je m'empresse de répondre.

En ce qui concerne la liquidation de ton bureau à Londres, nous étions, en effet, prévenus puisque nous avons reçu une copie de la lettre que les camarades d'Espagne t'ont fait parvenir.

Tu me dis dans ta lettre qu'il faut que je t'envoie les [illegible] LIVRES SCOLAIRES retenues par nous involontairement. Pour le moment il m'est impossible de m'occuper de cette affaire, car en raison des événements d'Espagne, nous sommes très pris. D'un autre côté, nous avions écrit une lettre à Martín GUDELL, en réponse à celle dont tu nous parles, en lui disant que nous n'avons encore reçu aucune quantité d'argent des pays qu'il nous mentionne. Naturellement, en ce moment, nous ne recevons aucune correspondance, par conséquent, nous devons attendre que les choses se stabilisent pour pouvoir prendre des décisions et nous ocuuper de ces affaires qui, en comparaison avec celles d'Espagne, sont secondaires.

Maintenant, en ce qui concerne la situation d'Espagne, tu as dû te rendre compte par les journaux, que les fascistes ont réussi à prendre Barcelone. Néammoins, je dois t'avertir, afin de te tranquilliser un peu, que la plupart des camarades les plus en vue ont pu fuir afin de ne pas tomber sous les griffes du fascisme. Pour le moment, nous ne pouvons donner aucune autre nouvelle.

Dans l'attente de te lire bientôt, reçois Chère camarade, mes fraternelles salutations.

BUREAU D'INFORMATION ET DE PRESSE
28, Boul. Saint-Denis
PARIS-X°

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Jan. 30, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].— 2 p.; 14 × 21 cm.
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24276

Monday

Dearest Emma, Would it be necessary to evacuate the SIA children, I wonder, and the refugees in SIA care? I imagine Franco's wrath will only be directed against political refugees and leaders - the SIA leaders, of course, but not, I imagine, the people in its care. Let us hope this is the case, anyhow. This might explain Luda evacuating but not the children.

I think it would be best if you wrote the emergency appeal - you feel it naturally more vividly than I do, having seen for yourself, and you can bring the whole of yr mind and feelings to it as I cannot. I suggest you rough out an appeal and I will read it and 'Anglicise' it if and where necessary (I mean I know better than you what will move English imaginations, and know the idiom better) and add to it if I think it would help the purpose of it. If you want it facsimilied by a good commercial firm, like we had the other letters done, the food fund letters, I would pass it on to the same firm; or it could go to the person who did the appeal to the Scientists.

I am probably going to USA the middle of Feb. Reg and I have been talking things over and it seems the only thing for us to do. Another 'crisis' in March seems inevitable, and in that event my new book will not be published and I shall have no money (I have an overdraft as it is and was counting on having some money in March) or April at latest)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Jan. 30, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].–
2 p. ; 14 × 21 cm.

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xxxxxxxxxxxxxx I could probably, almost certainly, get
ook published in America, and manage to earn some money - build
y very poor American sales. We feel we should get out before the
risis panic and rush begins, and stay away till the crisis, or
ar, is over.

I feel terribly depressed. I probably have as much antipathy to and prejudice about America and Americans as you have to England and the English, and it means leaving Jean. But God knows to stay for Jean's sake (and she won't leave her father) is to court disaster for us all; for if I stay Reg stays; and there is the problem of making a living, which in England will only be possible if one is prepared to do some form of work acceptable to the Gov's war arrangements.

I still think your Canadian plans should be postponed; I don't see how else the SIA work is to be kept going. Though god knows if the war comes SIA work and all else will stop; and even during a crisis it will be impissible (you will find) to do anything.

I am today akm at the very bottom of depression and despair, personally and politically, so cannot write more now. I am struggling to finish the book this week; I lost two days by going off to Wales last week to take the place of a PPU speaker who had failed. It is a damn' nuisance. But if I get the book done I can take it to America and try to sell it there at least.

My love as always
E

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 30, Paris [to] Emm[a Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].— 2 p.; 30 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Paris jan. 30th 1939
24327

My dearest!

What shall I tell you? We haven't got any direct news from Barcelona since the 21st! All we know is from the radio and the news papers. We too, are like dombfounded. We cannot understand what happened there, why Barcelona almost didn't resist!? According to the Pari-Midi of Friday-27th-"the only once who resisted were those of the FAI, Iberian Anarchist Federation, because they knew that death awaits them anyway"....From others, we heard that the FAI comrades barricaded themselves in the workers districts and together with these workers, fought the fascists so that the latter had to take house by house; finally a large group of our people ran into the metro, turned out the electricity, and fought the maurs with the dinamit at their disposal; apperently they didn't have very much because they were all slaughtered out to the last men!!!!

At the office in Paris, they don't know much either. Rocca, tells me that „those whom I know, are all in safety." He is under the impression that these of the comrades who had occupied official positions, are with the Government in figueras. Naturally, this news is very insuficiant, and I immediately wrote to Marseille, Perpignan and Port Vendres. From Marseille I had a letter today that Santillan is in Girona. They know nothing about the others. To Perpignan, we sent a telegram with a payed answer, but so far, not a word! Should we hear anything, I will certainly let you know. Martin, Mercedes, Augustin Souchy said (Jen.21st) they believe in the final victory of the anti-fascists and they will fight to the

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The Emma Goldman Papers
[Letter] 1939 Jan. 30, Paris [to] Emm[a Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].— 2 p.; 30 × 21 cm.
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Nevertheless, I hope that they are among those who could save themselves. The "Government" and the official press of the Communists keep up the game, the game of fooling the people!

My heart is bleeding and it is very difficult for me to write. Even I, who was considered a "pessimist", didn't suspect that the situation of the people is so dreadful, so extremely tragic as it actually is!!!!!!!

The word: betrayal, is on the lips of many. But no one knows anything concret. Just now, we heard on the radio that the FAI Anarchists wanted to clear up Fixeerda.... That the "colonel GALLAN, a sympathizer of the Communists, has killed 2 persons and he himself escaped to France where he is now arrested," All this, is very unclear and uncertain.

No, the militants of our ranks cannot and never should be charged with cowardice. They were and they are brave and courageous, but if they didn't carry out the plan you spoke of, it is certainly because they realized that: IT WAS TOO LATE!...

Elisa keeps herself very good. During all these days of agony, non of us sleep nor eat nor live. We read the papers, run to the offices, listen to the radio and cry. Yes, I am not ashamed to admit that I cannot speak about Spain now without the tears just pouring in torrents, whereas Elisa is very quiet and courageous.

Emmotchka, good bye, I embrace you and promise to write you as soon as we will get some news.

Mollie

881010202

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 30, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. — 3 p. ; 25 × 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25139

Paris, am 30. Januar 1939

Meine liebe Emma,

uns geht es wie Dir - wir sind vollständig verzweifelt über den Gang deg Dinge in Katalonien. Barcelona! Wir können es uns nicht vorstellen. Jahre haben wir dort gewohnt, kennen jeden Baum und jeden Stein, erlebten dort die grossen Tage des Aufstandes gegen den Faschismus und die herrliche Bewegung, und nun hausen dort die Franco, die Gestapo und die italienischen Faschisten! Es ist trostlos.

Von den hiesigen Genossen habe ich nichts mehr erfahren als Du schon weiss - allerdings konnte ich die letzten Tage nicht hingehen, was ich Dir erklären will... Ende der Woche erst, wenn bei mir alles gut geht, werde ich mich wieder vorsichtig nach den Genossen umsehen.

Gerade in den tragischen Tagen ergielten wir noch eine deutsche Freundin zu Besuch, sie ist jetzt noch da; durch all dies wurden diese Tage noch wirrer und noch schwerer für uns. Dazu kam: vor einigen Tagen wurden wir früh von der Polizei aus dem Bett geholt und uns unsere provisorische Aufenthaltserlaubnis in Frankreich weggenommen, und auf die Präfektur vorgeladen: dort erhielten wir einen offiziellen „Réfus de Séjour" und sollen das Land spätestens am 2. Februar, also übermorgen verlassen. Natürlich können wir das nicht, ohne Pass, und da bei Nichtbefolgung Gefängnis und anschliessend Ausweisung in der brutalsten Form erfolgt, renne ich herum wie ein Verrückter, in diesen Tagen, um einen Aufschub zu erlangen (ohne zu wissen was nach dem Aufschub zu tun - denn Schweden ist noch immer unentschieden). Ende der Woche, vielleicht schon Donnerstag, hoffe ich etwas Definitives zu erfahren, bis dahin laufe ich herum.

Deshalb, liebe Emma, alles dies zusammengenommen, ist es mir beim besten Willen nicht möglich, vor Freitag an die Uebersetzung des Briefes von Herrera zu gehen. Geht aber die Sache gut und bekomme ich 14 Tage dazu, dann geht der Brief Freitag mittag ab. Bitte warte noch und sei mir dafür nicht bose. Und später dann die anderen Uebersetzungen.

Frankreich stellt sich schon schön um, um Deutschlands Bundesgenosse zu werden. Es ist traurig. Wenn es sich blos um die burgerliche Republik handelte, aber es stent ja mehr aufdem Spiel, jede künftige Möglichkeit der europäischen Arbeiterbewegung, wenigstens für längere Zeit.

Wie ist Spanien verraten, das grosse spanische Volk, unsere herrliche CNT. Aber ich muss Dir sagen, Emma, dass ich die Idee nicht aufgebe, die ich seit 1930 ungefähr fest im Kopfe habe: nach der faschistischen Zeit wird in Europa Spanien das erste Land der Revolution sein - nicht nur in der Zeit, sondern auch geistig führend. Der Sturz der Monarchie, der Januar 1933, der Dezember 1933, Oktober 1934, der Krieg 1936-39, das ist eine aufsteigende Linie, eine revolutionäre Entwicklung, die immer grössere

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Massen ergriffen hat und sozial immer mehr in die Tiefe ging. Diese Entwicklung bricht nicht ab. Das nächste Mal wird die Basis breiter und der soziale Tiefgang noch beträchtlicher sein. Uebrigens kann ich mich auch noch immer, trotz der schrecklichen Vorgänge in Katalonien, nicht zu dem Gedanken bekennen, dass es nun dort zu Ende sein soll. Wer weiss wie, aber es geht weiter. Noch immer in Katalonien, erst recht in Zentralspanien - und einmal muss es doch auch im Francogebiet losgehen... Und Portugal, auch dort ist immer Gärungsstoff. Freilich, alles dauert viel länger als wir wünschen möchten, und inzwischen fallen die Opfer in Massen, unter ihnen unsere Besten, Edelsten, unsere Unersetzlichsten!

Liebe Emma, wir wissen noch nichts über die Dinge von Barcelona, und es wird vielleicht nicht leicht sein, aus dem Wust von Gerüchten, Tendenzen und Realitäten die Wahrheit herauszufinden. Ich werde mich darum kümmern sobald ich kann.

Von Engels usw. hörte ich, Klose soll aber der letztfreigekommene sein, und während Engels schon in Genf ist, bin ich leider in grösster Sorge um unseren lieben Klose - ein wundervoller Genosse, ein Landstreicher und Träumer, aber zugleich pflichtbewusster Revolutionär, begabt wie wenige, eine der Hoffnungen unserer kleinen deutschen Bewegung.

Und unser Michel? Seit 17. Dezember keine Nachricht von ihm. Damals ging er an die Front: nach ewiger Ausbildung als Artillerist, ging er als einfacher Infanterist, mit seiner ganzen Agrupación, denn sie hatten keine Geschütze.

Von Souchy kein Wort. Ich werde nach ihm fragen. Ich will nur jetzt nicht nach dem Büro gehen, denn sogar dort bittet man mich um Vorsicht, sie arbeiten jetzt sogar schon anderswo... Eine Bitte: schicke mir vorläufig nicht mehr das CNT-FAI-Papier. Hier ist sonst in dieser Beziehung nichts zu fürchten. nur gerade in diesen Tagen kann ich natürlich Besuch erhalten. Und kann natürlich auch nicht weg - wir haben eine Wohnung, aus der wir unbeobachtet nicht wegziehen können. Ausserdem gibt es keinen Menschen, der einen unangemeldet aufnähme, die Zeiten sind vorbei, die Strafen für derartige Gastgeber sind zu hoch. Das Dumme ist dass wir hier alle Démarchen allein machen müssen, man hat ja keinen Menschen der einem unter den Genossen helfen könnte, ich meine mit einem klugen Rat und ein bisschen Sachverstand. Besnard ist ja nur ein eingebildeter Idiot, dessen "Eintreten" für mehrere hier verfolgte Genossen stets die gegenteilige Wirkung hatte.

Solltest Du Rudolf in diesen Tagen schreiben - ich komme jetzt nicht dazu - so kannst Du ihm die Geschichte von mir mitteilen, in Ergänzung dessen was ich ihm selbst vor kurzem über unsere Lage schrieb. Natürlich nur ganz nebenbei mit zwei Worten, denn im grossen und traurigen Geschehen dieser Tage haben diese privaten Sachen weiss Gott keinerlei Bedeutung. Wer kann für sich gerade Situationen verlangen, wenn Welten untergehen, Völker vernichtet werden wie Schlachtvieh!

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Mit Trauer lese ich das was Du über Ethel Mannin schreibst.

Wennwir hier einigermassen herauskommen und nach Schweden gehen können, wollen wir wenigstens ein spanisches Kind mitnehmen, wenn es sich machen lässt... Aber wer weiss welche Pass- und Papierscherereien die Bürokraten machen!

Es ist auch sehr niederschlagend was Du über die dortigen "anarchistischen" Genossenschreibst. Haben wir dieses Problem des Mangels an moralisch qualifizierten Menschen nicht überall in der Bewegung?

Es freut uns dass Du Madeleine und Arthur so kennen gelernt hast. Mit A. ist es ja sehr seltsam, wir waren sehr gute Freunde, aber die Diskussion über Spanien und A.s vollständiger Rückzug aus der Bewegung haben die Beziehungen zwischen uns erkalten lassen... Mindestens lassen sie sich schriftlich nicht wiederherstellen, und bei einem Zusammensein fände ich vielleicht keine Worte . Madeleine ist ein herrlicher, gesunder Mensch - vielleicht auch gesessen, demnach den zwei schrecklichen Erlebnissen mit ihren Geburten soll sie ja sich geändert haben und trauriger geworden sein.

Dieser Tage kam Berner. Du kennst ihn, er lebt nur und nur vom Gefühl. Er wollte nach Spanien, natürlich bekam er keine Erlaubnis. Ist nach Perpignan gefahren, um von dort illegal zu gehen (!) oder nach Marseille und von dort nach Zentralspanien. Er war wie ein Irrer, die Ereignisse hatten ihn vollständig aus dem Geleise geworfen.

Liebe Emma, ich muss aufhören, denn ich gehe zu einem Zusammentreffen mit einer deutschen Genossin, die auch in ausgegsloser Lage ist und mit mir darüber beraten möchte...

Ich bitte Dich dringend, liebe Emma, behalte bei den traurigen Ereignissen und all der Verzweiflung dieser Tage das Bewusstsein, dass Du Dich ganz gewiss nicht zu schämen hast, für Dich darf sicher das Bewusstsein, alles gegeben zu haben, ein Halt und ein Trost sein. Wenn für irgendjemand, dann für Dich. Ichsage das weder "zum Trost" noch aus blosser Freundschaft, sondern weil ich davon überzeugt bin. Und Du wirst sogar noch weiter wirken müssen und können für die gleiche Sache. Und Spanien geht nie verloren, nie. Gewiss ist sein Los tragisch, aber es geht an der Spitze der Menschheit. - Bald mehr, liebe Emma, am Freitag oder gar schon Donnerstag hoffe ich den Brief senden zu können, denn ich glaube doch, dass ich, besser dass wir, ein paar Tage offiziell zubekommen und nicht gleich hereinfliegen.

Wir beide grüssen Dich von ganzem Herzen.

Dein Helmut.

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24149

95 Christopher St
NY City
apt 4-G.

Jan 30, 1939

Dearest Emma —
I have your letter from Amsterdam, dated Jan 12th. (I would answer you on the typewriter. But Cora is in the siege of that awful drug she takes for 6 days every 2 weeks to kill the amoebic infection in the intestines & she has gone to bed —) I remember you said once — "your hand writing is so good I can't read it!")

As far me having answered about letters written it seems a million years ago to you I dare say — I'm afraid that I was called to — in your [illegible]

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lives – and don't give a damn
who knows it even before
you "go the way of all flesh"
or I either – who knows who
goes first I'm only about
10 years younger than you.
I'm sure your exhausted feeling
is due to going over this all
material – not the climate –
I know – when occasionally
I go into my old files I'm
"done up" for days afterwards.
I'm sure you want to hear
about Stella first of all –
Teddy saw her Saturday – before
his visit she seemed to have
come out of her fog – had
called David – they both broke
down & cried – so I was told.
Teddy [illegible] that she comes
out & then goes back – feels
that the [illegible] of the Hospital

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24181

are her enemies – I think any
of us would feel that after
months of being experimented
on – I think Stella should be
taken out – which would
mean, of course, a day &
night nurse & the doctor –
but it seems to me that
funds from Tessley's Trust
Fund could be drawn on
to save Stella. That's the
way I personally feel
about it – I haven't seen
her – am going to try again
this week to be allowed to
visit her – I'm sure a
visit from me won't hurt
her – David is improving
I'm told – still with Dorothy
& Axel.

(over)

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I don't know, of course, what
Sasha said in his letters
about his struggle with Emma —
her awful jealousies — etc — but
if Sasha really wanted "to get
away" I'm sure he would
have arranged it — he did
like her, what you & I would
call "so-called" devotion. &
she did make a home for
him for many years — I
know he was lonely & had
no mental companionship,
he told me that, sitting
on a Park bench in Paris —
the last time I was in Europe.
If what she did to you with
Sasha is unforgivable — only,
I don't believe she really
managed to do it — Sasha's
feeling for you was like

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24153

the Rock of ages – I think I
knew Sasha down to the
bottom of his heart as well
as any one – & I knew
how he felt about you
fundamentally – No Emmie!
Could destroy it – at certain
moods he may have written
things in his diaries that
may have "hurt" you – but
don't let it – know how
firm you were in his
life above all others he
may have loved – I know
what I'm talking about
Sasha loved me & I loved him –
still do though he is gone – he
was father, teacher to me –
Sorely separated from him
physically when he became
ill

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24184

grasping & jealous - accused
me of things of which I
was not guilty - I understood
why he wanted less faith (as
he had been through) but I
couldn't help it - it did
something to me - to remain
an individual - we had to
part - but never spiritually -
I shared Sasha, what he
was & what he stood for -
he knew that - always - to
the end - Sin pure there is a
"great human documents left
behind" if Sasha has written
any of it down. It is terrible
that I didn't remain with
him to encourage his writing -
because I could have done that -
I should have been more
selfless - instead, I put in
all those years with the Provincet-

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24158

Players - & other things - Sachs was a rare spirit that needed someone near to guide his emotions to writing down his thoughts - He has left behind too little of that intelligent & understanding brain - as you so well know. Do you mean that he kept diaries of all those years after he left America? Who can do anything with them - only you - but you are so close that I suppose it is impossible.

The news from Spain is most disheartening - will our comrades be executed by that butcher Franco - what will the outcome be?! I'd love to have a copy of your experiences & impressions in Spain

(over)

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24158

Of course I see Teddy often –
& call Anne frequently.

It will grieve you to know
that Anna Baron has passed on –
Pauline & I attended her funeral
yesterday morning – She suffered
so much – terribly – the last
months – Cancer. 2 years
ago she had a breast removed –
it stopped it for awhile –
I saw her about 2 months
ago in a wheel chair in the
Park – She has left a beautiful
son of 20 – & her husband
is very broken over his loss –
Anna remained true to her
anarchistic beliefs – had
disagreement – with faithful
sister Rose – till finally
Anna never discussed her
views with ~~Anna~~ Rose. Rose
is a Communist – but of the
very much better grade as you must know.

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9

There was a letter that I had written you that you had not rec'd when you wrote on Jan 12th – I told you about meeting Jeanne Levey at her brothers house – Rudolph & Milly here – but Balabanoff must have come after I left. Rudolph & Milly looked well.

Yes, I wonder if Sam realizes what Jacob, you & I did to keep them all from being lynched at once – and also, did come forward with $200 so we could get a lawyer for them – !! I passed the hat at your meeting taking up the free collection after your wonderful appeal.

(over)

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Neither do I forget walking half
the night in Delaware Park in the
lovely thick fog with Bob
Minor after that awful Sunny
McDonald testified - Bob
thought Mooney must be
guilty - he couldn't go on -
I said "how could you believe
him, etc etc - finally after
about 3 hours I shouted
at Bob "what if he is
guilty - which he isn't -
we should defend Tom
anyway" - finally Bob
"saw the light" & said
"such a spirit as yours
convinces me" I felt
like spitting him in the face -
such poor material - now
I never see him - don't
want to - a mad Communist -
& he and his wife Lydia
Gibson (you remember her -
used to help with "The Blues")
went to the Cause to grow

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Sam when he was pardoned. I only hope that Sam keeps his head & does not allow the Communists to kill Billings chances of getting out. Billings has been so silent all these years - like Matt Schmidt - But Mooney, the "kicker" more power to him, has been released.

Well, darling this has been a bit of a jumbling. I love you - hope you get into the State - I want you to answer Jo Coffin's questions - I wrote you about her letter. - She may be able to do something.

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I hug you tight.
Love
titi

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24336

31st January 1939.

Dear comrade,

I have received your Christmas letter and thank you for it. Strangely enough you wrote it on the day when I left for Amsteddam to arrange the collection andcorrespondence of my old pall Alexander Berkman. At least I thought it would be only his material when I was invited by the International Institute for Social History to comm to Amsterdam.. I so n discovered something I should have known before, that our lives were so interwoven and interlinked that it was foolish to believe that I could arrange comrade Berkman's material without also doing the same with my own. As it is I could only do a superfiuial job although I worked four weeks. If I had assorted the collection as it should have been done I would have had to remain two months. It was a painfull task to dig into the dead past ;but it had to be done. I console myself with the fact that I could put up no more worth while monument to Alexander Berkman than to have his writings and his thoughts in a place where it would be accessible.to any one wanting to study the man and his work, so I am content with that.

I am onclosing a letter I have written to a Dutch comrade who is transcribing "Living My Life" into the Dutch language. He is most enthusiastic, perhaps too much so, over the interest the work might arouse in Holland. You will gather from the copy of my letter to him how I feel about the Spanish situation. I cannot add more to it except to say that while I deeply feel the possible loss of our comrades I glory in their courage, their gallantry and their complete consentration to their ideas. Spain had theonly worth while anarchist movement in the world. A shining example for comrades in all countries. I am convinced that whatever will happen to our comrades their ideal and their struggle will never dio. That is all one can say who is removed from the seen of battle and has no way of giving out to the uttermost all that I feel and all that I would want to do for them.

Vanguard means Advance Guard - people who blazen the trail. I am very glad to know that you will support the paper - it is ve y worth while.

I am sending you some more copies of recent letters. I would love to send you copy of my report on Spain though it is not yet complete. It still lacks two chapters; but it contains 26 typewritten pages and I cannot have more copies made because of the expense. However I will see. Perhaps I will be able to spare a copy, I will then send it to you.

Thank you dear friend for being so overjoyed that I have written "Living My Life". Unfortunately it did not reach as many people as it might have done had my publisher not committed the crime of

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charging 7 dollars 50 cents for the first edition. It can now be had for 1 dollar without a word having been left out. This price it should have been in the beginning then we could have disposed of at least 25,000 copies. However the book was widely read in America. I continue to receive most kind contributions.

I wonder if you have any material which might be of use to the Institute such as old I.W.W. papers, pamphlets or anything of Mother Earth. If you care to make a list of what it is I will find out whether the Institute would like to have it.

I suppose Karin saw some of the modern prisons in the U.S.A. I understand that there are a few that are really remarkable as far as prisons go; but it is of course superficial to write about the prison system in America without having made a thorough survey of all the institutions. If you see Karin give her my kind greetings.

Thank you for your good wishes for this year.

Fraternally,

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31st January 1939.

Dear Comrade,

I was so sorry that we had such little time when we met at comrade de Yong's house to discuss the publication of "Living My Life" in greater detail; but since that was not the case I am taking the opp rtunity to write you. I want first of all to thank you for your deep interest, not only in having translated such a bulky work; but also in trying so hard to getting it before the Dutch public. You cannot imagine what that means to me. In point of truth you were the only one, not only in Holland, but in all other countries who has ever suggested to me the book should be published in their language, let alone to undertake the task and to work hard for its appearance. I cannot thank you enough for it.

About the publication. The more I think of it the more I am convinced that it would be a grievous mistake to have the book published by our comrades in Holland. It would reach only them. It would remain a book with seven seals for the Dutch public at large, nor would it be reviewed in the press. I therefore urge you dear comrade to make an effort to get advance subscribers as they have done in America with comrade Rudolf Rocker's boob "Nationalism and Culture". If the various anarchist groups have any interest in seeing "Living MY Life" in Dutch they ought to charge themselves with getting subscribers. The money thus raised could then be given to a publisher who would consider worth his while to get the book out. Comrade Wm Young spoke to me about a publisher who he thinks would consider publishing your translation. Then Albert de Yong could do a lot with the "Syndalist" by calling for subscribers. Any way think it over and let me know what you intend to do.

There is another thing which I hope you will not take in the wrong light. It is that I would appreciate greatly if you were to permit Arthur Miller Lehning to read your translation, not that I have any doubt of its accuracy; but "Living My Life" is a literary work, and I would like to see its literary quality reproduced in the translation. To be sure I have no right to even suggest this because I really do not know what the style of your language is; but I thought I would suggest it any way knowing that you will not feel in any way hurt by this.

Our Spanish comrades are fighting their last epic battle to defend themselves against the overwhelming power of men and arms so lavishly furnished by Germany and Italy to Franco. It does not bear thniking what the result will be if they should fail. Catalonia was the stronghold of our ideas in Spain - the citadel of a magnificent orgainised conscious anarcho-syndicalist and anarchist movement. If Franco conquers Catalonia it will have the most depressing effect

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upon the rest of the country although I am convinced that the end of the battle in Catalonia and Barcelona will not mean the cessation of the battle altogether. I know from my experience and dtudy of our Spanish people that so long as there will be one Spaniard left, man or woman, the desperate struggle will go on, not merely to fight fascism but also to safeguard the great revolut-ionary achievements of the Spanish workers and peasants. It is nevertheless a fact that the largest number of our comrades are in Catalonia especially Barcelona. It does not require much imagination to fortell what will become of them all ~~should France~~ now that Franco's butchers have entered that grand city Barcelona. Our people will be exterminated. Indeed they will be the first to pay with their blood and their lives for having dared to do what no other people any where in the world has done, to rise against the hydra-headed monster fascism. I indeed need not tell you how I feel about the appaling situation. I only wished I had remained in Spain, not because I am foolishenough to believe that I would have been of great use to the comrades; but for my own peace of mind. I should have been more at ease standing side by side with our comrades in battle than to sit here in England cannot organise a decent size meeting of protest. I should despair utterly if I did not have an abiding faith in the unconquerable spirit of the Spanish people and in the revolutionary fortitude of our Spanish comrades.

At this writing I cannot say when I shall sail for Canada. It all depende on the outcome in Spain. I cannot bear to put the sea between me and our comrades, not that it would be easy to get back to Spain from England. Still one can keep in touch and receive news. It will be infinitely harder and agonizing to do that from Canada. It is certain howver that the next few weeks will decide the outcome and I will then be able to sail. I will keep you informed.

visit Dear comrade, thank you so much for your kind invitation to meet you in the summer. It is comforting to know that there is one place in Europe where I am wanted and where I might have a chance to write at the same time enjoying a much needed rest and repose; but it is impossible to make plans now. It all depends whether I can get into the States or not. If that fails I shall probably be back in Europe at the latter part of the summer; but as I said it is no use making plans ahead.

I am not sure whether I have answered your question about my German teacher. Yes it was in Konigsberg when I went to School there She was a woman and had a great spirit and was a born teacher.

Affectionately & fraternally,

860521212

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LONDON, W.1

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

London, 31st January 1939.

Dear Leon,

I received your letter. I am sorry to have dissapointed you this year in not sending you New Year's greetings. I did not have my mind on any personal matters. Spain and its struggle and tragedy have consumed me at the exclusion of evrything else. I know you will forgive me for my seeming neglect. I have often thought of you, wondering what has become of you and why I did not hear from you.

I understand that the daughter of Bernstein has married your son. I hope they ara happy. I never thought that two such different people would find common ground, but there human relations are mysteries. The older I get the less I understand them.

Of couree you know all about the dreadfull things in Catalonia - Catalonia that was once the stringhold of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Now is not the time to go into a description of the forces that have helped to bring Catalonia to its present condition. Some day soon the world will know about it. For yourself I can tell you that Stalin and his henchmen together with the re-actionary Negrin government are to a large extent responsible for the sabatage they have practiced on every step against our comrades. In a pinch they would rather have Franco than the C.N.T.-F.A.I.. Another thing is that Barcelona has from the beginning of the struggle worked three shifts in the war supply industries and had to send to every front except the Catalonian front so it was not surprising that when our comrades were being beseiged by Franco's hordes they had nothing to defend themsleves with. In addition was the privation the civilian population endured - undernourished for months - the last four days without food, light and water, and conetant bombs from the air. What people to hold out from such harrowing attacks from all sides. I should despair utterly if it were not for the fact that I cling with all my might in my belief in the unconquerable spirit of the Spanish people. Even at this late hour if the non-intervention pact were done away with our people would conquer. I am certain of that.

I have had a letter this morning from a comrade who is now in Gerona, a small town between Barcelona and the French border. All the comrades of the various committees are there; but what has become of the hundreds of thousands of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and libertarian youth over 2,000,000 members, the majority of them in Catalonia, and mainly in Barcelona ?. I wish I could say they have all been evacuated. I am afraid they have not. The terrible slaughter must have already begun. It is all too awfull to think about. Worse still is the lack of spirit here in our ranks whatever there are. Actually only two of us have worked liked beavers and have achieved very little in compariseion.

860521212

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 31, London [to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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[2]

2

I am now waiting to see what steps our comrades will take before I will definitely decide when to sail for Canada. To tell you the truth I dont know why I am going. Every letter I receive from Canadian comrades are more than discouraging. This morning one from Montreal and one from Toronto. In Montreal it seems that there will not be any chance of any public activity; perhaps in private homes. The padlock imposed by the Catholic Church on all hall keepers excludes any possibility of holding, even if we were permitted, which is dubios, any public meetings. On the other hand our people in Toronto are nearly all wrapped up in their own tragedies and comedies. I dont know what is going to happen, yet I feel I must go to have some kind of a change from here, and perhaps I can raise some money for the refugees. Last but not least there also might be a chance of getting into the States.

Stella is very ill and I am sick with longing to be there and take care of her; but what is the use of grieving over personal affairs when there is s o much collective suffering in the world.

You can still write me here if you wish.

With my old affection,

Emma

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880207002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 31 [London to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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24333

31st January, 1939.

Dear Leon,

I have planned to write you while in Amsterdam working in the Institute, but I had so much to do to bring order in the confusion of Sasha's and my material, that I did not have time to carry out my decision. Moreover, I was terribly tired at the end of the day from digging into the dead past. Anyway I remained there a month instead of ten days. I am sending you a copy of a letter I have just written to some friend in Bristol so that you will know why I hve not written since I came back from Amsterdam.

Now, too, I am not in a condition really towrite, but I have received a letter from Arthur with a list of the books I have left in my collection in the Institute and also a list of duplicate books. I am sending you this list, wondering whether there are any books that you think you might be able to dispose of. As I wrote you in my last letter, I do not want to burden you, but you may find some rare copies for which you might discover a buyer. Let me know.

The European sky is growing darker and darker. Arthur writes that there is great nervousness in Holland. As a result some of the important material is being shipped to safety, mine included. I have not yet heard from Professor Posthumus. I have no idea what impression the formidable list of material I have left made on him. I really cannot think about the material end of it at this moment. I must hold on to myself not to go to pieces over Spain. Nor am I able to tell you when I am sailing for Canada. I must wait a little while until I have some definite news from our comrades who have succeeded in getting away from the tender mercies of Franco. Let me hear from you soon.

With affectionate greetings to Celia and yourself,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Jan. 31, London [to] W[illiam and Lillian] Mendelsohn, New York / Emma [Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.

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[1]

Dear Friends. London Jan 31st 39

I am sure you will be cursing me when you get my letter and the large package of printed matter At least you will think it impudent on my part to take it for granted that I may burden you. Well whatever it is I must ask you to hold up the job I imposed on you. The catastrophy of Barcelona necessitates another appeal which might just as well go with the other letter. Just as soon as that is ready I will send it to you. As I said, if you find the task too much please send some of the addresses to Jeanne, and I think my good friend M.E. Fitzgerald will also be willing to help. So you can devide the labor of love.

I am too utterly shattered over

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Jan. 31, London [to] W[illiam and Lillian] Mendelsohn, New York / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.

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[2]

POST CARD

LONDON W.C. JAN 31 1939

Mr &.Mrs W.Mendelsohn

545 West End Ave

New York City

U.S.A.

the martyrdom of a gallant
people and the callous
indifference of the world
to its agony. I cannot
write more now.

Affectionately

Emma

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860521215

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 31 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

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[enclosure]

31st January, 1939.

Dearest Jeanne, [Levy]

I can hardly believe that two months have passed since I heard from you and wrote to you in answer to your letter of November 15th. I hope that it was not illness or something else that prevented your writing me. You will see from the enclosed copy of my letter to friends in England why I have not written for so long. I had fully intended to do so on my return from Amsterdam, but I remained there four weeks instead of ten days, because in addition to Sasha's material I also had to arrange my own, since our lives were so interlinked - it was impossible to do the one without the other.

Since my return is the frightful catastrophe which has befallen the people of Catalonia, and the even greater tragedy to Barcelona. I dare say that you and others must be puzzled how it is that our heroic comrades who have put up such a brave fight during two and a half years, should have been willing to surrender their beloved city without resistance. Some of the reasons you will also gather from the enclosed copy. You cannot imagine how great the suffering and martyrdom of our people is. Nevertheless, the few scribs I have received so far from the most dependable of our comrades show their abiding faith and courage and their readiness to endure the tortures of the damned rather than to give up the struggle against Fascism. If only I could help them, but I feel completely helpless in this country. My good friend, Ethel Mannin, who was of such invaluable assistance, will no longer continue with S.I.A. I heard from her to-day that she is planning to sail for America the middle of February to see whether she will succeed in getting a new book of hers accepted by some publisher, and also to escape "the crisis and a possible war". I am glad for her sake that she will have no difficulties in getting to the States - the trouble is that one cannot escape the crisis and the war, no matter where one will be. But she must do what she considers best for herself. That has ever been my position. Our comrades need help more than ever, and I simply cannot put myself in their place, the distance between them and me. I find it difficult enough to be so far away as England. One could keep in touch with them better if one were in

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[Letter] 1939 Jan. 31 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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Paris. Here it takes so long to get direct news. Anyway I don't think for the present of sailing for Canada. Just as soon as I know how far our people have succeeded in reorganising their forces I will be able to decide. I feel the bottom knocked from under me and terribly at sea.

My dear, I sent copies of a letter and copies of our bulletin to Will and Lilian with a lot of New York addresses I had gathered when I was there in 1934. I begged them to send out the two things to men and women in the world of science and letters and to call their attention to the appeal of Professor Pauli. I have written Lilian a postcard to-day asking her to hold up the job because I will have to get out an emergency appeal which might as well go with the other, which I will send her I hope by the next mail. I have also told them that if they find the job too much they should send part of it to you, or still better, ask Fitzi to take charge of the mailing for New York, and let you have the Chicago addresses, to which I add the enclosed. We must simply do our utmost to come to the rescue of the thousands of refugees in our ranks and the unfortunate children who have been so beautifully looked after in the 19 colonies.

I had a letter from Fitzi telling me that she had approached Rose Schniederman. I could have told her beforehand that it was useless to do so. I know Rose for a long time, from her very beginning as a factory girl, I know that she was a climber. Now that she has arrived she certainly is not going to jeopardise her position by an effort to get a visa for Emma Goldman. But there is someone else, quite a different type from Rose, a friend of Sasha's Fitzi's and mine, Jo Coffin is her name. She is the Assistant to the Government Printer in the Government Printing Department. Fitzi wrote her and she immediately responded asking all particulars about my plan of getting to America, which I have already sent her. I am not singing about her success, but it was very soothing to my aching heart to find that she had remained faithful and staunch when others have grown so indifferent. By the way, I wrote Joe that one of the reasons for my wanting to come back is to be able to see and possibly nurse Stella back to health. The latest news about her has been so discouraging that I would be even willing to ask to be admitted to the States merely for the purpose of looking after my unfortunate child. I have also written to the physicians who are taking care of her, asking them whether they think my presence would be of help in rousing Stella back to her former vivid self. My dear, there is so much misery in the world and the terrible calamity that has befallen my beloved niece, that I sometimes feel I am going under, but I must pull myself together again and again, for I dare not give way because of the little good I can still do. Please write me soon. I rather worry about you. With love to J. and yourself.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Jan. 31 [London to] Marjorie Goldstein, [Westmount, Canada (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. – 4 p. ; 28 × 23 cm.

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24346

Jan.31st 39

My dear Marjorie Goldstein.

I had dictated a letter to you in responce to your ~~nex~~ holiday card and good wishes. It was to be transcribed yesterday. Then came yours of Jan 4th.It arrived yesterday. I therefore decided to write you myself and leave the other which was after all only a short scrib. First let me thank you for your thoughtfulness of me and you wish for this year. The world situation is too harrowing for all of us to hope for anything personal or to care about onself. Ican say without exaggeration that since Alexander Berkmans death and the events in Spain I have lost complete consciousness of self,or any interest in per sonal matters. I realise of course that whatever we do is motiv ated by oneself since no can can get away from himsèlf. I only mean that ~~xxxx~~ whatever personal interests I had have been sub merged in my interest for Spain,its valour and its martyrdom. You can imagine therefore how great is my sorrow over the catastro phyn that has befallen Catalonia and especially Barcelona. I have been in a state of terrific nervous tension since the 26th of this month. I know so well that it ~~xxxxxx~~ was never lack of courage on the part of my comrades to defend Barcelona. In point of truth they were determined to fight to the last.Even the Lon don papers reported on the 25th that the CNT-FAI and U.G.T had declared that they would defend Barcelona inch by inch and hou house by house. It must have been something extraordinary for them to have gone back on that dicision. A letter I received from a most dependable comrade in Gerona tells me that Barcelona had no arms that for four days the population was without food,and later also without light and water. Evidently the militants felt that to keep up the uneven battle would only add to the fright ful suffering of the civil population and that this must have decided them to surrender the city. Whatever it is the news ~~knocked the bottom max from under me.~~ I am completely at sea what to do and my heart is filled with overflowing for the mart yred Spanish people.

A letter I received from a friend in Toronto and your letter do not hold out much hope for Canada. It is only that I don't know what to do here that still makes me think I ought to sail.On the other hand is the agonising thought of putting

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putting the ocean between me and my cokrades never more in dagner and in need of help. I find it difficult enough to be in England when my whole being craves to be near my comrades wherever they are. I dare nit think how ut will be when I get to Canada. If inly I would have learend how to reach the British,how to penetrate their outer crust? Especially now when my friend Ethel Mannin has become a pacifist and no longer feels the need of helping SIA as she did in the past.In addition she plans to sail from America to try for a publisher for her new book and to escape "the crisis and the war". I have always said pacifism is nothing but an escape to which people are of course entitled. It is only difficult to depend on them as they may and do change their minds so easily. I wish I could do it,but I seem to have one thing if nothing else in common with my forbears that is dugged perceverence. It breaks me to pieces to give up anything I have undertaken,especially if it is of a public nature for the benifit of those in distress. Anyhow I really do not know at this writing when I will sail. I must wait until my comrades have reorganised their forces and have regained their strength to continue the battle. They might as well for they never will submit to Francos orders and that of his allies. I will then decide.

Thank you very much for telling me your impressions of Mrs Bernstein and Mrs Zahler. I would rather know than be in the dark. I had a letter from Mrs Bernstein which she must have written almost directly after you had spoken to her. I have had nothing from Mrs Zahler. The lettr of Rose Bernstein was the first I had received in two years. Foolish woman should have known that if I did not reply to her letters they never reached me. For whatever shortcomings I have and there are many neglecting my friends is not among them. In fact I am completely swamped by correspondence because I feel it so keenly that when people write me they should be answered. In point of fact I had been wondering what could be the matter with the Bernsteins because they had stopped writing me even when I had broached my intention of Canada in a ltter to Rose Bernstein and had asked her whather the few Jewish comrades who are in a position would add their contribution to the amount to be raised for my trip. Not a word came from anyone in Montreal. I have written this to Rose. Incidentally I had a funny thing happen to me.The letter of Rose was signed Rose,and what seemd to me,V.Myer . For the life of me I could not recollect who is Rose V.Myer.I therefore wrote this person asking whether she knew the Bernsteins and would she let me know how they are. Then I again studied the signature when it suddenly dawned on me it was none other than Rose and Myer Bernstein. I confess I felt mortified but I explained jy error and sent the letter anyhow telling her I would write again when the date of sailing had been set. Rose writes me she had spoken to the Zhlaers and others of the Jewish comrades and they had all expressed interest in my coming and had promised to do their best but she too stressed the fact that it may prove impossible to obtain a Hall.However since I must go through Montreal to get to Toronto there will be nothing lsot if we fail.

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wrong. We are of different temperament,habits, training and above all age. It was inevitable that we should sometimes clash especially where our friends were concerned. He no more understood mine as I did his. At least I was not called upon to meet his too often and to work with them together. He because of his keen desire to help me was thrown together with my friends and that was bad. It reacted badly on me and on him. But that is all. Please tell him that. Tell him also that I feel really proud that he ascribs our mutual impatience to "LOVE". I cannot however agree with him because of my conception of love which does not mean impatience. But he can thresh that out with me when anf if I return to Montreal. One thing however I have difinitely decided never again to force our mutal friend into the unpleasant condition of working together with my Jewish comrades. I say force only in the moral sense of courwe. Let them do what they can among the Jews and if G.W. will be able I know he will not lake willingness to get up private gathering,though I have always loathed them because of their inevetable snobbery, I will appreacite his help. I have really suffered too much on my last visit from the task of defending him to my comrades and them to him. I could not go through it again.

Will you please take out the Jewish names and send them to Mrs Bernstein and let C.W go through the other names. He maybe able to suggest some of them who might be int erested in my return and written to

I am delighted to know G.W had made progress in social ideas. I am sure he could become a force ware he not so stricken,for that reason too I regret deeply his illness and his lack of means to get permanent relief. Never mind about the books he cannot pay for. I will send him another set,or bring it along. Aks him if he reads French I would then send him a new biography of Bakunin. I am sorry that I cannot now take the time to make a list of books for him. I am overburdened with work for the unfortunate refugees in Spain and those who succeed ed in getting through to France. So he must forgive me. We will I hope have an upportunity to discuss the questions he wants me t to take up now.Besides one dies better in personal interchange of udeas and methods than in letters.

Yes, I too was enthusiastic of having gained Ethel Mannins help. Alas it was not for long.Now she intends to sail for A. which means she will not be able to help my work for the victims of Franco and his allies. And I know of no one else.

Our dear good friend was always somewhat suspicious about letters and packages.Now I know whether literature comes in wrappers or envelopes they are being investigated by the postal authorities,so are letters.But there is no difference between things sent in wrappers or "plain"envelopes. Besides why the secrecy when it consrens literature ? Anyhiw I will send things next time in an envelope.

I am taking the liberty to send you all the Canadian mostly Montreal addresses we have collected on my last visit.

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24351

Now about our mutual friend,his terrible physical handicap and his complants about me. I feel deeply with his suffering,it is a martyrdom pehaps more difficult to bear than that of people who can at least fight for their ideals and their welbeing. I only wish I had the means. I should be so happy to put at G.W.s d disposal what he needs to make his recovery possible. As you know the poor are always generous with help. But the little I might do for our friend would be of no use to him I fear. In addition there are the thousnds and tens of thousands of Spanish refugees now added to the Jewis and I am really among"the un derserving poor ". This is for your benifit my dear,do not say anthing to G.W. about it but do tell him that I have never ceased to feel intensely with his handicap.

G.W.s reference ot my "bruscuness" simply puzzles me. I have searched my mind and my heart and I honestly cannot remember on what occasion or to whom I have demonstrated bruque ness. In the first place I have met very few of his friends. And those I have met at no time impressed me in being interested in my ideas or even in me as a human being. He told you himself that he found it difficult "to decide between thw sincerity of of their interest in her ideology and mer curiosity in her as an individual".Now if dear Gordon found it difficult to decide this how did he expect me to be able to believe in the sinceriy of his friends? I admit I loath sham and hypocracy,and I hate being looked upon as an article of inspection and gratification of vulgar curiosity. But I was always will ng to try and I am sure I never was guilty of any breach of tact in being brusque. Why our friend never could say enough of how I have treated him when he approached me as a perfect stranger in the Y.M.C.A. hall after a most dismal meeting.

Now I admit that I was sometimes impatient with our mutaul friend that partly because of his lack at that time of his political consciousness of what I stood and fought for,partly

because I knew then much less than now how to appraoch English people so full of inhibitions,habits and traditions I had long overcome. And lastly because I tried hard to make my Jewish comrades undeerstandable to him and him to them which often tried my spirit to the breaking point. I am afraid his interpret ation for my impatience with him or a number of [illegible]

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880207004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 31 [London to] Rhoda [Smith, Brooklyn? N.Y?] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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24335

31st January 1939.

My dear Rhoda,

I have just dictated a letter to Leon Malmold. My explanation for my silence to him also applies to you my dear. You may think it exaggerated when I tell you that since Sasha's death I have lost all personal interests. I have been consumed by Spain. It has taken all my strength, energy and time. That does not mean that I have ceased to care for my friends among whom as you know you have a large place; but it is simply that personal tragedies and comedies seem trivel to me. However never think that I lose interest in you or any of my friends.

You will see that I have mentioned Stella. She has had a terrible breakdown and though she is getting the best of care she is unfortunately not responding to treatment. The last letter from Teddy, which Ian received is most alarming. You know what Stella always meant to me, so you willrealise that her tragedy added to the others I have had to bear is very heavy indeed. I said Ian, yes he is here attending College. He has developed into a beaufiful chap. He was to go on to the end of the season; but if his mother gets worse he will probably return to New York.

Of course I hope to see you if ever I get to the States, or may be you will hitch hike to Canada. Any way we should meet as that may be the last time - for while I am getting far more handsome I am not getting younger.

You can still write me to London if you wish.

With love,

880207003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 31 [London to] M[o]n[y]a and Va[s]silie [Semyonov] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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24334

31st January 1939.

My dear Mania & Vasilie,

Thank you both for your letters and all the good wishes for this year. I am afraid the outlook for their fulfilment looks very black - with so much misery in the world one cannot expect to be perfectly happy. However I appreciate your sweet friendship and affection which motivated your letters.

From the enclosed you will see how I feel about the collapse in Catalonia and expecially Barcelona. I have been there only a few months ago going over all the old haunts and many new places, and meeting some of our comrades and now it is all smashed up and there is no saying how many of the heroic workers and peasants who have fought so gallantly are still alive. Frankly I am under the pall of the Spanish situation and really not cool enough to write much of a coherent letter . This is why I am enclosing a copy of the letter to Leon Malmold and I will add other copies of recent letters.

Dearest Mania, I do wish that we may meet once more in our lives. Perhaps the miracle will happen and I will have permission to re-enter America, then we will certainly meet; but do not bank too much on it or the dissapointment would be too great.

I do not know when I will sail for Canada. I will write you, but in any event it is not going to be before the third week in February.

You can if you wish write me in Toronto c/o Joe Desser, 759 Bathurst Street.

Please give my fraternal grectings to Spanier and any comrades who still remember me.

With love to both of you.

870929621

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb.? London to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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URGENCY APPEAL.

Dear Friend,

Your ready response to my two appeals had decided me not to burden you again so soon, but the catastrophe that has come to the Catalan people and especially to Barcelona impels me to go back on my decision and to turn to you once more for help.

The heartrending accounts that have come to our S.I.A. Bureau of the appalling condition of the refugees, men, women and children, wounded and maimed, truly represents a modern Dante's Inferno. These heroic people who have for thirty months offered almost superhuman resistance, have been compelled to leave their home and hearth in their cherished city, Barcelona. They are now tramping the highways and byways to the French border in maddening uncertainyt whether they will be admitted to France or be forced back into the arms of Franco. Many of them had already tasted his Christian pity. They therefore preferred the hardships of evacuation to the terror of the Moors, the Spanish legionnaires and the death-bringing bombers of German and Italian make. Yet even they were childish enough to believe that Franco's savagery would not go to the extent of bombarding the packed masses tramping along the open road, but this is exactly what has already happened since the fatal da of January 26th.

You must have read the reports of this additional crime against defenceless human beings which nearly all the papers of this city

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have carried. A wire we have received from the General Secretary of the International Council of S.I.A. fully supports these reports. All along the weary march of hungry and half-frozen humanity, planes dropped bombs causing many deaths, thereby increasing the terrible suffering of those who remained alive. Yet in the face of this greatest of human dramas, our Spanish friends write in their appeal that has reached us the following - "The 'humanitarian' attitude of the democratic governments remains self-satisfied and aloof. We think with error of the reprisals that will take place should we be returned to Franco. Please agitate against this with all your might. We do not ask for arms or charity, for our suffering people. Our dignity will not permit this. We ask only for a demonstration of solidarity and justice on the part of those who still have a high regard for self-respect. We do not want help from those who have been directly or indirectly our executioners. We are a people who have fought for the liberation of all of you. We have a right to ask from the workers of all lands for a determined stand to prevent the possibility of our being treated as slaves. The cause of Spain, which is the cause of Freedom, will continue, and we count on you and your efforts to support us. Do not forget that our misfortune is also yours, citizens and workers of the whole world. We repeat once more we want your help for the Spanish people."

~~Been~~ There ever men and women who stressed "dignity and freedom" in the face of such frightfulness as is now being endured by hundreds and thousands of the Spanish people, men, women and children. Certainly not in any of the totalitarian states, ~~or the~~

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Their millions of organised workers and the majority of the intellectual middle class went down in a heap at the advent of the dictators, for it is sheer nonsense to hold up to scorn only the Hutlers, the Mussolinis, the Stalins and the other dictators. They have been made and they are maintained by the people who worship at their shrine. Only the Spanish masses have risen against the hydra-headed monster, fascism. Only they have continued the fight against the conspiracy of world imperialism, among which the British Empire has played the most cowardly and cringing part. Only the Spanish loyalists in this, their most crucial hour, are still able to keep their pride and their dignity, their passionate love of freedom and above all to continue their valiant struggle for liberation.

If for no other reason, this alone should impel you, dear friends, and indeed all of us who too love liberty and independence, to give to their utter aid of the refugees.

I am well aware that any Spanish relief organisations are making strenuous food ships, lorries packed with food and medicine to Spain, but it was you and you alone who have contributed to the needs of the refugee women and children and the maintenance of the I S.I.A. children's homes, populer eating places, hospitals and ambulance service. Now that all this has been destroyed and the inmates forced to evacuate exposed to the most harrowing distress, more, much more is needed for succour and relief.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb.? London to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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I therefore make bold to appeal to appeal to you fervently to send your contribution at once and make it as large as possible, even if you and yours must temporarily forego some of your necessities.

The milk and other food purchases for the first £130 you have helped to raise, fortunately got through to Barcelona in time. I have since sent another £100 to Marseilles which will also be used for food for the children of S.I.A. I wish I might send a couple of thousand pounds, but whatever it will be I feel certain you will give to the best of your means and give quickly.

Yours sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb? Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin [Gudell]. – 6 p. ; 11 × 15 cm.

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23397 8.2.39. 1

Liebe und gute Emma!

Heute ich schreibe ihnen schon von Frankreich. Ich hoffe Sie werden meine letzte Briefe bekommen haben. Ich habe erst gestern die Möglichkeit gehabt die Grenze zu überschritten. Am meisten von die Genossen haben die Grenze auch erst gestern überschritten. Jetzt aber fingt die Emigrationsgolgota an. Die Französische Behörde schicken alle unsere Genossen zu

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die Konzentrationslagern. Was daraus
kommen wird, heute weiss man nicht.
Fast alle Mitglieder der Komité Nacio-
nal und Peninsular sind im Konzen-
trationslager von Angeles sur Mer geschickt.
Nur Mariano hat Glück gehabt nach
Paris zu fahren, wir wissen aber nicht
ob er Paris erreichen hat. Kann sein dass
er wird auch verhaftet. Ein Teil von ver-
schiedene Organisation Dokumente sind ge-
rettet, die andere aber ist verloren gegangen.

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Wäre die französische Behörde nicht so
streng, konnte man besser alles regeln. Ich
habe ihnen bestimmt eher nach Frankreich ge-
schickt und jetzt weiss ich nicht wann
und wo werde ich sie finden. Die Sekretärin
die ich hatte, hat sein Mann verloren. In
Tarragona er wurde von eine Artillerisbombe
ermordet. Sie ist in Frankreich. Federica ist
auch in Frankr. sein Vater in Konzentrationslager
Die Mutter starb vor einige Tage in Perpignan.
Sein Gefährtin wurde verhaftet und wieder

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23400

nach Spanien geschickt. Jetzt, hoff ich,
er wird wieder in Frankreich. Markwall,
seine Frau, Egon sind weg von Spanien. Der
italiener Zamboni wurde von die fran-
zosen wieder nach Spanien geschickt.
Germinal ist krank geworden, Lungen-
entzündung; Santillan wird auch wohl
weg sein. Ich traf ihn letztens fast an die Gra-
ze. Simon ist zusammen mit mir nach
Frankreich gekommen. Viele Genossen sind
aber auch da geblieben. Einige haben

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23401

beschlossen in Barcelona zu bleiben
und sich zu verteidigen. Die andere, die
im Heere sind, erlauben dem Faschisten
nicht so schnell vorwärts gehen, damit
die Bevölkerung emigrieren kann. Jover,
Sans und Magriña, alle unsere Genossen, sind
die einzige die bis heute mit ihre Truppen
sich verteidigen und den Feind aufhalten.
Ich weiss nicht was für Los ~~wird~~
ich werde haben. Ich hoffe Paris zu

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb? Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin [Gudell].— 6 p. ; 11 × 15 cm.

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erreichen und nachher ich werde versuchen 23407
nach USA zu fahren, Ich habe mein Geburts-
schein wo steht, dass ich in Rochester geboren
bin und vielleicht die Amerikaner werden
mir erlauben nach Vereinigt. Staaten zur.

Wenn Sie mir schreiben wollten, mache bre
es bitte an die Adresse von Bureau de Paris.

Teilen Sie bitte Hernberg mit, dass ich schon in Frank. bin.

Heute kann ich ihnen nicht mehr schreiben.

Bei erste Gelegenheit, ich werde es tun. Herzliche

Grüsse von mir, Simon, Angeles und andere Euer Martin

881027200

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb.? 1? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.— 4 p.; 14 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24274

Ethel Mannin
Oak Cottage.
Burghley Road.
Wimbledon Common.S.W.19.

Tue

Dearest Emma, I write in great haste as I must go out in a minute into this filthy weather. If you really think my services to the SI are adequate I must continue. Sonia wo be no earthly good. The best suggestion is Marie Louise- if only because she is Vero's wife, and would have the assistance of his dynamic energy and resourcefulness. Will Ralph be able to continue to go to the office ? If he can it makes all the difference to me, I can assure you - to have someone open letters and arrange for such thin s as the sending off of the clothes that come in ; all such detail matters.

But I am so worried about Ralph. I would put up 10/- or a £ a week for his support if some other comrades who could afford to do so would do likewise, to make it up to about £5. He could surely accept in a comradely spirit what was offered in a comradely spirit of co-operation ?

I thought that as soon as we see what happens in Barcelona , god help them all, I would issue a Bulletin again, with the report just

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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24275

i.. from Barcelona, that you send, and makin_ a fresh appeal; I wd send it to every supporter and try to think up a new list; also to get letters in the papers again.

But I don't thinkwe should go on sending clothes; I don't think its worth what they cost to send - 5 sacks have cost £4 to send, and I feel that the money wd be better spent on food.

Glad to know the £130 sent on milk - but Pires shd have let me know, as I asked him to, and he promised. Still, maybe he is overworked, and I am glad to know how it was spent; it doesn't matter how many tins go to make up £130 !!!

For does it matter that Barcelona refers to me as an under- sec. I am not working for the CIA for vanity or personal glory; they can label me junior clerk or office girl for all I care !

Can you spare the time to write and say that I have decided to carry on to the best of my ability? It would help if you would as I am so driven just now.

I think it might be a good idea to organise one big social of SIA supporters and ask for subscriptions -its what we badly need & wd

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb.? 1? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.— 4 p.; 14 × 21 cm.
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24272

make all the difference to our rent, etc. I say 'one big social' and 'before you go', because I feel that you couldorganise this and see it through in a way that I couldn't-it's the sort of thing beyond my reach. Ifyou would do this Emma I would address all present explaining our great and urent need for donations and subs. to keep us going apart from what is given for Spain.

The £5 Lilian Wolfe sent she asked esp. to be sent all to Spain; she sent another £1 afterwards for rent. But I could take the whole £25 of Penrose's for expenses; I had set aside only £10 ; but I could take £15 from what has come in since, thus making the whole £25 up- that is to say I will not send any more to Spain till I can do so and still leave £15 (plus the other amt left over from the original sum I kicked off with - I have a note of the figures but don't want to stop to look them out) in for expenses.

We'll manage somehow, I suppose.

When I say that the New Fascism is a lesser evil for the mass of Germans & Ital. people than for the Spanish people in the throes of war, I mean that Berlin and Milan are more comfortable places to be in than Madrid

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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and Barcelona; that the mass of common people in the streets - the unpolitically conscious people- have their homes intact, can plan to go to the pictures tomorrow with a fair assurrance of being able to , can sit in cafés, dust their pianos, tend their gardens, go into the country at weekends, and so forth . I would sooner see Fascism here and myself in gaol or a concentration camp, I and the minority who share my anti-Fascist views, than I would see the whole of Europe plunged into war to fight this, to me, lesser evil.

I know you will disagree, but this is my position, dear Emma.

I must go. I hope to finish the book this week and then we can meet.

My love to you.

I am horrified and sick at the morning's news of Barcelona. Tragic tragic tragic. I've no words for what I feel about it. It turns in me like an inner weeping.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb.? 1? to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Emilia Roca.— 5 p. ; 28 × 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24214

Dear Comrade Emma Goldman, salud.

Some days ago Mera told me over the telephone that he had received a letter from you for me in which you offered to help the Colony of Mon Mon. I immediately wrote to explain my situation to you. Until today I have not received your letter, while I will answer more extensively than the one before.

Barcelona was taken by the fascists on ~~February~~ January 26th at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and I left Mon Mon with all the children on January 27th at 7 o'clock in the morning. It was by good luck that a comrade, who was in love with our colony and our work, appeared in Ribas with a lorry, which he immediately put at my disposal. We went from Ribas to Puigcerda and were allowed to

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24215

enter France. From Bourg Madame after many legal requisites, we went to Banyuls sur Mer, thanks to frcs. 2000 I had with me and with which I could pay the railway fares for all the children.

The next day already it was quite impossible to pass the frontier, as the caravanes of people who had been on the road the days before, formed a wall of human bodies. It rained for 3 days and 3 nights and many people died of hunger, cold and exhaustion.

We put the children who arrived from Spain in the Colony of Spanish Children, maintained in Banyuls sur Mer by the Swedish comrades.

We passed several days in Perpignan trying to place our colony somewhere, but when we saw that for the moment nothing could be done, we also went to Banyuls sur mer, hoping that we will find some destination. My colony

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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consists of 33 children, 2 teachers and myself, without anywhere to go – for our stay at Banyuls is only provisional. We accept your offer and hope that you will get us out of this situation or support the Colony of Mon Mon.

With regard to Comrade Puig – he left for France on foot after much suffering because he did not want to abandon his post. The Ministry was transfered from Barcelona to Gerona, but stayed there only for a few days. Most people were so panic stricken that they fled in disorder. Only a few stayed on in the Ministry, Comrade Segundo Blanco, Puig, Mráwa, Campà and a few others. Then the Ministry was transfered to Figueras, but the front came nearer and nearer, bombardements and machine gunning never ceased and the war was lost. It was by chance that Puig and Blanco are still alive. They had just left the

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Ministry when 6 bombs fell into 2 of 16 and many comrades were killed.

When they saw that all was lost ~~they~~ ~~the~~ few people who were left in the ministry went to France, together with Azana, Companys and other members of the Republican government. They arrived in France on foot over the mountains and therefore everything they had was taken from them. That is why my situation is so critical. ~~Do~~ Lately I maintained the Colony of Mon Non almost by myself.

Puig stayed in Perpignan for 24 hours and went on to Paris on a mission for the Republican government.

The fascists now possess nearly the whole of Catalunia. The tragedy Spain has lived and is still living, is heartrending and without equal. We know nothing of the Center and-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb.? 1? to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Emilia Roca.– 5 p.; 28 × 23 cm.

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24218

of the Levante. My son is there. Imagine my desperation. If only I could save these children, I would be in some way consoled.

With fraternal embraces, I am your Good friend

signed Emilia Roca.

Dear Emma,

I had no other paper, but did not want to hold up the translation for that reason. May I ring you tomorrow to ask if there were any more news? Ruth's address is:

509 Lordship Lane
S.E. 22.

With love, Yours Ilse.

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880726477

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 1 [London to] Mollie [Steimer and] Sen[y]a [Fleshin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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24324

Feb.Ist 39

Mollie,my dearest,dear Senia.

Thank you for your letter. It contained more news that is if the PARIS_MIDI canbe relied upon than I had so far.Or different news. Mine came from Lucia Sanchez Saornil who wried and wrote from Marseille that help was more than ever needed and that the SIA succeeded in getting away.Whether that means the chil children as well I do not know. I cannot imagine the children left behind though there are people who tell me that "surely Franco will not harm the children". I also had a letter ,or rathe a short scrap of paper written in Russian from Martin saying that our people were forced to surrender Barcelona without a struggle because they had no arms, a few handgranates and one or two machine guns. That however was not the main reasons. More compeeling was the fact that the whole population underfed for nearly a year had no food the last four days and the last two day neither light or water. In addition was the continued barrage from the sky ten 12 times daily which completely unnerved the population. To have continued the defense of Barcelona under thes hartowing circomstances would have ~~xxxx~~ mean the prolongation of the agony. As Martin wrote only a few lines I cannot tell whet he gave the full reason for the dreadful situation or not.

There is one more thing the moment ~~xxxx~~ Catalonia was attacked our own comrades took whatever arms there were and rushe to the front voluntarily that may also explain the fact that there were no arms left in Barcelona, especially as the arms of which I had told you and Senia had not been in Barcelona alone They were more so in the mountains and hills which our FAI comrad could not reach in ~~xxxx~~ before Barcelona was encircled on all sides.In any event we must defer our calculations and much more so our judgment until we know particulars. I can tell you here that I received a letter from Herrera last weeks which must have been written around the 20th of last month asking me to notify Rudolf R. at once to get money for the needs of the actions of which I had spoken to you. They wanted clothse,shoes and food as well as arms which they could pruchase if they will have the necessary means. That proves that as lat as the third week in Jan. our people were determined to carry out their preperatory plans. Whatever happened between that time and the 26th I do not

industry. he had his figures balck on white to what extent the Communists had sabotaged the outp ut of arms,they had cut it in two. Oh,it was an evil day when Russia began to send arms. I am sick at heart over it all. My love

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 1 [London to] Mollie [Steimer and] Sen[y]a [Fleshin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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24325

know.One thing is certain no one of our people expected the crushing avalnnee of the murderous gang quite so suddenly because H.wrote that Sashas Memoirs was already set up and would go on th press soon.Can you imagine such innocence. And H.is among those who had long given up any faith in the damnable Negr in Communist government. It was just his and the wish fulfilment of all the others which made them take their time to prepare to meet their enemies well armed.

Moreover several papers here stated on the eve of the surrender of Barcelona that the CNT,and UGT had declared they would fight inch by inch and house by house. Whatever change that dicision is also a mmxx mystery.

Martins letter told me who among the comrades got out in time,he did not mention Santillan but in as much as said the Committee of the Peninsular he must have been among them. But what is interesting is that Vazquez would not budge from Barcelona until all the others were out,it was therefore a hairs breadth that his life was saved. Martin wrote he knows that Vazquez companion was saved but he does not know if their lovely child of 12 was. My heart stood still when I read that. I met the child in one of the schools,a beautiful and thoughtful girl. It would be too awful if she had not been taken out. It is all too horrible to contemplate.

My dearest you are right not to be ashamed to weep. I ban only weep inside of me I am turned to stone and everything in me is frozen

Our comrades are not in Figueras where the Gov.is.They are in Gerona. Yes Gallan is an out and out G. It is he who with his own hand killed some of our own militia a dog if ever there was one. He and Lister should have been sent packing long ago. You are fortunate in one thing dear that you get news on the radio and in the press about what the FAI has done,is doing or is planning to do.Nothing of the sort do we get here. I had already considered whether I should not run over to Paris. But it means spending money which I feel should rather go to the needs of our people. It is true that the DAILY HERALD and the EVENING STANDARD did say that the Anarchist in Barcelona were the last to leave the city and that they had fought villiantly. Oh, I wish I knew what has actually happened.

I am so relived that Elisa is keeping up her courage.I was worried that she will go to pieces.You too my beloved child will have to pull yourself together,for there might not be much for all of us to do. The rumours of her coming are a lie.But if this proves true it will be the Negrin communist gang and never our people.The FAI had forseen what to expect from that source.They raised this question at the plenum. And that marvelous comrade Valeja who was at the head of the arms in

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 1 [London to] Mollie [Steimer and] Sen[y]a [Fleshin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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industry, the one who had turned the Ispana Swissa automobile industry in 48 hours into an arms industry. He had it balck on white the firghtful sabotage carried on by the Communists. Oh, it was a sad day when Stali began sending arms,everythung that followed must be laid at his feet.

However, I am still certain that our people will fight on to the last whatever the price. Stupid Hitler,Mussolini Deladie and Chamberlain who imagine the conflict is over and the militant Spanish people will bend their necks and their knees. ever will that be the case. The whole history of Spain speaks against this. That is all we have to hold on and not lose faith in our gallant Spnaish comrades.

evoted love.

Love to Elisa and Jeva.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 1 [London to] Stella [Churchill, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24316

Feb.Ist 39

My dear Stella. I know you will not take it in bad taste when I express my fears that at your cherry party it will not be possible to accomplish anything for the unfortunate children of the SIA.¶ People who drift into such a gathering usually devide in small groups and engage in small talk.Besides,most of your friends who will come probably belong to the hundred and one organisations who work for Spain although the SIA 19 Colonies have never received a penny from anyone of them.

Believe me I want to come because I like being with you .Only I am not deceived of my chances to make the party realise the appalling condition of the SIA children,not that the other children are in a very much better condition.Don't you think I am right and would there not be an ther chance to get together a dozen or more people at your house whom I could talk to and show the photographs I brought with me from Spain recently? I mean before you leave for the South of France.? Let me know like the dear you are.

Affectionately

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1939 Feb. 1, London [to] Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 11 × 13 cm.

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SS. Paris
Southampton
Feb First 39

Mr Leon Malmed
512 Broadway
Albany New York
U.S.A.

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870929495

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 1 [London to] Garrec [Frédéric, Perpignan? France] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20718

1 de Febrero de 1939.

Querido camarada Garrrec,

Te he escrito dos veces a Bois Postal, 9. Primero acerca de la camarada Emilia Roca, que me habia telegrafiado desde Perpignan, y el pasado domingo a la misma direccion, con respecto a la camarada Lucia Sanchez Saornil, que me habia puesto un telegrama. Dime si has recibido estas cartas.

Estoy muy ansiosa por sabe si has visto a la camarada E. Roca, y si pudo sacar a los ninos.

En cuanto a Lucia, me equivoque. Su telegrama vebia de Marsella y no Perpignan. Le escribo ahora al cuidado de Camara.

Ruegote que me digas a vuelta de correo si debemos enviar ropas para nuestros ninos refugiados y camaradas a Perpignan. Tenenemos una buena cantidad que podria ser usada con ventaja. No demores la contestacion.

Fraternalmente,

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870929494

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 1 [London to Manuel] Mascarell, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20714

1 de Febrero de 1939.

Querido camarada Mascarell,

Siento haberte escrito acerca de las 10 libras. Ahora realizo bastante que tienes trabajo mas importante que hacer que no atender a esta pequenez y que posiblemente necesitaras el dinero para asuntos mas urgentes. Esto ya resulta una cosa de poca importancia ahora.

Ruegote, querido camarada, que me escribas tan pronto como tengas noticias concretas de nuestras camaradas. Estoy sumamente preocupada.

Fraternalmente,

881020016

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 1 [London to] Luc[í]a [Sánchez Saornil] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20713

1º de Febrero de 1939.

Querida camarada Lucia,

Te escribi al cuidado de Garrec en Perpignan y tambien al cuidado de Camara. A ambos les pedi que me telegrafiasen si podiamos enviar ropas para los ninos refugiados asi como para nuestros camaradas y que cuantos miembros de la S.I.A., Mujeres Libres, C.N.T.-F.A.I. y Juventudes se encontraban a salvo. Hasta estos momentos no he recibido contestacion. Recibi tu circular pidiendo ayuda, la que ha sido traducida en estos momentos. Utilizare parte en la paticion que preparo.

Escribeme pronto.

Fraternalmente,

871005222

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 1, Marseille [France to] Emma G[oldman], London / I. da Camara Pires. – 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. E. C. I.

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Marseilles,February the I st.1939

Emma G.Colton
21-Frith st.Shafstesbury Ave.
LONDON W. 1

Dear comrade Emma,

We are in receipt of your letters dated 28th. and 30th.Jan.

Naturally our comrades in Catalonia,are very much in need of any help which can be given; money or anythingelse.

We trust comrade Garreo has allready answered you.

To send pakages of food to Martin,Herrera and Vasquez,it is imposible for the moment,as we have actually stopped our service;but if you would like to send us ypur money,we would send them the mentioned pakages,at the first chance we would get. If not,the money would be kept here at your disposition.

Fraternally yours,

[signature]

J/

Chère Amie, Je comprends votre peine car la misère est énorme. Je ne sais encore ce que deviendront les chers camarades. La correspondance de Pedro est ici, chez moi.

Fraternelles pensées de votre [illegible]

367

880726461

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 1, Stockholm [to Emma Goldman, London] / Albert Jensen.— 1 p.; 30 × 24 cm.

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ARBETAREN

POSTADRESS: BOX 413
REDAKTIONEN
TELEFONER: [illegible]

STOCKHOLM 1
KLARA VIA KYRKOGATA 17
POSTGIRO [illegible]

STOCKHOLM den 1/2-39

Ich sedne hiermit eine Mitarbeiterkarte.

Heute ist auch abgesandt 60 schwedische Kronen als eine kleine honorar.

Ich lege auch bei die alte Manuskript.

Ich bin sehr froh weitere Beitrag zu bekommen.

Mit herzlichem Grüsse

In aller eile

Albert Jensen

881027202

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 1, Bristol [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ernest Taylor.— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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LORD WALDEGRAVE.

1. 2. 39

My dear Emma,

Just a line in reply to yours of last night, this is only to let you see what I am busy with, since the enclosed list was published we have had an additional five or six hundred and many gifts in kind. Milk etc, this is keeping me very busy and the reason why I cannot write. I feel the need is so urgent I am dropping nearly every thing else. If I had not known the terrible position I should not have taken it on, but my sympathies are entirely yours, and feel it is the least one can do after the terrible betrayal of France and ourselves.

My love to you

Ernest

Margaret is very well.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939] Feb. 2, London [to] The Manchester Guardian, [Manchester, England] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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THE WIDOW OF ERICH MUCHSAM.

A Second Disappearance.

Appeared Feb 7/39

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,

On June 30, 1936, you printed a letter of mine dealing with the case of Mrs. Zensel Muchsam, the widow of the poet Erich Muchsam, who had been tortured to death in one of the concentration camps of the Third Reich. In that letter I called attention to the disappearance of Mrs. Muchsam and to the fact that all efforts made to ascertain her whereabouts had been in vain. It will interest you to know that it was my letter in your paper which started a campaign on behalf of Mrs. Muchsam, taken up by the Labour press in Sweden, Holland, France, and the United States: but it was only in March 1937, when a letter addressed to Mr. Roger N. Baldwin, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, revealed the whereabouts of Mrs. Muchsam. The letter stated that Zensel Muchsam "spent some time in a sanatorium and is at present in Moscow". In fact the sanatorium was the Cheka prison, and she was not released until March 23. However, she was finally liberated and continued to live quietly, but under rigid surveillance.

Now comes the news that Mrs. Zensel Muchsam has again disappeared from the hotel in Moscow where she was living and that she has left no trace of her whereabouts. This information was contained in the paper "Dernieres Nouvelles," published in Russian in Paris, on January 18. The report goes on to say that every effort to ascertain what has become of Mrs. Muchsam has brought no results. I again appeal to you to make the disappearance of Zensel Muchsam known to your readers. I am certain that it will again prove, as it did in 1936, the beginning of a campaign to save the unfortunate woman.

Yours, etc.,

21, Frith Street,
London, W.1.
February 2.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 2 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella Churchill.— 1 p.; 22 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23414

14 Park Village East
Regent's Park, N.W.1
Euston 1314

2nd February, 1939.

Dear Emma,

I quite agree that it would not be very possible to make a contact of the kind you need at a sherry party. I am sorry that I have not a moment to arrange another meeting before I go to St. Paul for a much needed rest. I send you £5, however, towards your fund. I regard it as 'conscience money,' rather than an adequate subscription.

Hoping to see you on my return,

With love,

Ever yours,

Stella Churchill

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 2, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 24 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Paris [illegible]

Dearest Emma,

Torie-former editor of Soli-, Lobo, the artist who made all the posters for the CNT-FAI- and Latore also a very active comrade are here.

According to them, the departure of the Government from Barcelona, was taken as a signal that the situation is extremely dangerous and on tuesday, Jan. 24th at 8 P.M., it was announced that: "whoever wants to get away shall come to the Ramblas at I2 P.M. and that Barcelona will not be a ble to resist because there are no arms."

They maintain that all the members from the Com. National and Regional, L E F T. First it was with the intention to go only to Gerona -near the french border- but then already on the road, many decided to go further...

We here ask ourselves: "who were those members of the FAI who continued the struggle even when there was no general resistence?" There is no reply, so far. But it must have been the rank and file who prefered death in the struggle, than to be tortured and killed in the Franco prisons.

Of those who were seen near the french border and in Perpignan, are: Poe, Esgleas, Montseny, Herero, Baruta, Martin Gudel his wife and secretary. Dionisios, Michel, Jeannette, Vasquez (Figueras) Santillan was no wheres seen, but they believe that he is in Gerona. Augustine Souchy is at home. 113, Blvd. St. Michel, Paris VE

Mercedes - who left with Lobo, her Companion, is in a concentration camp! They were seperated by the french authorities and the boys were arrested (fortunately they succeeded to escape! --- She is supposed to be in Nimes in the Conc. Camp. I wrote immediately to Prudhommeaux he should do his damnest and get her out. She is sick and you know what a french concentration camp is like. No mattreses, a cement floor with a bit of strow!!!

Help is needed and a lot of it, to help all the unfortunates to get away from France! Also clothes is needed. THEY CAME IN RAGS x

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they arrive, their clothes has to be thrown away
to them. They walk miles and miles, sleep on the
have to share their fate with dangerously sick
, they are considered as deserters. Negrin who
from his headquarters to France, insists that
16and 55 must return to the front. Those who escape
will be court martialed with 48 hours!!!! Hence, these
will now be hounted by their "own" as well as
. For they have no right to enter the country. they have
nts, they have no means of existence. And what it means to
hiding in present day France, you know very well.....

French section of the SIA is doing good work now at the border,
the most remareable work is being done by ODEON.

It is heart breaking but it seems to be true, that 3 stores (magazines they boys call thems) packed with Food packages of the SIA in Barcelona were l e f t! This at the time when the people were starving!!! At the last moment, Baruta decided to give to different delegates a Kilo of potatoes, some milk and a few other articles and then she simply let the dors open and left..... Ca. you imagine such unjustice when babies are crying and mothers are fainting away for want of food???? I suppose (and this is the only excuse!) that they wanted to keep some food in case Barcelona will be surrounded by the enemy. But, when they saw that they had to leave, then atleast, call the people, and give them whatever there is left as the last good action of the CNT!

You remember Emma, you used to say you don't like to work with organizations, you prefer to work with individuals? Well, I am begining to hate organizations! They are all becoming bureaucratic, partial and unjust. I have proof now in many instances that a few devoted, bread minded individuals can accomplish more than the much spoken of organization. On my old days , I shall yet become an individualist!

This will do for today. Rocca still keeps on sayng that the "moral of our comrades in Spain is good" that everything is being reorganized now and that resistence will be shown to Franco now more than ever and that no one has a right to leave"...But when asked: well why don't you go there? He didn't reply.... Because of his optimism, the comrades don't dare to address themselves to him for help....

So long, my dear.
Should I have any good news, I will write you at once.

I embrace you and
so does Senya.
Lolee and Lalore send
their best greetings. They both

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 3 [London to] Ben [Capes, Kirkwood, Mo.] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 28 × 23 cm.

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2

3rd February, 1939.

My dear faithful Ben,

More than ever was I in need of some word of warm friendship which you have shown all your life. The collapse of Barcelona and the suffering and uncertainty our comrades have undergone since have knocked the bottom from under me. I have been in a state of nervous tension which robs me of my sleep, and has paralysed my energies, so that I don't know where to turn or what to do.

I know you have been puzzled as all our comrades no doubt have, by how it was possible that Barcelona was surrendered. I do not know all of the details that decided our comrades to do so. I can only give you two accounts, one which I received from one of our most reliable comrades who is now in Gerona, and from our dear little Mollie who is in Paris. The first is that Barcelona has for two and a half years worked in three shifts in the war industries and has shipped all it has produced to the various fronts, leaving the city and the workers of Catalonia almost without arms. Secondly the moment Catalonia was attacked, all our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the Libertarian Youth rushed to the front, taking whatever arms were held in reserve in the city. The result was that at the most crucial moment, when Barcelona was already encircled, our comrades and the workers of the city had but a few hand granades a few machine guns and tanks with which to meet an overwhelming array of arms and aeroplanes from Germany and Italy. An additional factor was that the civil population, under-nourished for nearly a year, was actually in the grip of famine the last four days, and the last two days without light and water. To continue the defence of Barcelona without even the hopes of any gain owing to the lack of arms, would have meant to add to the terrible suffering of the civil population. Evidently our comrades could not face that. That they were determined to fight on is proved best by the announcement in the London papers that on the very eve of the surrender the C.N.T. and U.G.T. organisations had voted to defend Barcelona inch by inch and house by house. In the face of this it is certain that something very grave must have happened which decided our people to evacuate.

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On the other hand, Mollie writes that the Paris Midi carried a report that our comrades of the F.A.I. went to the workmen's district, there barricaded themselves and fought like lions together with the workers to defend Barcelona and that they were all exterminated. Another group of F.A.I. members rushed into the undergrounds stopped the light and used whatever dynamite they had been able to stir up for their defence. They, too, were exterminated. Whether this is correct or what seems to me more likely, the report of the comrade who wrote us, one thing is certain - no one can charge the C.N.T.-F.A.I. or the workers of theU.C.T. with cowardice. Their heroic stand and fight during the last 30 months should have them from that charge. You will be glad to know some of the names of the comrades who have escaped. I do not know who else. The Committee of the C.N.T. the S.I.A., the Libertarian Youth and many of the rank and file have succeeded in evacuating. Very remarkable is the stand that our comrade Mariano e Vasquez, the General Secretary of the C.N.T., had taken. He would not leave the city until everyone else was evacuated, that is endangering his own chance of getting away. He did actually within a hair's breadth, and I am sure many of the other comrades must have stood their ground like real captains of a ship.

The condition of the hundreds of thousands of evacuated people who preferred the viccissitudes and hardships of the open road and the uncertainty of whether they will be admitted in France to the fate that was awaiting them had they remained in Barcelona. I am enclosing a copy of a translation of an appeal we have received. You will see, my dear, the remarkable fortitude and stoicism of our people who refuse to be treated as slaves and who still consider their dignity and their love of freedom, also their unflagging determination to fight on as soon as their forces will be reorganised. This is the only heartening thing in the truly ghastly picture described even by the Tory press, of the unfortunate refugees.

More than everything else, I am incensed and outraged at the international proletariat, that even at this crucial hour he is doing nothing decisive to save his Spanish brethers. Nothing but a few coppers or even pounds which are insignificant indeed in comparison with the overwhelming needs and which are only donations to soothe their own conscience. Nowhere is there a clarion voice raised in the dead silence that prevails in every land, - "A voice that would make the most cowardly shiver." In this country there is plenty of gab in the House of Commons, idle and futile questions put to the ~~frankfur~~ premier in the full knowledge that that will not swerve him one inch from his Fascist position. Outside of that - nothing. Can you imagine, therefore, how I feel. Nevertheless I have to remain here, much longer than I had anticipated. Ethel Mannin who has changed her decisions about S.I.A. several times recently, is now planning to sail for America. That means I must

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remain here to look after it or give it up. The latter is out of the question for me, at least for the next two months. Besides that I cannot get away until I know what will become of our people. To be in uncertainty would give me no peace and would poison my stay in Canada. So I must continue here in the hope that the next two months may bring some kind of a change in the appalling situation of the Spanish struggle.

My dear, I have read Proudhomme's general idea of the Revolution in the 19th Century, and I know his attitude towards the "difference between Marx' conception of the withering away of the State, or the State dissolution in the economic organism." Nevertheless I will read it again, if only to satisfy you. It is quite true, my dear, that our people, have laid the greatest stress on the economic organisation during the period of the Revolution. If Proudhomme is right, then that should have weakened the republics government, but as a matter of fact it has not. It was unfortunately this false belief which gave the republican Government a breathing space so that they could reorganise their forces and become the dead weight of the Revolution. After the 19th of July, it was none other than Companys, the President of the Generalidad, who said to our comrades, "Do what you will, you have got the power. I will help you all I can." With all the experience of the duplicity of those once at the head of a Government, Darruti actually pleased with Companes to remain in the Generalidad. Well, They were betrayed by the Generalidad and by the Central Government even while Largo Caballero was at the head of the latter. That gave the Catalan and the Central Spanish State all the time they needed to strenghten their position to increase the number of the assault guards and the Carabinieri to strike the blow against the people when it was necessary. That was in the early weeks of May 1937, and has been going on all along, but why need anyone give you better proofs than the 13 points of Negrin, every one of which represents bourgeois interest and the promise of returning all that had been collectivised to their former owners. I go even further, I am certain as I can be that the Negrin Communist Government is responsible for the Catalonia and Barcelona. All their preliminary sabotage, of which I have documentary proof, demonstrate the final betrayal this gang was guilty of. But about that another time.

Affectionately,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 3, London [to] George [Seldes, New York] / Emma Goldman.— 3 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

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3rd February, 1939.

Dear George,

I have your letter of January 5th. I confess I cannot make head or tail of the motive which prompted Angelica to proceed against you. As I have written you in my last letter, it is so unlike her to want to "punish " anyone or go to Court, that if it were not you who wrote me about I simply should not believe it. I should consider it downright libel against poor Angelica who has always been so pathetic to me in her unworldliness and her practical inexperience. I admit the events of the last twenty years and especially the many disappointments Angelica has already had with her erstwhile pupil Mussolini and her erestwhile Communist party is quite enough to change anybody. Nevertheless I still feel that she was either influenced by her lawyer or by other people to go through with the trials and other such ghastly things. I have written her this week. I don't know how much influence my letter will have. I have told her that I do not consider you capable of anything underhand or mean and that I was surprised that she who had always impressed me as one of the last Mohicans among Russian idealists, should have gone to Court to have you prosecuted.

You will not ~~xxxxxxxx~~ take it in bad faith when I tell you that the whole matter seems piffling to me in the face of the horrors to which nearly a million people are exposed who have evacuated from Barcelona. That puts everything else in the background for me, anyway. I have not been able to think of anyone or enything else. I am haunted day and night by the modern Dantesque spectre of the unfortunate refugees and the utter indifference of the international proletariat.

You tell me you and your wife have been active for Spain. I am glad of that. Certainly food is desperately needed more now than before, not only for women and children but also for hundreds and thousands of men, but all that is not going to save them from Franco's victory. Nothing but direct economic action

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on the part of the masses will compel the Governments of the so-called democracies to lift the damnable Non-Intervention Pact. Even at this 11th hour the workers and peasants of Spain could win. Without it they will be subdued and exterminated. Another thing is the fair play and justice practised by the various Spain Relief Societies in America. If these are absent there as they are here, then the C.N.T., the F.A.I., the Libertarian Youth and the S.I.A. will have gotten nothing from your activites and that of all the others. In England the numerous Spain Relief and Medical Aid Societies are entirely directed and guiarded by the Communists and they have practised the most outrageous discrimintion ever since the anti-Fascist battle began. I know whereof I speak because on each visit to Spain, which means 1936, 1937 and three months ago, I have made it my business to make a thorough investigation with this res lt- that of all the money collected in the United States and in Great Britain not ~~xxkxxxx~~ one solitary penny want to the millions who represented the C.N.T., the F.A.I. the Libertarian Youth and International Anti-Fascist Solidarity. As late as two weeks ago I received a letter from Mariano R. Vazquez, the General Secretary of the International Confederation of Labour, ~~xfxthx~~ and a letter of the Secretary of the Ironworkers' Syndicate, addressed to the Ironworkers' Federation in Great Britain, with a thousand names attached of their members who had received no aid whatever although they had been starving with the rest of the civil population, begging that something should be done to send these people food parcels. That is unfortunately too late now since there is no saying how many of these thousand workers are still alive, or who succeeded in evacuating. I ask you, has there ever been a ~~xxxxxxx~~ more outrageous discrimination than this dmanable attitude to ever body who does not swear to every word that emanates from the mouth of Stalin.

Whether you know it or not, the Communists have played a most disastrous part in the struggle of the Spanish people. On my last visit I succeeded in taking out enough documentary evidence of the open and secret sabotage and treachery that will damn Stalin's adherents in the eyes of the whole world once it becomes known. This is of course not the time to give it publicity, but I am only telling it to you that you may know that your well-intentioned help which you and your wife have given to Spanish relief has certainly never reached any of the two million and a half members of the Anarcho- and Anarchist Organisations. Incidentally it is also the new foreign policy of Stalin which has sanctified the Non-Intervention Pact and which has denied the Republican Govemment (not that I hold any brief for it) the necessary arms to defend itself against Franco, his backers and international imperialism. Some day we may be able to meet and thrash this out, for the present you will not blame me for my bitterness against the Moscow gang that has helped to destroy a most magnificent beginning started by the Spanish people through their constructive work.

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[Letter] 1939 Feb. 3, London [to] George [Seldes, New York] / Emma Goldman.— 3 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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I see that the humanitarian President has suddenly become infatuated with the need of ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ defending the democracies. What a farce it is. However, you know as I know, that the real motive is to give the merchants of death a chance to sell more arms that will hasten war. Certainly I loathe Hitler and Mussolini, but I be damned if I will permit their jingoΘmongering to believe in their genuineness any more than I did in the world war. Already the same slogans are abroad, to save the world from Fascism, to destroy Hitler and so on and so forth. All these are nothing but empty shells. There is not a word of truth or honesty in these proclamations. Only if the German and Italian people would rise as the Spanish did would I consider an armed defence justifiable. Never, if the new war will be motivated by imperialist interests and imposed on the peoples by the Governments. One would have expected that most thinking people had learned their lessons from the last war and the so-called peace which came in its wake. Lo and behold, the very people who have gone through that ghastly experience are again being deceived. They have simply learned nothing whatever fom the last conflagration. I wonder does anyone individual or mass, ever learn from experience?

I am sorry, my dear, that you do not see Gilbert more often. What an idea of permitting his wife to come between you and him. Surely you two should be big enough and I take it fond enough of each other not to permit such a breach. I really do feel sorry. By the way, do you know anything of Nunia. I have not heard from her since I was last in America, when she had already lost her hearing, was very unhappy and disgruntled. Let me know about her when you write again.

I am keeping in touch with American affairs. I know the reaction that has set in and the renewed witch hunting, so I do not entertain much hope of being readmitted to my erstwhile country, but I will sail for Canada anyway just as soon as my wonderful Spanish comrades have got their bearings back and have reorganised their forces.

Give my greetings to your wife.

Affectionately,
Emma

P.S. So far I have heard nothing from Hershes. If I were to go via France, I should look them up in Paris, but I don't intend. I must go the cheapest way possible, so it will have to be from some English port. If you have their address, send it to me.

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The Emma Goldman Papers
[Letter] 1939 Feb. 3, London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
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EMMA GOLDMAN, Hon. Secretary

Telephone: GERrard 2636

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

3rd February, 1939.

Dear Arthur,

I have two of your letters of August 20th and September 21st. I feel rotten that I have not been able to answer either one of them before, but what with my seven weeks in Spain, a month in Amsterdam and the frightfulness that has come to Catalonia and Barcelona, I really have not been in condition to do justice to what I wanted to write you in reply to your letters. To-day I have definitely decided to delay no longer.

First about Stella, I suppose you see Saxe, so you will know the tragedy that is ours. So far Stella has not responded to the treatment she is receiving in the medical centre, though I am sure they are doing what they can for her. Teddy's last letter to Ian and Fitzi's to me, speak of some new method which seems to be one of cure or kill, that they intend to employ. Poor Ian, who has tremendous self-control is nevertheless in great anxiety about his mother, and also about David. He was with me last Friday, he told me then that he is waiting for a cable to tell him the condition of Stella when he will probably decide to return to America before the end of the Semestre in the London School of Economics. I am not advising him one way or another. I hate to see the boy going away from what he thinks will help him to scholarship, but on the other hand I feel that his presence in New York where he could see his mother at least once a week, might be a turning point and help to bring her back to her vivid and vivacious self again. Also David seems quite forlorn and puzzled over the state of his mother. I understand that he asked, "Ruth was cured. Why not mother?" after his narrow escape from death, he does not seem to pick up much in strength, and fretting as he does also does not add to his complete recovery. All this is very terrible to me. If I thought that my sudden appearance before Stella would rouse her out of her depression I should not hesitate to ask the United States Government for permission to return only for the purpose of taking care of Stella. She has always loved me and she had endless confidence in my judgment. Perhaps my presence would help her. Of course I do not mean to say that merely nursing Stella would induce the Emigration

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 3, London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York] / Emma Goldman. – 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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authorities to give me a visa. Then there is no guarantee that it will do my own beloved child any good. In point of truth, I have lost all hope of being readmitted to the States, but I am nevertheless planning to go to Canada in a month or two. I have not succeeded to any extent for my Spanish comrades in this country, and I desperately need a change from the paralyzing effect the complacency of the English people has on me. There are exceptions of course - a few, very few, I admit, who are lovely people and have been responsive to my every appeal, but they merely prove the rule, for the rest my name has remained anathema and the prejudice is so great that nothing I undertake brings any result.

Dear Arthur, I am delighted to know that Lattie has been doing so well all summer. I hope that she continues to maintain her balance. Since Stella's illness I have been thinking more about her and you than formerly, although you were never long out of my mind. I have been thinking lately that perhaps you could advise Stella and Teddy because of your own long experience, whether any good can come of her being in the centre. Do you not think Fitzi is right when she writes that Stella ought to be looked after by people who are personally interested in her, who can give her loving attention and not by cold scientists who use her as a mere object for experimenting? What is your opinion about it? I wish you would write me.

Alas, there are more than personal tragedies in the world 9 the deepest in modern times that of the Spanish people. I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have just dictated. It will give you an idea of the situation, of the quality of the peoplein Spain, of their hopes and their despair, which is also my hope and my despair. I can add nothing to it to paint the truly Dantesque Inferno of the evacuated mass tramping the road to France in the last hope that they may be admitted. It is all so awful, especially the callous indifference of the rest of the world, the betrayal of the democracies and the apathy of the masses everywhere. I often feel I will go under it all, but again and again I am holding on to the hope that the loyalist elements will still win, else the whole world will be turned into the darkness of Fascism.

It is now likely that I will not be able to sail until the 8th of April, so you can continue to write me to my private address, 6, Sneath Avenue, N.W. 11. Give my love to Lattie, to Beryl and your son, and my very affectionate greetings to Fan Stark and Mr. Stark if you see them. Please do not punish with the same silence I have treated you with, but write me soon.

Affectionately,

Affectionately
Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 3 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24269

Feb 3rd 39

Dearest Ethel. Thanks for your letter of Monday. I could not answe it sooner for a number of reasons among them not the least that I did not want to add to your struggle with your book and because of the effect on me of your strangely sudden change of mind as regards your connection with SIA. I realise only to well what a driving force the economic factor is,I understand therefore your decision to go to America.For while you dislike the Americans as I do the English America still remains the only country where ~~the~~ talent and ability are assets for the free lancer. That is more than I can say for England.But that is neither here or there. I was not surprised that you felt you must get away.I was only sur prised that ~~you~~ a period of six days were enough for you to again go back on your promise that you would continue for SIA if I thought your services for SIA adequate. Still greater was my surprise when I read that part of your letter in which you said of Monday "I still think your Canadian plans should be postponed;?. Dearest Ethel do you not think the motive which is to send you to the States is equally determaning my going to Canada? If anything it is more compelling because you belong here,you have a large follow ing as a writer,your have your own house and ever so much more to hold you here. I have nothing,not another friend outside of you.And I certainly cannot earn a sou here. Over and above all this is the fact that my name is anathema in this country as a result of which I have not so far nor will I ever be of much good to SIA.

You say in regard to the appeal which you suggested I should write,"you feel it naturally more vividly than I do,hav ing been for yourself,and you can bring the whole of your mind and feeling to it as I can not." Yes,darling I do feel the the suff ering of the Spanish people and of our comrades as I have never felt anything in my life not even the suffering of the Russian peopl perhaps because I loath submission. Whatever ~~the~~ the Spanish workers and peasants were and are being made to endure they retain their pride and selfrespect. The inclosed ~~a~~ translation of the appeal I received testofys to their great quality of character and their hatred of slavery. For that and other reasons I feel their plight with the intensity of my whole being. But it is precisely this feeling which really unfits me to write the urgency appeal. You see my dearest I am filled with resentment and bitterness not only against the Hitlers, Mussolinis ~~xxx~~ Chamberlains and Daladiers.

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I ~~rmxx~~ am even more embittered against the spineless leaders of the workers in every country, the miserbale ~~xxxxx~~ sarrierist at the heasd of the Labour and Trade Union organisations in England and France who have been the first to back thier reactionary governments in the NON-INTERVENTION Pact and now only waste their time in idle questioning of Chamberlain knowing full well ~~xxxx~~ in advance that he will hold on to his position. And I am disgusted beyond words with the International proletariat that has forsaken their Spanish comrades soothing their guilty conscience with a few donations. Besides, I have never learned to mince words. If I should write as I feel in the urgency appeal I would only jeopardise the chances of the response which of course I have no right to do. And anything else smoothed over hypocritically as one must do to reach most English people is beyond me in my present state of mind or at any other time.

However here is text of the appeal as good as I can make it. Please do what you think best with it, and if possible do it over the week-end. Yes by all means turn it over to the house that has done your first letter. I take it that you will sign the appeal after you have made it to suite your idea.

You spoke in you letter of a "large" social. Of course if you difinitely sail by the 15th the social will be of no use. Besides we have only forty eight supporters to SIA in London and within easy reach of the city, that is counting outside of our immidiate Jewish or other comrades. Then there is the question of where the social should take place. I fear the large room which the landlord would still let us use might proove are shoddy and "disreputabl to our doners. It really has become that owing to the joint down stairs. But the main drawback is that the social would not be worth the effort without your presence. That does not mean that I want to suggest you should postpone your departure, of course not.

As to my Canadian plans I have to postpone sailing not onlybecause I cannot just drop SIA. Rather is it that I cannot leave in peace so long as the frightful state of our people has not found a solution of some kind. I am fairly haunted by it even while not so far removee as I would be in Canada. There it would poison my life and unfit me for any work. I have made tentative arrangements to sail either March 4th or April 4th on one of the small Cunard Cabin boats which is the cheapest to Canada. It will get me there too late to do much before the summer sets in. But I have no choice, I must wait until I know what becomes of our people who are now in the greatest peril.

One more thing dear Ethel your saying that Franco would do nothing to the children. Granted this were really the case our people of SIA could not just flee for their own safety and leave the children to themselves to await the "tender mercy" of Francos hords. Besides, you forget that the children in the SIA Colonies are the children of militant parents mostly of workers and peasants who have fought Fascism. Do you seriously believe that Franco would spare them? In point of fact he has already proven that he intends

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If you do the bombardments that have pursued the fleeing human mass should cure you from this truly Half belief. His bombers were well aware that thousadns of children are in the ranks of the packed mass.Did that save them from Francos vengeance? No more would it save the children in the SIA colonies,or even the children in Sitges whre the Minsitry of Culture had establishes homes. My dear my dear lets not lull ourselves to sleep by our woshfulfilment. The children as well as the adults will be exterminated unless something more drastic is being ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ undertaken than so far.

I have just been called up by Ralph to say that Stella Churchill has written me in answer to my letter that she agrees with me that one cannot hope to interest people at a cherry party which she is giving next Tuesday to celebrate the birth of her grandson.She invited me to come. I wrote her that I will only I have no hopes of achieving anything for the SIA.I had suggested a gathering of her friends so I could speak to them and show them the photos I have brought with me,but she is leaving for the South of France the 11th so can do nothing before. In sending a check for £5 she writes me"it is really only conscience money" It is really nothing else.

I hope my dear that you are over the brithpains of your book.

With my abding love

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1]939 Feb. 3, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Saxe [Commins]. — 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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1361 Madison Avenue
New York City
Feb. 3, .939

Dear Emma,

It is true that I have not written you since the end of September. It is also probably true that I do not deserve to hear from you. Whoever would undertake to decide who is at fault would probably base his decision on whom he heard last, and since he wouldn't hear from me at all would declare you completely right, and that I deserved nothing but your wrath. So be it. I do not have or want to give any long explanations. I had depended upon Ian to communicate the contents of my frequent and what I thought were judicious letters, reporting all that he needed to know under the circumstances. Now please do not raise the hue and cry of censorship. Nothing could be less applicable. If I had thought that Ian or you could have done a single thing besides worry, I would have been fully explicit. Be it on my own head that I assumed the single responsibility in a succession of tragedies which have befallen us. Some of them have been miraculously averted and overcome; others nobody or nothing could have stopped.

Perhaps I have made mistakes in judgment. Let me say in my own behalf that there was no one else even to make those mistakes, and it is very easy at a great distance to send after-the-fact criticism. It helps a great deal to learn all the way from London what Fitzie thinks of our conduct and the conduct of the best-qualified men in the world in the handling of Stella's case. Yes, Fitzie did call up once--when unfortunately she was a little less than sober-- and put forward the suggestion that we break the news of Davy's illness at the time when he was in a critical condition, just so that the shock would help Stella. Since Dr. Politan expressly forbade any such thing, I assumed the role of censor and never mentioned it to anyone. That was the extent of Fitizi's contribution, for which I thanked her, of course.

As I have written Ian, I was terribly annoyed that some of his well-meaning friends wrote him of Davy's general peritonitis and transfusion, when all I thought it sufficient for him to know--and for you too-- was that Davy was operated on and that he came through it. What could he or you have done at the time that we did not do? What would it have availed you to know and worry about each one of the subsequent crises that arose after he was dismissed from the hospital and stayed at our house? Happily they are past, but even my telling you now that on four occasions specialists debated another operation to relieve a secondary infection, a possible abscess of the kidneys, the diaphragm etc. What can you know of the night after night of ministering to him while his temperature raged and he grew steadily weaker and weaker? Not knowing, you put yourself in a very vulnerable position by offering what I must call a purely undeserved and gratuitous criticism. Even that doesn't matter in view of the fact that Davy is entirely well and at this moment in the country to put some flesh on his skinny frame. He left yesterday for a convalescent home in Westchester found by Dr. Shostac and Teddy. At least when he left Dorothy's hands, after treatment and care since January 5th when he was released from the hospital, he was in excellent health and without a trace of infection, his wound entirely healed and his spirits very high.

Before I go on to my report about Stella I want to get you straight about Moe. Again it is a case of jumping to conclusions without any consideration of the facts. How can you even imply a rebuke to me for my neglect of Moe without any knowledge whatever of my role in the whole matter over a period of years? It is true that I have not been out to see him since Davy's illness. The reasons are obvious enough to him and should be to you. As for writing him frequently--well, that is a sardonic joke. The less I say about it the better. It would hardly become me to go into a rage over such an outrageous charge. It just makes me laugh, if a little bitterly. Moe is well. That is all I know, and that must be my entire defense. There I must rest my case.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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If you have seen or had read to you my last letter to Ian, you know of the miraculous thing that happened to Stella on the day after my visit on Jan. 21. Nothing more dramatic was ever encountered by me in my life. I have never told any one what I saw on that Saturday; there would be no point in shocking and hurting those who love Stella. Then the miracle occurred overnight, and I saw a transformation on Sunday. About that I was willing to write. Unhappily, there has been a retrogression since, but it is what the doctors expected and foretold. They still insist that the outlook is better, and it is upon those doctors that we depend for her resurrection. And then people come along offering utterly absurd opinions which in the end can only succeed in getting Stella dismissed from the one place in the world where she has a chance of life and where she is treated, according to her own account, as a human being. Haven't you thought of the consequences if Stella is transferred to Ward's Island or Bellevue? Why don't you think of such things?

The luckiest moment during all of Stella's illness was when we got her accepted at Medical Center, where they take only 125 selected cases. If she had been turned down there, as well she might, we would have been forded tp put her in what is known as a custodial institution, and God knows the wrath of the family would have been on my head if ever I allowed that. Yet no one knows how close we came to that very calamity. It was only by the greatest appeal to their mercy, to the exercise of every bit of influence that I could bring to bear, that we got the acceptance. And now because some one just mentioned the drug, metrosol, the whole institution's procedure is called into question. The whole truth is--if anybody had taken the trouble to inquire--that there never was even the suggestion of using metrosol. Dr. Politan merely told me that the drug was used in the direst emergencies, and there never was a thought of giving it to Stella. They even hesitated about giving her Theolin, a hormone, until they had exhausted the possibilities of the insulin treatments now under way.

There is no point in harking all the way back to August, when I took Stella to Rochester, thinking that Mother's loving care might help her. Then, too, I believed that anything short of an institution and the atmosphere of an asylum would be best. The Rochester experiment was a failure, but not for the reason that you think. Mother could stand ten times the strain that you or I could endure. You don't know what powers and good sense she has. Some day, if it is ever possible, I shall tell you of her fortitude while her heart was being torn asunder and the calm solicitude during those harrowing weeks, while Stella was getting worse and worse, and had reaced a very acute stage in her illness. Who said my mother couldn't be decisive in an emergency? Where do you get such ideas? I love this charge that we who have been nothing else but decisive every minute during a whole succession of crises are charged with an inability to make decisions. Now, Emma, try to be just.

I hope to find a letter at home from Ian. No doubt he will write me in detail about his doings and plans. From over here it would seem that the war clouds are scattering--until the next irresponsible outburst from Hitler. My friends who know a good deal about the foreign situation seem to think that war will be postponed a while, but I wouldn't take their word for it. Knowing very little about actual conditions in England, I am in no position to advise Ian. One can only form and then revise day-to-day judgments. At any rate, I think it would be a grave error for Ian to abandon his academic training at this juncture, especially since he visualizes a teaching career. He could do absolutely nothing here at present. The kid has a birthday coming on February 15th. Give him my deepest love, and the same to you.

Saxe

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 3, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin Souchy.— 3 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

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[enclosure]

K O P I E

Paris, den 3. Februar 1939.

Liebe Emma !

Ich habe deinen Brief vom 31. Januar erhalten. In der Tat bin ich seit Sonntag hier in Paris. Bei der Evakuierung Barcelonas auf dem Wege nach Gerona habe ich mir den Arm beschaedigt, Es war Bombardement des Wegee und der Lastwagen. Aber es geht, kein Knochenschaden, nur stark verstaucht und Sehnenzerrung. Eine Sache von 14 Tagen. Aber der Praktikant in Gerona konnte mir nichts sagen , er lagte nur den Arm in eine Art Gitter und schickte mich weg. Unter diesen Umstaenden blieb mir nichts andres moeglich und uebrig als nach Perpignan zu fahren. Dort wurde der Arm durchleuchtet und feestgestellt, dass kein Knochen beschaedigt war.

Ich kann mir denken ,was fuer einen Wirkung der Fall Barcelonas auf Dich gehabt hat. Fuer uns selbst , dir wir in Barcelona waren, ist die Ueberraschung so gross gewesen, dass es mir heute noch alles wie ein schlimmer Traum vorkommt. Ich habe da einen Artikel geschrieben fuer ein liberales Blatt Schwedens. Ich sende Dir eine deutsche Fassung. Du kannst es lesen und es dann meinetwegen an Mark Mratchny senden, der es fuer die Arbeitersstimme verwenden kann.

Wie Du selbst sehen wirst, ist freilich darin nur die Rede davon, w i e das alles gekommen ist, aber man kann oeffentlich nicht alles so schreiben , w a r u m das so kam, so kommen musste. Ich kann Dir heute keine Broschure darueber schreiben , doch ich moechte Dir einige der Ursachen andeuten :

I. Die negative und persoenliche Politik Negrins, mit Unterstuetzung der Kommunisten. Die Unzufriedenheit mit dieser Politik machte sich breit in allen Lagern. Negrin glaubte durch Nachgiebigkeit auf sozialem Gebiete in der Richtung der Rueckkehr zum republikanischen Kapitalismus die auslaendischen Demokratien gewinnen zu koennen. Ein grosser Irrtum, denn in der internationalen Politik imponiert nur die Macht und die Gewalt ; die Humanitaet kommt immer zu kurz. Negrin glaubte, wenn er sich nach aussen auf die buergerliche Humanitaet einstellt, wuerde er auf dem Gebiete der Diplomatie gewinnen und damit alles gewinnen. Er ging in seiner Engsinnigkeit so weit , dass er sogar auf Waffenkauf aus dem Auslang keinen grossen Wert mehr legte. Er verliess sich nur darauf, dass die internationalen Maechte, Genf vor allem, der Republik helfen wuerden. Seit etwa 6 Monaten ist so gut wie kein Kriegsmaterial mehr nach Spanien gekommen . Auf der einen Seite hatte Negrins Politik die Katalen gegen sich und das Buergertum, und auf der andern Seite die Arbeiter und die FAI, wie du ja selber weisst. Das alles fuehrte zum Unzufriedenheit und die Moral ging vor die Hunde.

2. Die Gegensaetze zwischen der katalanischen Generalitaet und Negrins Politik. Den Katalanen wurden alle Prerogativen genommen, und sie fuehlten sich nicht mehr Herr in ihrem Lande. Vorher war ihre Wut gegen die CNT und FAI gerichtet, in dem letzten Jahre gegen die Regierung Negrin.

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3. Wahrscheinlich die allzugrosse Toleranz unserer eigenen Bewegung mit dem Buergertum. Wir haben nicht genuegend Terror ausgeuebt. Die fuenfte Kolonne konnte sich breit machen . Indem wir das katalanische Buergertum schonten, als wir die Moeglichkeit und die Macht hatten, seine reaktionaeren Nester auszuheben, ermutigten wir die Anhaenger der fuenften Kolonne. Damit in Zusammenhang die Tatenlosigkeit der Arbeiter. Dieselbe Passivitaet, die wir gegen das reaktionaere Buergertum zeigten, wurde auch gegenueber den Kommunisten und den uebrigen Regierungsparteien in Katalonien beobachtet. Es gab eben fuer unsere Bewegung nur zwei Betaetigungszweige : entweder Kampf auf der Strasse oder volletaendige Tatloeigkeit. Da der Kampf auf der Strasse in Mai 1937 zu unserm Ungunsten endete, waren alle unseren weiteren politischen Versuche ergebnislos. So Sogar laecherlich ! Denn laecherlich war es , als noch im Dezember ein Plenum der Delegierten der CNT Kataloniens den Beschluss faesste, die Forderung oeffentlich zu stellen, die CNT - FAI soll in die Generalitaet eintreten. Die Forderung wurde in der Presse erhoben, doch Senor Companys und Comorera dachten nicht daran , die Wuensche der CNT und FAI zu erfuellen. Sie setzten sich darueber lachend hinweg. Ergebnis - ein weiterer Prestigeverlust fuer uns. Comorera tat alles , um die CNT zu schaedigen und die UGT und die Kommunisten besonders zu steerken. Resultat grosserer Unzufriedenheit in unsern Reihen und Herabsetzung der Kampfmoral. (Doch das war in diesem Falle nicht Schuld der Fuehrer, unserer Fuehrer, denn die Delegierten beschloessen gegen den Willen der Fuehrer die Demarche fuer den Wiedereintritt in die Generalitaet.)

4. Die Meinungsverschiedenheiten zwischen der CNT und FAI moegen auch dazu beigetragen haben, dass kein Widerstand rechtzeitig beschlossen werden konnte. (Aber vielleicht ganz gut ,denn nur ein fuer fuerchterliches Blutbad waere die einzige Folge gewesen.)

5. Die Militaerbefehlshaber waren immer noch in ihrer Mehrheit Kommunisten. Modesto-Kommunist, Lister → Kommunist. Und gerade diese beiden versagten, ihre Front wurde durchgebrochen. Erklaerlich denn ihre Mannschaften bestanden aus alles anderem nur nicht aus alten Revolutionaeren. Dagegen hat sich unsere 26 Division unter Sanz ausgezeichnet gehalten, bis zuletzt. (Jetzt wird natuerlich auch sie zurueckweichen muessen.)

6. Doch das alles waere nicht so weit gekommen oder haette nicht die Uebergaben der Stadt ohne Verteidigung zur Folge gehabt ohne die furchtbaren Leiden , die vorhergegangen sind , vor allem die unaufhoerlichen Bombardierungen .

Das Nationalkomitee ging bereits Dienstag nach Gerona. Mariano blieb mit einigen Genossen in Barcelona. Ich blieb mit ihnen, denn meine Aufgabe sollte es sein , die Chronik dieser letzten Tage zu schreiben. Doch Mittwoch nachmittag war alles verloren. Ich ging zurueck zum Nationalkomitee, holte mir schnell meine Manuskripte und Dokumente, (kleider und Waesche liess ich dort) und brachte meine Papiere in Sicherheit. The kid came with me. She could not stay in the Hotel. But we fixed that she should go direct to Figueras , while I had to go first to Gerona. Some comrades

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with her. Then happened the injurement with my arm, and I had to go to Perpignan. I fixed up that she should come there too. But she did not. Since that time I have not heard any word from her. I wrote to Perpignan in order to ~~now~~ know what happened. The same thing happened with the wife of Dionysos. He came with me to Perpignan, his wife has been lost in La Junquera. Lobo ist hier in Paris, Mercedes dagegen ist im Lager irgendwo. Ich bin beunruhigt ueber den Verbleib von Aurora, aber ich hoffe sie wird aufzufinden sein. Jedenfalls ist sie nicht bei Franco geblieben.

Die Mutlosigkeit , die in den letzten Tagen in Barcelona auch unter den Kameraden herrschte, kannst Du Dir nicht vorstellen. ... Es war himmelschreiend. Es fehlte der Geist des Widerstandes. Waere dieser vorhanden gewesen , so haetten alle anderen Schwierigkeiten ueberwunden werden koennen. Uns fehlte der Geist des 19 November. Er war ertoetet worden in 2½ Jahren Krieg ...

Fuer heute will ich schliessen . Herzlichst von uns allen

Dein

Augustin SOUCHY.

Du kannst mir ruhig unter der Adresse schreiben :

A. Souchy, 113 Bd. St. Michel , Paris V.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb. 4, London to] Jean Ay, [Perpignan, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 × 22 cm.
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Dear Kamarad Jean Emil AY.

Since the disaster of Barcelona I have written comr Rearrac twice without receiving an answer from him.And as the matter is of utmost importance I am writing you dear comrade to beg you to find out where comrade Baruta and Emillie Roca are and give them the inclosed letters.

About two weeks ago I received a telegram from comrad Emillie Roca from Perpignan that she has reached France.She is th companion of comrade Puig Elias and was in charge of thirty children in the heart of the Pyrenees. Naturally I felt relieved that she has escaped but I am terribly worried about the children I sent the telegram to comrade Garrec and her wire and begged hi to take it to our comrade. Until now I have received no reply.

Then a week ago I got a wire from Lucia Shanchez Saor also from Perpignina. I wrote her at once C/o comrade Garrec aga imploring me to give the letter to our comrade or to Baruta and companion Christine. This was a week ago.But nothing has come f Perpignan. Lastly I have received an appeal sighned by Baruta which has been translated and will be sent out.But I must get in touch with him. It is for these reason that I know turn to you dear comrade. Pleawe see Garrec,ask him where Baruta and Emillie Roca are and if he has given them my letters,also why he does not reply. I am exasperated with anxiety about our comrades who has or has not reachee France. And what has become of the other

I am worried about Martin Gudell. I recived only a shor note from him saying he had reached Gerona. What now when Geron too is in Francos hands? Where have our comrades goen? Please

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please if you have any news write me at once and see Garrec.

Fraternally.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb. 4, London to] Emili[a] Roca, [Perpignan, France] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Dear comrade Emillie Roca.

Directly I received your telegram I wrote to comrade Garrec of the Federacion AntiFAscist in Perpignan to go to you and say I have received your wire and to let me know if you had succeeded in evacuating your children. In fact I sent him your wire so he should know where you are. So far I have received no reply and as he has the telegram I don't know how to reach you. I have therefore decided to write to comrade Emil Jean AY,a most reliable comrade to go to comrade Garrec get your addres and see you. He will I am sure comply with my request.You can tell him everything,or still better you can write me dirct in Spanish what happened and where the children are,and that lovely son of yours?.

I never received the Film made of my visit,a letter from Ma w Mawa several weeks ago told me he is at last able to ship the Film I suppose he waited until it was too late. How I wish I could have it now I might be able to raise some money for your Mon NOU.But without it it will be difficult especially as we must appeal for the SIA children though I do not know whether they have been evacuated and where they are. It is all too terrible,but we must not lose coyrage now less than before. Please answer soon.

Fraternally

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb. 4, London to] Garrec [Frédéric, Perpignan, France] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 16 × 20 cm.

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Garrec, I cannot understand why you have not replied to any of my letters I have written you since the fall of [illegible] especially the one containing the wire of our comrade [illegible] which I inclosed in my letter. Also the letter containing a letter in German to comrade Lucia. You surely under stand our anxiety here and how impossible it is to raise help unless we can tell people what had become of the children of SIA and our comrades.

I am asking comrade AY to see you, get from you the addresses of Baruta and Emillie Roca and bring them my letters. I hope there will be no delay now because I am terribly uneasy and worried.

Fraternally.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb. 4, London to] Garrec [Frédéric, Perpignan, France] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 16 × 20 cm.

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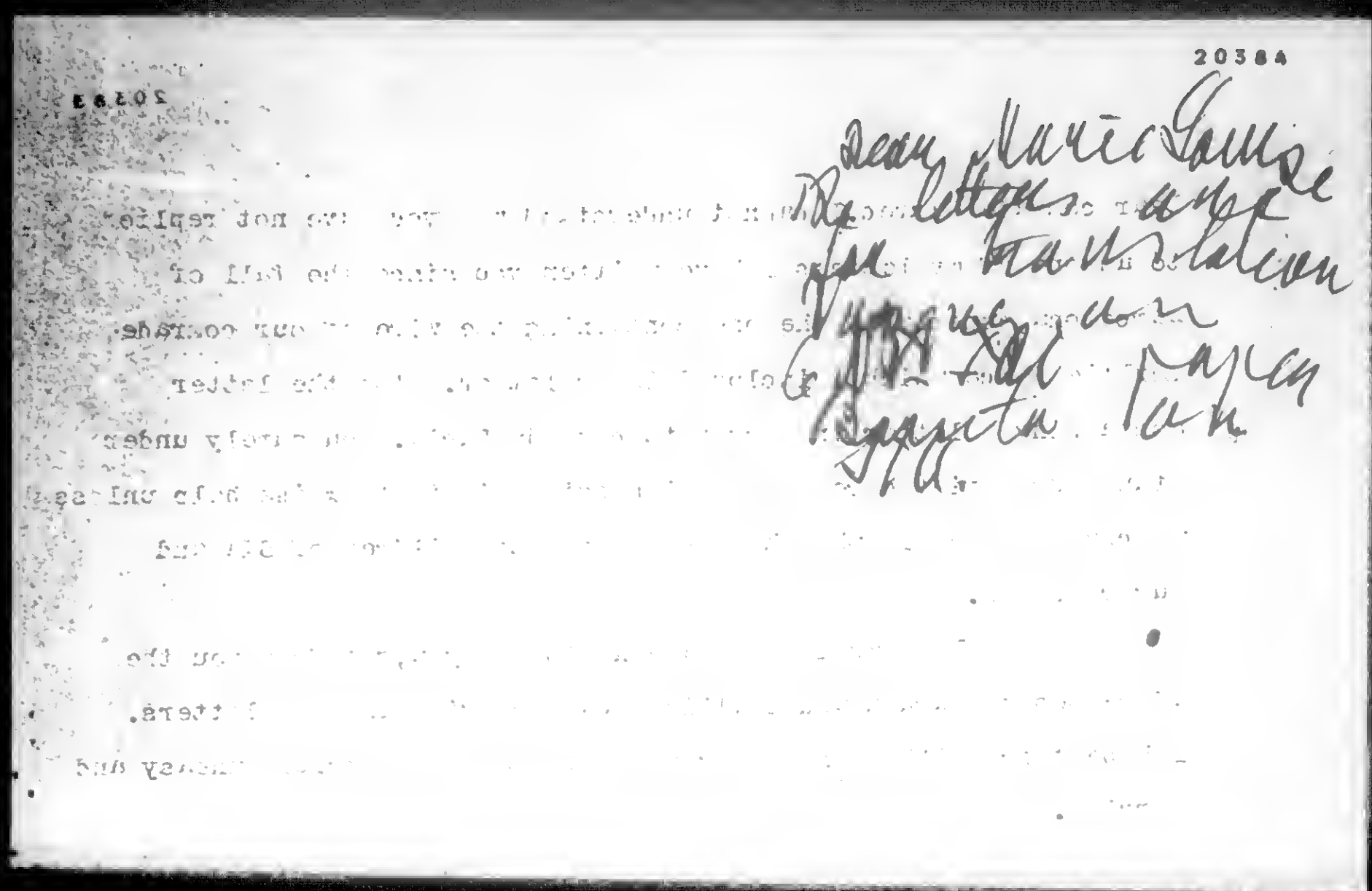

20384

Dear Marie Louise
Re letters sent for translation
[illegible]
[illegible] Paper
Yours [illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 4 [London to Annie Adama van] Scheltema[-Kleefstra, Amsterdam] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 27 × 20 cm.

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xxxxx
Feb.4th 39

Dear Mrs Scheltema.

I feel very much ashamed having neglected you so long after all the kindness I have received from you while in Amst rdam. But the harrowing end of Barcelona has unfitted me for everything. I have been in fearful anguish ever since the tragic news. You see it is so recent that I was in Barcelona and with so many of my comrades. It seems but yesterday.Not to know what has become of them is almost beyond my power of endurance. I did hear about several of my friends,they are now in Gerona but with the enemy creeping near and nearer that place is also anything but safe. Then the hudreds of thousands of the rank and file of workers and peasants who had suffered so much before the disaster of Barcelona and are now exposed to hunger,cold and the maddning uncertainty of whether they will find asylum anywhere. I am haunted by that spectre day and night. You will understand dear friend that one isn't in the mood for letter writing in the face of the greatest tragedy in the history of the social struggle deliberatel brought about by the damnable democracies and the cowardly leadership of the workers in this and all other countries.

I am glad to know that the material I left in the Institute together with other valuable material has been sent to a safe place. I was about to ship the boxes with the printed material mostly Spanish I had talked to you about,but perhaps it is better not to do so now. I hope the few boxes that I have remained in keeping with the Institute will not be too much in the way as I really should not know what to do with them being so uncertain about my movements. I had to postpone my sailing to Canada until I will know of the fate of my Spanish comrades. There is no saying when that will be,but I cannot bear to put the ocean between me and them so I must go on with the work for them here.

Please give the inclosed to my good comrade Dr M.N Give my kind greetings to all the yound workers in the Institute I have met,to Mr Sapier,if I spell his name right,to the good man of all trades who had been so kind to me,and the woman who always attentively filled my cups of tea,and lastly also to that vivid young girl I met in your Aprt.

Sincerely yours.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 4 [London to] Molli[e Steimer and] Sen[y]a [Fleshin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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Feb 4th 39

Mollitchka,m y dearest,dear Senia.

Thank you for sending me the information contained in your letter. I was so relieved to learn that Jeanette,Michel, Lobo,Toryoh and the other comrade had reached France but shocked about Mercedes. I hope Prudhommeaux will be able to get her released. It would be fatal to her health were she to be kept in the concentration camp too long. I cannot place comrade Latore owing to my ever growing complex about name. Is he the secretary of the Libertarian Youth? Well whoever he is I am glad he has escaped Francos wrath though I agree with you that it would have been better to die fighting than to fall into Francos hands or to live like a hundted creature in France.

We have quite a lot of clothes which we had intended to ship to Cerbere and from there to Barcelona.Fortunately it was delaied owing to my absence. I would gladly send some of it to Paris if I knew exactly what is needed and whom to send it to. Can you find out? As to money, we have none. There are a few pounds in the SIA treasury which is supervised by EthelMannin and she is more than bureaucratic insisting that every penny must go for the purpose it was given. However,if we had some money I could persuade her to let me have part of it for the needs of our comrades who reach Paris.Monday we will be sending out an Emergency appeal.If there is any kind of a responce I will insist on a part being set aside for the use of our comrades who reach Paris.

I was just called up by Vero to say that Marie Louise had received a letter from her mother to the effect that she had talked to Lecoin and that he said that the refugees who are admitted to France are being taken care of fairly well. This does not tally with your account. If only I could hope to get a reply I would write Lecoin but the Latins are simply awful when it comes to correspondence. Months ago I have written Chasoff and Lecoin in re SIA.Not a word came back. I have written twice to Garree in Perpignan who is the secrt of the Anti Fascist Federation,no answer The only two people who are always prompt is Roca and Camara.

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It occurred to me that perhapse I ought to go to Perpignan to see how the frightful situation stands.But that would mean an ex pence which might better be used for our needy comrades. Then too I hate to break up SIA since there is no one else who can or will look after it. It is for this reason that I difinitely postponed my sailing to Canada. Ethel Mannin has repudiated all her former stand about Spain and has become a pacifist. She actually wrote me that she did not see the need of evacuating children from Barcelona,"for surely Franco would not injure the children".Can you imagine such childishness? I am sick at heart because Ethel was the only reliable person here and so beautifully responsive and helpful.

I was shocked to hear about Baruta leaving all the food behind. I cannot explain it in any other way except the fact that our people hoped until the Eve of the surrender to defen themselves. True Baruta has the tendency to bureaucratic ways. But he is kindness and generosity itself.So unless it was the belief to the last hour that the city would be defended and food would therefore be needed in Barcelona,or panic on Barutas part I cannot understand his action. Another point,even if Baruta had stuck to his narrow idea that food sent for children should not be used for anyone else there still was ~~Sanchez~~ Lucia Sanchez Saornil who certainly is no bureaucratic and his human sympathys is as wide as the world. It is all so confusing and so disturbing I think we must be careful in drawing difinite conclusions until we have albsolutely athentick proofs.

I am terribly worried about Santillan. I wish I know what has become of him. I am glad ~~the~~ Fedrica and ~~Eng~~ Esgleas came away. I take it the whole family of the Urales es cuped. Poor,old people what a harrown thing to have worked in the Anarchist movement for fifty years,to have been among the victims of Montuich in 1897 only to see the debacle and go through all the horrors. Amazing what humans can go through and survive.

Dearest I wish you would ask Michel to write me in French about the last days in Barcelona,about that marvelous publishing house the comrades had established. With what pride the they showed me their supply of paper, stacked up to the ceilling a and the books they were going to publish. It is such a pathos to have planned and ~~xxx~~ and schemed all for the benifit of Franco.

Darling not being able to work with organisations does not necessarily mean being an individualist Anarhist. We all have different reactions mine was the complete inability to fit into the cramping frame of organisations though I admit that I was effected by organisational work in Spain. Somehow their discipline was nothing imposed from without,rather was it the discipline of their own beings, their extra ordinary capacity to let them selves go into the collective body and come out more individualise than before. Whether that is in the Spanish character,I have never seen it among other people, or the habit acquired by their years of underground work,I don't know. I only know that I felt drawn to it. It maybe because I was not long enough with our comrades

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[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 4 [London to] Molli[e Steimer and] Sen[y]a [Fleshin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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24283

to feel the erksomeness of organis.tional bureaucracy. Perhaps als because at no time did anyone of the CNT-FAI or the SIA tell me how to conduct my work in England. Vasquez tried it once in regard to what I had said and written about the Communists but when I replied that I would have to return my credential if I must abide by what is thought right in Spaign for the campaign in England I never heard another word about the matter. Anyway mu connect ion with the comrades inspite of my most critical attitude,private expressed of course, was of the most precious experience in my life. I weep tears of blood that it may all be at an end.

Naturally Negrin can lose nothing if the war goes on. But it is not only Negrin and the other gang that onsists on the war going on, the rank and file of our militias want that I am certain.Nor do I see how they can stop now without becoming a vassals to Mussolini and Hitler,and the pawns to the hypocritical Imperialist powers..

Goodby darling children.

Give the Spanish comrades my greetings I wish I could help them I want at least to send them clothes if I will know just what is needed. A little later perhaps also some money.

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[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 4 [London to] Ernest [Taylor, Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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24279

Feb.4th 39

Dear Ernest. Thank you for your letter and inclosures. I did not know you were so involved financially and otherwise or I should not have bothered you. I am delighted to know a foodship will go from Bristol,but of course there is no end of the needs of the refugees,especially those of the SIA who have never received anythin from any source other than what we in England,and my comrades in America,France,Sweden and other countries raised. There is so much misery whoever is helped and from whatever source is of value.

You ask for material about the collapse of Barcelona and the situation now. I inclose the appeal I have received from the secretary of the National Council of SIA now transferred to Perpignan. It is heartbreaking to read that he still speaks of "dignity,and that he and the others are mainly concerned in being saved the degrading position of "slaves". I do not know any other people in the world who care so much about freedom and independence in the face of such suffering as the Spanish people are now end uring. For no one else cares for freedom anymore.

I have received some information about the last days in Barcelona. The workers of the CNT-FAI and the U.G.T until the very eve of the surrender intended to fight inch by inch and house by house. But the civil population had already endured so agony and famine and all else the last four day that our people felt it would only add to the horrors if they were to keep up the struggle especially as they had no arms. That decided them to give up. But not all followed this dicision. Some of thr rank and file of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia went to the workers district there barrackaded themselves and togther with the workers fought heorically to the last man. Others again rushed down the underground and foug with dinamite sticks they had obtained. Needless to say they were all exterminated. I suppose they felt it is better that way than t fall into Francos hands or to expose themselves to the appalling conditions of evacuation.

Among those who escaped in time were the Committies of th SIA,the CNT FAI, the Liberterian Youth and the other labor bodie Some of those I knew intimately have escaped they are in Gerona which will soon also be no safe place. But there are many of the

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rank and file whom I knew and so admired for their flaming spirit and courage of whose whereabouts I do not yet know. It is hardly necessary to tell you of my anguish over the greatest of tragedies in the history of the social sturrgle a tragedy deliberately brought about by the contemptible democracies, the the spinless leaders of the workers and by the workers them selves who are the pawns of the unscrupulous politicians in this and all other countries.

It is all I can tell you now. Directly I have more news I will write you again.

Affectionately

Love to Margaret. I am glad she is keeping well.

P.S. I was to sail for Canada this month but Ethel Mannin will not be able to continue with SIA as she is also planning to sail, most likely to the States. I know I achieve so little for SIA. I might as well get away, but I simply cannot get myself to to drop the work here for SIA little as it means. I thought I might go to Perpigan to help the refugees, but that again is an expence which maybe more useful to add to our fund. In point of act I never was more at sea what to do. I feel excruciating helpless.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter,19]39 Feb. 4, London [to Max Nettlau, Amsterdam] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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London Feb.4th 39

Dear comrade. I have been in such mental ~~xxxxxx~~ anguish over the collapse of Barcelona and the uncertainty about our comrades I have not been fit for anything. I have,after much effort received word from Martin Gudel who worked in the foreign section in Barcelona about the last days in that unfortunate city. Almost to the Eve of the debacle our comrades were determined to resist to the last,to defend Barcelona inch by inch and house by house. At the last minute they realised that there were not enough arms to go around,or that would make the least impression on the enemy Moreover the civil population alread undernurished for nearly a year had been overtaken by famine the last four days and lack of light and water the last two days. Our comrades evidently felt that it would be adding to their martyrdom to keep up the hopeless defence. Not so some of the rank and file of the FAI.Some of them went to the workers district,there barrackeded themselves and together they fought like lions all being exterminated.Other ran to the underground and fought there. They probably felt that death fighting was preferable to falling into Francos hands. I fear that the evacuation is also not much better.For, the suffering to which the hundreds of thousands are subjected will decimate our ranks to a frightful degree.

So far I have been able to ascertain that the various committes of the SIA,CNT-FAI and Libertarian Youth are in Gerona, also Federica and Esgleas.I take it that the latter have the old Urales with them, the children and the rest of the family. Poor Urales to have lived and worked to a high age only to see such an end in Barcelona. It is deeplytragic. I have not yet been able to trace Santillan and I am very worried about him.Have you any news? I wish you would let me know. As you know I planned to sail for Canada.Now I must wait until I know what will become of our people. Though England is not so far from Spain the tragedy haunts me day and night. To put the ocean between me and ~~them~~ the would poison my life in Canada and unfit me for concented work. I am therefore remaining here for the present. Please let me know if you have more reassuring news.

Fraternally.
EG

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[Envelope, 19]39 Feb. [4] London [to Max] Nettlau, [Amsterdam] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 10 × 15 cm.

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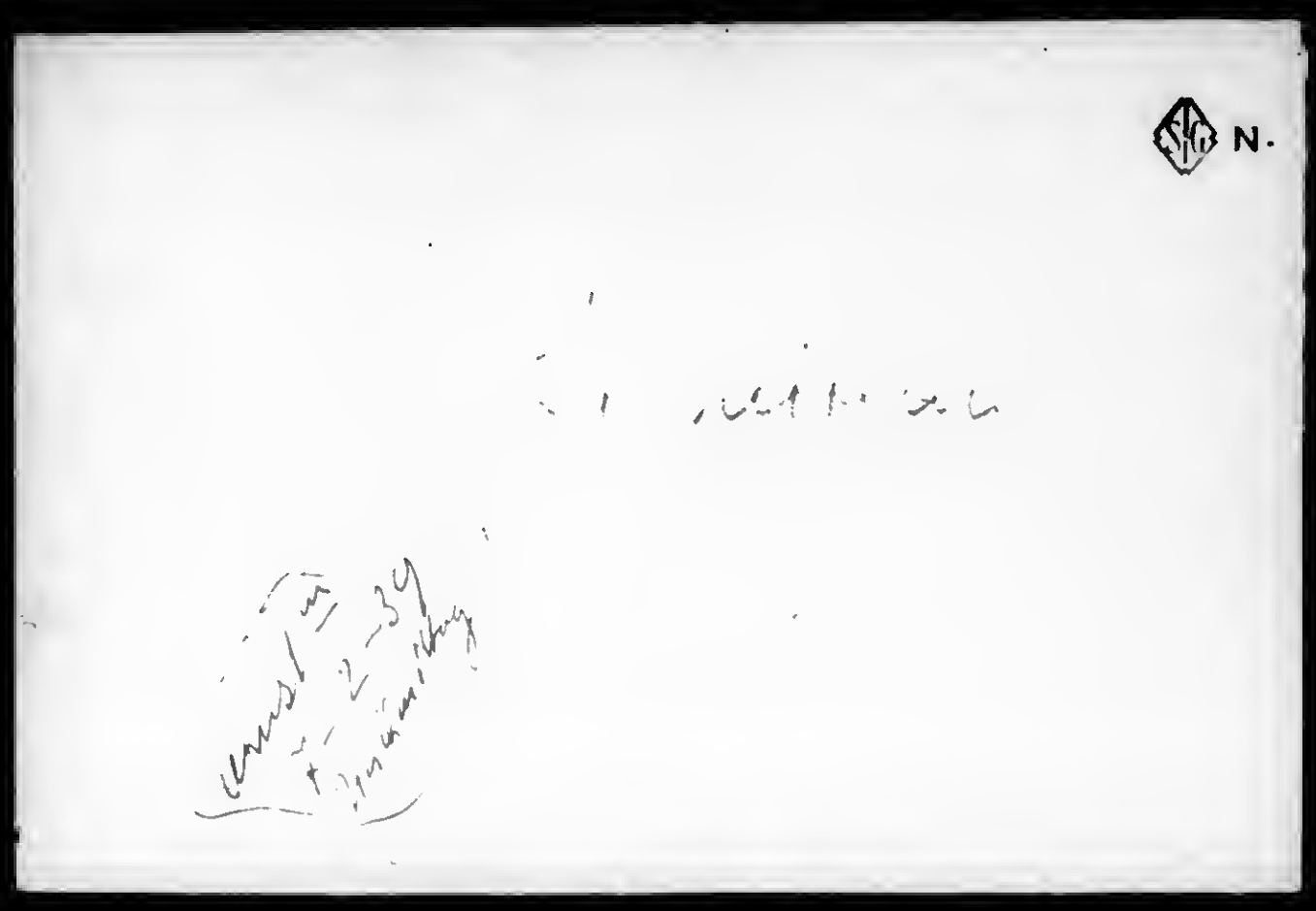

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 4 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman] and Rudolf [Rocker, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. – 3 p. ; 30 × 23 cm.

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4. Februar 1939

Für Emma und Rudolf

Emma!

Eine sehr bedeutungsvolle Tatsache, die ich zuerst in der Zeitung L'Ordre las, dann aber von spanischen Genossen bestätigt bekam: der grosse Zusammenbruch an der Südfront begann durch das Weichen mehrerer Formationen von Carabineros: Negrins konterrevolutionäre Truppe, die "Elite" nach der komm. Schwindelpropaganda in der Welt!

Gestern kam in Paris an der deutsche Genosse M. mit seiner spanischen Frau, und brachte uns viele Nachrichten über die letzten Tage von Barcelona.

Nach ihm - der sehr objektiv ist - ist der Zusammenbruch und die Massenevakuation völlig chaotisch vor sich gegangen. Der Genosse M. ist übrigens derjenige, der bis zuletzt das deutsche Bulletin CNT-FAI gemacht hat. Die Regierung verliess die Stadt ohne der Bevölkerung irgendeine Parole zu geben, ebenso die CNT, sagt M. D.h. die Komitees der Via Durruti. M. kam morgens zu seiner gewohnten Arbeit und fand die Büros vollständig verlassen, musste noch eine Tür aufbrechen, um verschiedene Materialien des deutschen Bulletins zu vernichten.

In Barcelona regierte die letzte Zeit der Hunger in der schreeklichsten Form. M. und seine junge Genossin sehen auch furchtbar aus. Der Massenzug nach der Grenze ist unter schlimmen Formen vor sich gegangen. Die französischen Behörden lassen niemand herein, an Männer, besonders auch die passlosen Ausländer nicht. M. verdankt nur einem ganz besonderen Zufall seinen legalen Eintritt in Frankreich.

Souchy ist auch herausgegangen, wahrscheinlich jetzt schon hier (ich werde es heute erfahren). Er hat bei einem Fall noch dazu den Arm gebrochen. M. sagt, dass Souchy, Vazquez, Mas und einige wenige andere Ruhe und Uebersicht bewahrt haben in den schwierigen Tagen, dass aber die grosse Menge unserer Militanten völlig ratlos war und jeder nur noch mit sich selbst beschäftigt.

Eine grosse Menge Militanten sind in Frankreich. Von Santillan weiss ich noch immer nichts. Vazquez und viele vom CN sind jedoch noch in der Nähe von Figueras, wo das CN weiter fungiert, soweit die Genossen noch da sind.

In Figueras haben die Genossen auch Michel getroffen. Er hat schon wieder ein Abenteuer hinter sich. Er ging mit einer Agrupacion unter dem Genossen Manzana an die Front, dort aber wurde diese aufgelöst, als Folge von politischen Intriguen. Michel kam zu einer anderen Formation, wo man entdeckte, dass er Ausländer war. Man entliess ihn wieder; seine Naturalisierung sei ebenso ungültig wie die der anderen Internationalen. D.h. die Entlassung ging als Verhaftung vor sich; er geriet wieder in die Hände der Tscheka, der offiziellen diesmal, es hätte nicht viel an seiner Ermordung gefehlt, dann kam er frei und sitzt nun mit dem in keinem anderen Lande anerkannten spanischen Nansenpass in Figueras, sodass er keine Möglichkeit zur legalen Ausreise hat. Ebenso wie verschiedene andere Genossen unserer ehemaligen Gruppe, die noch dort sind. So auch Klose, der frei, aber mit den Nerven völlig herunter ist. Michel soll persönlich wohl im Gleichgewicht; aber sehr verzweifelt sein an den Genossen selbst, den spanischen, von denen er als Ausländer mehr hat erdulden müssen als er konnte... Er weiss scheinbar nicht genau ob er bleiben oder gehen soll, gewisse private Bindungen halten ihn noch. Uebrigens wäre der Eintritt in Frankreich schwierig. Die Franzosen beginnen schon zu verhaften, so wurde verhaftet Genosse Cortes in Perpignan - ehemaliger Delegierter der CNT in der Comisión Permanente der IAA in Barcelona. -

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23496

Auszüge, übersetzt aus einem Briefe des schwedischen Genossen Berner, augenblicklich in Perpignan.

Perpignan, 29/I/39

Hier gibt es unendlich viel Tragödien, Schmerzen und Leid. Du kannst Dir nicht vorstellen was hier geschieht. Es ist schrecklich, die grösste Tragödie der Welt. Mütter fragen nach ihren Kindern, Kinder suchen ihre Eltern. Frauen kommen weinend vor Schmerz weil sie ihre Gefährten tot zurückliessen oder verloren haben irgendwo an der Grenze. Dies alles ist wie Dolchstösse im Herzen. Der Tunnel von Port Bou ist voll von Menschen, unter ihnen viele Genossen und Genossinnen von uns. Die Franzosen machen Schwierigkeiten, und ebenso die spanischen Behörden - die carabinagres (vermächtlicher Name für Negrins konterrevolutionäre Polizeitruppe, die carabineros). Die Kameraden müssen über die Berge gehen, was jetzt sehr schwer ist. Aber ich freue mich grenzenlos über jeden einzelnen der sich hat retten können. Vor einigen Minuten kam Bernardo Pou an, mit ihm Federica Montseny. Auch Garcia Oliver ist hier. Lucia Sanchez und einige Genossinnen von der SIA die ich nicht bei Namen kenne, sind auch da, ebenso die Genossin von Martin Gudell und seine Sekretärin. Diese hat ihren Genossen vor einigen Tagen verloren, er fiel in den Kämpfen. Ich bewundere diese Jungen und Mädchen, sie sind so tapfer, trotz allem. Jacinto Toryho und ich verbrachten die vorige Nacht im selben Zimmer, und er sprach "die ganze Nacht", über die Probleme der Revolution und die Vorteile unserer Sache. So sind alle, die Männer und die Frauen. Bald vergessen sie ihre privaten Nöte und beginnen wieder an die Zukunft zu denken und von ihr zu sprechen. Aber sie kritisieren auch sich selbst, es ist ein ernster Ton ohne dumme Phrasen. Toryho, Latorre und einige mehr gehen wahrscheinlich nach Paris. Einige sind von den französischen Behörden in Konzentrationslager geschickt worden, unter ihnen Mercedes Comaposada. Von Spanien weiss ich nicht mehr als dass Vazquez und die anderen vom CN in Gerona sind - dort befinden sich auch Fortin (Franzose) und Vorobieff (der Russe). Lucia geht und kommt hin und her zwischen Katalonien und Frankreich und sorgt für die Kinder die gerettet sind. Ich habe das Visum des (spanischen) Konsuls von hier (um nach Katalonien zu gehen), aber man lässt mich nicht herein, und ich fürchte, dass man mich auch nach dem Zentrum nicht gehen lässt.

Liebe Emma, hier ein Briefvon Berner, der kurz vorher bei uns war - er will durchaus wieder nach Spanien. Hier auch die Uebersetzung von Herrera, das Uebrige später. Ich schreibe Dir über die Dinge der CNT mehr sobald ich kann, d.h. nachdem ich die Genossen gesprochen habe. In diesem Augenblick kann ich noch nicht, ich hoffe aber, dass ich nun eine neue Frist bekomme, denn nun hat mir Andersson telegrafiert, dass mein schwedisches Gesuch bewilligt ist; sowerde ich bald fahren und die hiesige Polizei dürfte die Uebergangszeit bewilligen. Diese Privatsache wäre damit soweit geregelt, - man schämt sich uebrigens beinahe, in der derart "geregelten" Verhältnissen zu existieren.- Von Herzen viele Grüsse von uns beiden.

Dein Helmut.

Eine Bitte. Du wolltest Rudolf eine Kopie von Herrera schicken. Willst Du ihm dabei gleichzeitig eine von Berners Brief senden? Ich habe eine für ihn auch gemacht und lege sie bei. - B. ist sehr verzweifelt, Du siehst aber, er sieht trotzdem in die Zukunft und glaubt an sie, d.h. die Zukunft unserer Spanier. - Ich nehme an, dass ich noch ca. 10 bis 17 Tage hier bin, falls die Sache wirklich geregelt sein sollte.

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23498

Am 6.II.39

Lieber Rudolf, noch nachtragen will ich dass das auf dem anderen Brief mitgeteilte über wahrscheinlich sehr schnelle Abreise nach Schweden leider nicht stimmt. Wir haben jetzt die Aufenthaltsbewilligung in Schweden, und die französische Polizei, die uns soeben herausgeworfen hat, macht zu gleicher Zeit ungeheure Schwierigkeiten bei Erteilung eines Papieres mit dem wir reisen könnten. Ja, der ganze Schwedenplan wird dadurch ernsthaft in Frage gestellt, wenn nicht noch etwas Besonderes geschieht. Dadurch sind wir – nur noch für ganz kurze Zeit hier "begnadigt", wahrscheinlich gezwungen, noch viel länger hier zu bleiben, was andererseits die schlimmsten Konsequenzen haben kann, abgesehen davon, dass unsere Lage an sich schon aussichtslos ist. Jedenfalls gilt unsere alte Adresse noch weiter und wohl noch lange nicht die stockholmer. Die Welt ist irrsinnig.

Aus Stockholm höre ich, dass die Genossen Deine neue Arbeit erhalten haben, ich kenne nur den ersten Teil aus Timon. Werde aber das Ex. aus St. auch zur Verfügung gestellt bekommen. Von Michel nichts Neues, hoffentlich fallen die ausländischen Genossen ohne Pässe dort nun nicht noch in die Hände der Faschisten, das wäre schrecklich. Das einzige was man noch hofft in diesen grauenhaften Tagen. Was wird aus unseren spanischen Genossen – aus denen die sich in diesen neusten "Gau" Hitlers retten, der Frankreich heisst? Was mag in diesen Tagen in Katalonien selbst geschehen? Lieber Rudolf, nimm einen herzlichen Gruss von uns beiden.

Hermann

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Form 90 Adm.

New York State
Psychiatric Institute and Hospital
722 WEST 168TH STREET, NEW YORK

DIRECTOR
Nolsn D. C. Lewis, M.D.

DEPARTMENT OF BACTERIOLOGY
NICHOLAS KOPELOFF, PH. D.

February
fourth
1 9 3 9

Dsar Emma Goldman,

As soon as I received your letter of Janusry 27th I got in touch with our Senior Psychiatrist snd he tells me that Stells did not improve quite ss well ae wae hoped in the beginning. There was some thought of giving her one of the new methods of treatment but thie was abandoned and she is now getting s very modified form of insulin trestment. The dosage she gets does not put her into a coma ss do the dossges given other patients who are more seriously sffected so thst in no ssnse csn this trestment be cslled drastic.

Under this form of therapy Stella seems to be showing some improvement. Her condition, however, is rather variable. She fluctuates up and down but the outlook is favorable, her prognosis being from fair to good.

There is therefors no resson for you to be unusually disturbed over her present condition or her future. Your presence here would probably not be of any particular edvsntsge to Stella so thst you should really base your plsns upon your own program. I can fesl for you in your present predicament. Be reassured however that she is getting ths best possible sttention that csn be offered in the psychistric field st the pressnt time.

My mother and wife ask to be kindly remembered to you and I join them in eending you our very beet wishee.

Sincerely,

Nicholas Kopeloff

Mrs. Emma G. Colton
21 Frith Street, Shaftesbury Avenue
London, W1
England

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WM. ARTHUR MENDELSOHN
FIVE FORTY-FIVE WEST END AVENUE
PENTHOUSE WEST
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Saturday Letter

Dear Emma Goldman,

Two days ago we received your letter dated January 28th, also the lists of Samuel. Today we received your letter of January 23rd and your article. I forwarded the package containing the scientist's appeal, covering letter and book for Stella Lyons. Has not arrived. Undoubtedly it will be here within a day or so.

I am sorry to subject you to the annoyance of deciphering a hand written letter, but my typewriter is at the office, and I felt I

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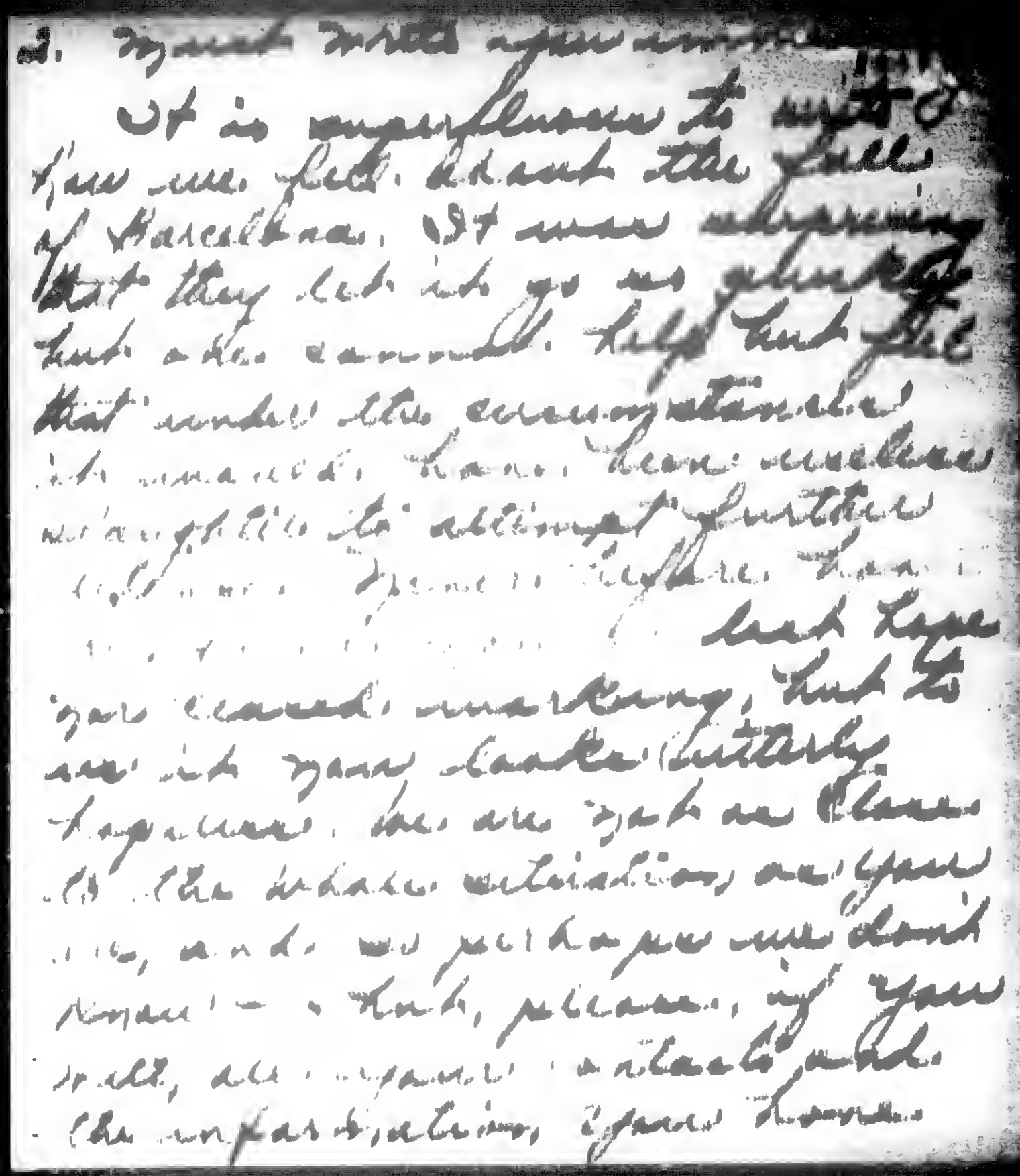

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FIVE FORTY-FIVE WEST 52ND AVENUE
PENTHOUSE WEST
NEW YORK, N. Y.

believe that there is any hope, write me just a short note at once.

We want to assure you that the appeal you speak of will be sent out as soon as it is received; also your article will be circulated not only amongst your friends but to all interested people. We will have it mimeographed and sent out. I have looked over the list of names you sent and we are quite capable of sending the material to all those people

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4. plus an additional [illegible] which we are preparing.

Your most interesting, inspiring and excellent article only [illegible] little information [illegible] that [illegible] going on in Spanish [illegible]. I mean detailed information. Please continue to send us any more such articles as you may write and any pertinent information you gather, because I assure you we circulate all the information you send us.

I am returning to you one page of names. You sent the duplicate copy of this page also, and that I am retaining. The other uncleared names

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FIVE FORTY-FIVE WEST 2ND AVENUE
PENTHOUSE WEST
NEW YORK, N. Y.

to have some sort of code on the reverse side which I thought you might want and imagine this sheet is also your own original list of these names.

Mr Lane delivered the letter to Angelica and are going to see her tomorrow (Sunday) afternoon.

I shall send a copy of your letter of January 23 to Jeanne, as you requested. I really don't know why she hasn't written to you since November. Jay is quite well and is working and

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6. traveling as usual. Jenny
too, is well, but she has been
quite busy arranging fresh ma-
terial and then by letter. She
has arranged a couple lectures
for Rudolph Rocker in Chicago
and also, I believe, for Angelica.

I suppose you have
heard that Eugene Lyons,
and two or three other men,
have taken over the "Mercury."
Undoubtedly this means a change
in policy for the "Mercury."

Ludwig Lore writes a column
for the New York Post, which
is the only N.Y. newspaper
that approaches being liberal.
I've had never heard him
yet. Met him until last Thurs-

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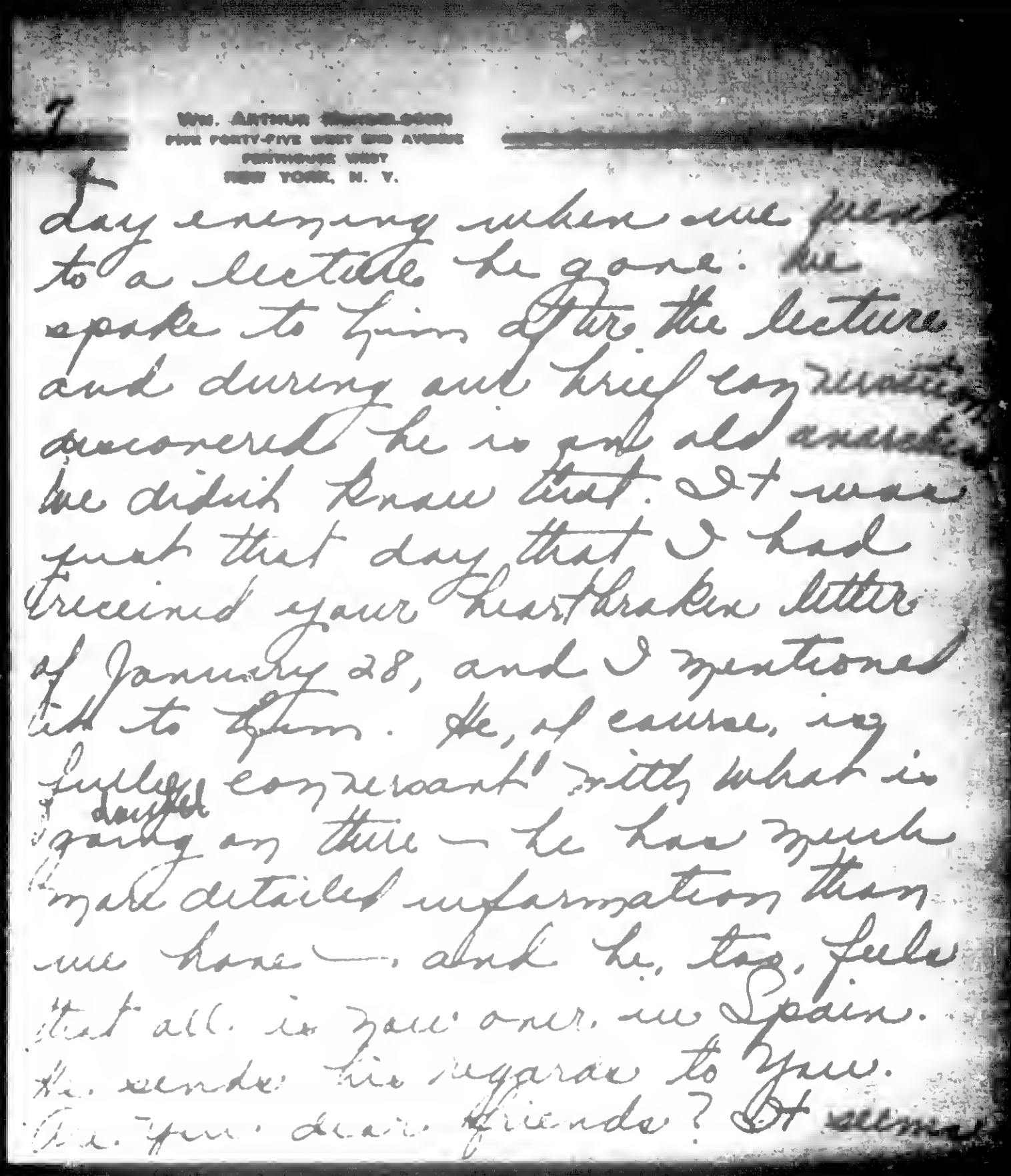

WM. ARTHUR SCHWELGIN
FIVE FORTY-FIVE WEST 23RD AVENUE
PENTHOUSE WEST
NEW YORK, N. Y.

day evening when we went
to a lecture he gone. We
spoke to him after the lecture
and during and brief conversation
discovered he is an old anarchist
We didn't know that. It was
just that day that I had
received your heartbroken letter
of January 28, and I mentioned
it to him. He, of course, is
fully conversant with what is
going on there — he has much
more detailed information than
we have —, and he, too, feels
that all is over, in Spain.
He sends his regards to you.
Are you dear friends? It seems

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8. strange that we've never heard of him in connection with the movement, but, of course that probably due to our ignorance!

X Although he condemned bitterly at first Doladier's part at Munich, he now finds excuses for him. This, I believe, since a conversation he had with Bullitt while he was here in U.S.A. He also mentioned that Bullitt now seems more like the "old Bullitt" and less like the conservative of the past few years. I don't know! What do you think?

He (Lore) also now thinks perhaps he has misjudged Mr. Kennedy in the Food Claim.

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WM. ARTHUR MENDELSOHN
FIVE FORTY-FIVE WEST 52ND AVENUE
PENTHOUSE WEST
NEW YORK, N. Y.

ing that Kennedy's intimate
friendship with Hatfield and
Chamberlain was furthered by him
in order that he might obtain
the same information they did.
Lore claims he did and has
placed that information at the
disposal of Mr. Roosevelt. In fact,
Lore claims that both Bullitt &
Kennedy have given Mr. Roosevelt
very valuable information that
has not yet been published and
it is because of this information
that they have been thus secret
[illegible] interviews Mr. Ransome &
[illegible] interesting Hoffman Committee

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10, about which the politicians have been raising such a fuss.

It seems that we are about to be confronted with the biggest problem from Lend Lease so far. Some of our critics (politicians & reactionary Democrats) are now making a political football over our proposed foreign policy. Since Munich, popular opinion has veered sharply from the isolationist view, but this new development, supported naturally by the press, is extremely dangerous.

This new congress is terrible. The embargo will soon be lifted now. This ridiculous and harmful bill committee has been granted an appropriation of $50,000 and

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WM ARTHUR MENDELSOHN
FIVE FORTY-FIVE WEST END AVENUE
PENTHOUSE WEST
NEW YORK, N Y

it looks very much as though the same ~~[illegible]~~ membership will be unfaithful. Relief has been cut and we are very much afraid of another Hoover slump like a vault. That would mean that all the reactionary forces would have their opportunity to make great headway; and we are not underestimating their strength. They are more powerful and ingenious today than ever before.

It is very discouraging but every day — day and everybody we are denating

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12 to this cause and this cause and our pocketbooks are drained; but whether or not we succeed, at least we will know that we tried to do what we could.

I wonder when you will be in Canada, because we do want to come to see you, and I hope I shall be able to do so. I'm quite sure I haven't told you, but we are expecting our first baby sometime between April 12 and May 12. Naturally we are very happy and are looking forward to this great event in our personal lives with eager anticipation.

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ARTHUR MENDELSOHN
FIVE FORTY-FIVE WEST END AVENUE
PENTHOUSE WEST
NEW YORK, N. Y.

This letter is far too long and again I say, I'm sorry this is hand written. I won't do it again, but I did feel that I wanted to write to you today even tho the typewriter wasn't available.

We shall look forward to hearing from you soon and please be assured that all your requests will be carried out.

With our best wishes for

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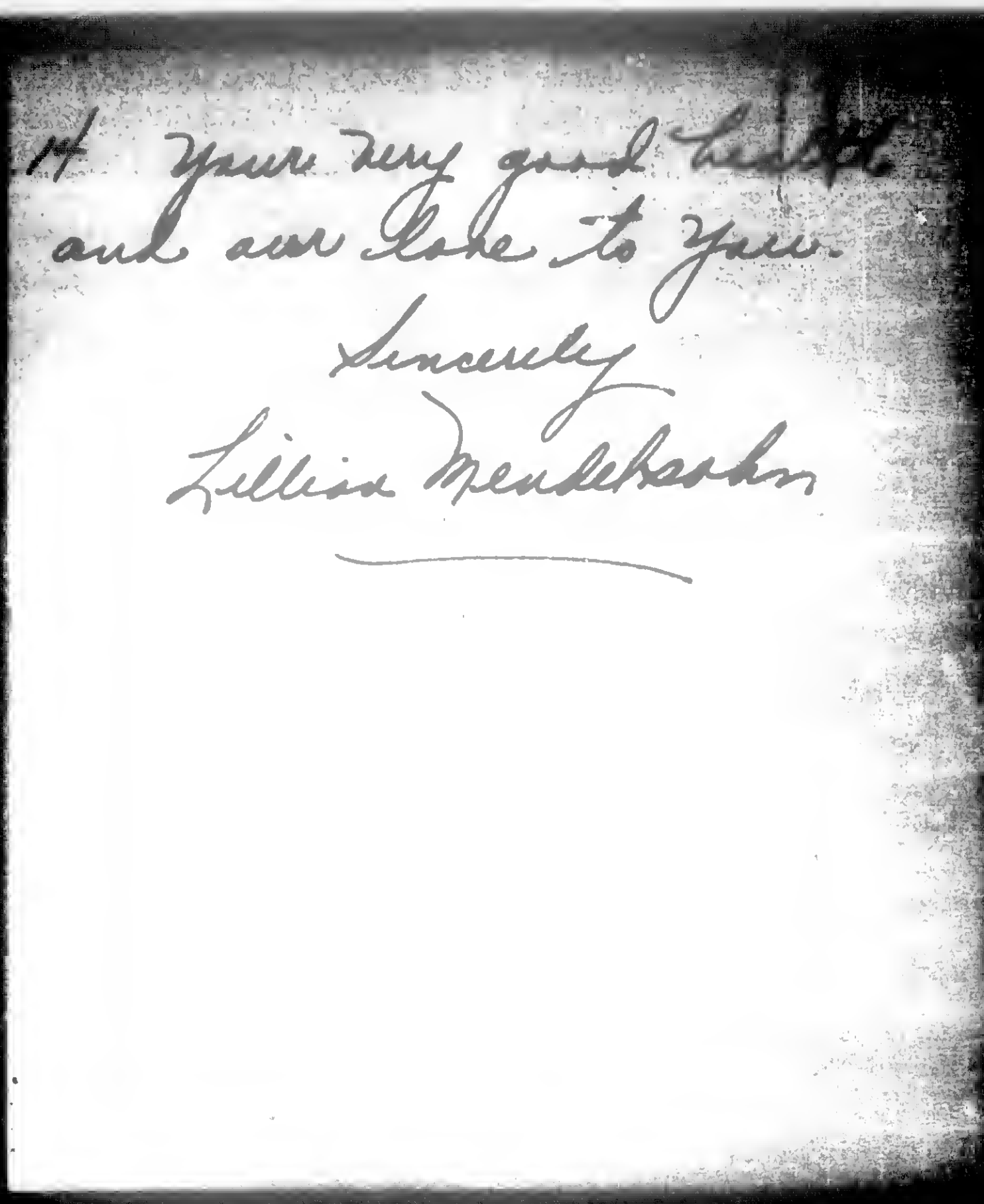

If your very good health
and our love to you.

Sincerely
Lillian Mendelsohn

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 5 [London to] Mariano Vázquez, Paris / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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20378

5 de febrero 1939

Querido companero Mariano R.Vazquez,

Sabiendo por medio de Martin y Souchy que tu y los otros companeros han salido de Barcelona,nuestra Barcelona infeliz, no ha terminado mi ansiedad. Y desde ayer,los crimenes terribles de Gerona ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ han aumentado mi ansiedad. Si solamente sabia que hacer para ayudaros en esta hora tragica. Pero como no se si estais seguros y donde,me siento completamente desvalido. Tengo miedo que esta carta no llegara a tus manos,pero lo mando al companero Roca en Paris;el es muy digno de confianza. Estoy segura si hay una posibilidad,te lo mandara.

Hagame el favor,querido companero,de decirme si hay algo que quieres que hago y dime tambien quienes de los companeros podian salvarse de la brutalidad de Franco. Martin me dicho que tu companera era contigo pero no sabia si tambien tenias tu chica linda con vosotros. Estoy tan ansiosa para ella,como para todos los camaradas.

Espero con todo mi corazon que me escribiras. Te aseguro de mis simpatias y de mi devocion de camarada en esta hora,y no solamente de simpatia pero del deseo de ayudaros.

Fraternalmente

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]3[9] Feb. 5 [London to] Albert [Jensen, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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24204

Feb. 5th 38

Dear Albert.

Thanks you for the credentail and the sixty Konen. It is a long time since I have been paid for my writing and that neve from our own papers. Five years ago this month when I was given permission to re-enter America I wrote for several Liberal Magazines and earned enough to live from it a year.But being so far removed from the States I can get nothing accepted. So what ever the Arbetaren pays is very welcome.

Thanks also for the credential. I will try my best to send you occasional reports from Canada,if I ever get there. I was difinitely set on sailing this month,but the collapse of Barcelona and the horrors of our Spanish comrades impells me to postpone my sailing. I simply cannot bear to go away so far without knowing if our forces will reorganise themselves and cont inue the struggle, this time not only against Franco but also ag against their treacherous and cowardly allies the Negrin-Comm unist governement,or whether they will all be exterminated. A letter from Souchy which he must also have written you proves that the criticism and attacks of Chaipor Volin which they publicly expressed and I privately whenever I ~~ga~~ returned to Spain have now proven quite true. The CNT-FAI have by their [illegible]

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he was among the most [illegible]
and thereby became incompetent to [illegible]
Spanish comrades of [illegible]
The queer thing about Souchys letter [illegible]
violently on our way to Valencia and Madrid [illegible]
dangerous steps taken by our comrades. Even three months ago
when the FAI had finally seen the errors of the CNT and [illegible]
out unreservedly against the methods of the National [illegible]
demanding the overthrow of the ineffectula and traiterous
Negrin Communist gang Souchy defended the stand of the CNT.
Now he writes what you and I and the other comrades have felt an
expressed all along the line. Whatever it is Catalonie is lost
nor do I believe that our people still have the means and the
strength to recapture it in the nearest future. The odds is too
great. I feel absolute crushed and paralysed in this blood
freezing country. We are sending out an emergency appeal.But what
will that help the hundreds of thousands refugees.

Fraternally

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Feb 5th 39

Lieber Genosse John.

Die tragische Ereignisse in Catalonina und in Barcelona haben so niederdruckend auf mich gewirkt dass ich unfahig bin zusammenhangend zu denken oder zu handeln. Darum habe ich Dir nicht wiedergeschrieben. Ich habe das Manifest der I.A.A. English erhalten. Du und der Kamarad der die Englische Ubersetzung macht werdet mir hoffentlich nicht bose sein wenn ichsage die Ubersetzung ist leider sehr mangelhaft,ich meine das Englisch. Fur unsere eigene Genossen durfte es genugen,aber sie ist fast nic nicht fur Ausseitsstehende zu grbrauchen. Dass ist aber nicht so schlimm wie der Ton des lezten Manifestes. Es ist ohne Farbe und revolutionare Bestimtheit. Ich solte meinen gerade jezt angesichts des allgemeinen Verates der Spanischen Arbeiter und Bauern von seitens Russland und der sogenannten demokratischen Lander sowohl wie die erbarmliche Apathy des Internationalen Proletariats und ihre feige Fuhrer hatte das Manifest Feuer spruhen sollen. Hauptsachlich hatte der lezte Satz nicht wieder das "nationale und sozilische Element hervoheben sollen sonder gerade das INTERNATIONALE UND ANARCHO_SYNDIKALISTISCHE" motive das unsere Spanische Kamarade n am 19ten July und seit der Zeit angespornt hat.

Gerade weill die erbarmliche Negrin-Kumminsitische Regierung immer wider den Nationalismus and Demokratie hervorgehoben hat in dem bloden Glauben dass sie mehr erreichen werden jemehr Ver sprechungen sie der Kapitalistischen Bande machen,so war es meiner Meinung nach kindisbh von unsere Kamaraden auf das nationalistische zu pochen. Sie habe sich unendlich viel damit geschadet. Noch lacherlich ist es wenn eine Internationale Korper schaft wie die I.A. das nationalistische des Spanischen Kamfes betont,und noch dazu so gar das sozialistische wo es doch gerade die Sozialisten aller Schattirungen unsern Kampf verleumdet, misrepresentiert und oft sogar veraten hat. Gerade jezt scheint es mir von groesster Wichtigkeit zu sein,offen,und energisch unsere Ideen und Standpunkt zu erklaren und hoch zu halten.

Wenn es doch nur die Fascisten ubd die demokratische Lander waeren die Schuld tragen an den Brutaken Mord von thausnde und den Verat an Katalonia. Augustune Suchy wird ja auch Dir in dem selben Sinne geschrieben haben wie mir,anmlich dass es auch die

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Negrin Kommunisten Regierung war und lezten Endes die Konzessionen der CNT,und biss Ende 37,auch der FAI. Endlich sieht Augustine ein dass es die unerhorte Schwaeche unserer Kamaradne im May 37 war dass ihre grosse moralische Macht zerstrorte. Wie hat Augustine mir zugeredd in 37 dass Montseney und Oliver recht hatten den Appel an die Arbeiter zuerlassen zu den Fabriken zyruck zu kehren und somit ohne es zu wollen in die Hande der Regierung zu fallen. Nun ist er endlich meiner Meinung und die Meinung der Genossen die die Taktick der CNT-FA von Anfang an,von dem unsaligen Moment kritsierten als Stalin seine Kamardaschaft zeigte Es war der Anfang vom Ende dann. Viel vernichtender hatten unsere Spanier nicht handeln konnen den"solidarischen " Versprech ungen Stalins zu volgen. Denn Katalonia ist sowie so verlohren und so ist Bareclona das grosste Zenter des Anarcho Syndikalismus in Spanien.Und erst die ungeheuere Opfer an Menschen ,die thausend und aber thousande von Kinder,von den Erwachsenen schon gar nicht zu reden. Es ist schauderhaft.

Ich lege hier ein Examplar des Aufrufs Barutas bei und ein Telegram von Lucia Sanchez Saornil. Vielleicht has Du auch den Spanischen Tex bekommen. Wir habe hier einen Urgency Appel er lassen,aber was das schon nutzen wird. Es arbeiten hier dutzende von Organisationen unter allerhand Namen,alles in den Handen und unter der Leitung der Kommunistin. Wir haben die viel aufbringen konnen. Abe man muss schliesslich alles versuchen wenn auch nur um nicht verruckt zu werdenvon dem grauenhaften Verbrechen das die Arbeiterwelt an die Spanischen Arbeiter begeht.

Solidarisch.

881010204

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Feb.5th 39

Dear Augustine. I felt very relieved to get your letter. I had known through Martin and Pollie that you are in Paris and about your accident.I am happy to know that the latter was not more serious than it seemed by Martins report.

The contents of your letter was what I suspected,in fact the negative nature of the Negrin regime and the sabotage of the Communists were only too apparant when I was last in Barcelona. And so was the continued lack of drastic measures on the part of the CNT,even after the FAI at the Plenum had proven who and what Negrin is what the Communists are guilty of and the urgent need of some action on the part of our comrades. I also could see the disatisfaction of all the comrades I met in the transport, the arms industr and all others. Valejo especially had given me a dismal picture and he had expressed grave anxiety about the outlook,in fact his words were prophetic. So that too is no surprise in your letter. In point of fact I learned all your points given in your letter while I was in Barcelona,especially the discontent of the FAI and the views of everyone of these comrades who felt that if no change will be undertaken at once in the policy of the CNT the worst is likely to happen. And it did,it did with a frightful vengeance.

You might say that the FAI had approved for a long time whatever steps the CNT had taken. That is correct.But dear Augustine I call your attention to the fact that you too approved and denfnded every step taken by the CNT-FAI,you argued with me in 37, on our trip from Barcelona to Madrid that the tactics had been inevitable. You also tried to explain as inevitable the stand of the CNT-FAI in the May events and the part Montseney and Oliver had played. I was therefore surprised to read in your article the exposure of all these methods and your own change against them. Of course free people have a right to change their views if they come to see their errors.But it has taken the Catalonia and Barecelona catastrophe to change you,in other words the last desperate moment whe eas the FAI comrades had forseen den Abgrund when the situation could still have been saved and no one listened to them,not even you.

You write me in your letter that its contents cannot be for publication but what about your article, the most defeatist

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and aloof exposure of the bleeding wounds of the the frightful calamity that has befallen the Spanish people. After all my de ar you are not just an ordinary reporters of some sensational Capitalis sheet. You are also a meber of the FAI and I beleive also of the CNT Going along the road of calvery and writing trite and lurid reports could not possibly ~~xxxxxxx~~ have been your function. I confess I was not only surprised that you would do such a tactless thing I was horrified, especially when I r ad that you had already sent your article to a Swedish paper, and that you wanted me to put it in the New Leader or Spain and the World, by the way the paper con tinues to come out though ~~irregularx~~ irreregular. It has now be come a group paper and the title will be REVOLT, the next issue comes out Tuesday. You say you remained with Vazquez as you were to be the to write the Chronicle of the last days and hours, yes to write but not to give it to the world. Perhaps later on the article may no appear quite so detacht, aloof and in a measure cold blooded as it does now. It effect me that way and our comrade Ruth Prothero who happened to be with me when the letter arrived. I do not know whether you met her, she was sixteen months at the Aragon front as a doctor. We were both speechless when we had finished reading the article. I therefore strongly suggest you should not have it published for the present even if you have to recall it from Sweden, and certainly not in any other paper. For your reasons are devestating of our comrades and of the whole struggle. In the last analysys you as much as state that the revolution was lost not only by thirty months but by the blunders of our own comrades. You should then at least have admitted that you approved all the blunders and that you were a party to them. I feel however that the whole tone of the article is the most superficial reportage without real depth or feeling.

Forgive me my dear if I seem harsh. I don't mean to be. Only I feel if ever there was a psychologic moment when the exposure should not have taken place it is now. And I am sorry.

And now Gerona and Firgueras are also lost. Where are our people who had reached Gerona, and how many are left of them? Is it true that the old mother of Federica died on the road? What a frightful end for one all her life a fighter to see her beloved Catalnonia and Barcelona in the hands of our enemies. Still I envy her. It was aan appalling experience to continue living after the collapse of the Russian Revolution . How can one go on living after the far greater debacle? It is harrowing

880726039

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 5 [London to] Stella [Churchill, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 24 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23113

Sunday

Dear Stella,

Your check for £5 was sent on to Ethel. She will acknowledge the receipt. I want to thank you for your ready response. I wish others were as willing to help the work here for SI would not be so disheartning.

I want to come to your party to see you before you go to the South of France and also to speak to you about Perpignan, or Marseille where you would find people who must know how many of the children had been saved. I have a request. I would like to bring my nieces son along, Ian Ballatine who is in the London School of Economics, a beautiful boy of 23. His father is a contryman of Donald, also Scotch and his mother is my most favorite niece, Jewish of course. May I? If I do not hear from you I will take it as a sign of consent. I want Ian to meet Donald and Ruth, he is quite lonely here, and will be more when I sail for Canada later on.

Affectionately

429

871005205

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 6 [London to Jean] Ay, [Perpignan, France] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20372

6-2-39

Cher camarade Ay,

J'ai ecrit a Gauree trois fois , joignant a ma lettres une lettre pour la camarade Lucia Sanchez Saornil et le telegramme que j'avais recu il y a deux semaines de la camarade Emillie Roca Je lui avais demande de la voir et de chercher a savoir si les 30 enfants de la colonie Mon Nou etaient avec elle. Je n'ai pas recu de reponse de Garree. Je lui ai demande aussi si nous pouvions envoyer des vetements pour les camarades refugies, hommes, femmes et enfants. Nous en avons beaucoup et nous voudrions les envoyer a Perpignan.

Veux-tu voir Garree tout de suitenet lui demander ou est la camarade Emillie Roca, ainsi que Baruta pour la quelle je t'envoie la lettre ci-jointe, Vois aussi Lucia et dis-lui que j'ai recu sont telegramme. Nous n'avons aucune influence pour demander l'entree des refugies dans ce pays et encore moins en France. Dis-lui de m'ecrire tout de suite si tous les camarades appartenant a la SIA sont en surete, et ce qu'il est arrive aux enfants des 19 colonies de la SIA, parmi lesquel les Mannou.

Veux-tu m'ecrire en Francais ou en Espagnol. Dis-moi si tu

871005205

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 6 [London to Jean] Ay, [Perpignan, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.
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20373

[illegible] pas des nouvelles de Martin. Maintenant que Espana est aux mains de l'armée que sont devenus Martin et les autres camarades.

Je suis remplie d'inquiétude. Ecris-moi tout de suite, s'il te plait.

Fraternellement,

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871005204

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 6 [London to Facundo] Roca, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20371

6-2-39

Cher Camarade Rosa,

Je sais qu'il est stupide de ma part de de vouloir me mettre en rapport avec le camarade Mariano, mais je suis dans une telle inquietude a son sujet et ~~au~~ sujet d'autres camarades que je ne sais quoi faire.

Veux-tu conserver cette lettre jusqu'a ce que tu puisses te mettre en rapport avec lui. Tu me rendrais aussi un grand service si tu me faisais parvenir toutes les nouvelles que tu peux obtenir.

On a publie dans les journaux anglais que la France etait prete a accepter 200.000. soldats espagnols , en France. La nouvelle est-elle exacte ? Le TIMES d'autre part , a publie que des anarchistes avaient ete arretes a la frontiere, as-tu des renseignement la dessus ? Veux-tu me faire savoir tout-cela le plus vite possible.

Fraternellement,

871005203

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 6 [London to I. da] Camara [Pires, Marseille, France] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20369

6-2-39

Cher Camarade Camara,

je te remercie pour ta lettre. Tu me dis que la compagne de Herrera est a Marseilles. Veux-tu lui demander pour moi de m'ecrire en me donnant quelques precisions sur les malheurs terribles qui se sont abattus sur nos camarades. Je suis terriblement inquiete au sujet de Herrera, Santillan, Germinal, Soussa et tous les autres camarades.

Je viens de recevoir un telegramme de Lucia Je dois tout envoyer a Marseilles. Est-ce que cela comprend aussi les vetements. Nous avons plusieurs sacs de vetements pour enfants et pour adultes. Est-ce que je dois vous les envoyer ?

Lucia e Baruta ne font que me repeter que nous devons demander qu'on accepte ici les refugies. Nous n'avons pas une telle influence en Angleterre et meme si nous l'avions il n'y a rien a faire dans ce pays pour les refugies.

D'autre part les journaux annoncent que la France acceptera les refugies de la population civile, et en plus 200.000 soldats. Je ne sais pas pourtant si cela est vrai. J'ai ecrit a Gamree trois fois et n'ai jamais recu de reponse.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 6 [London to I. da] Camara [Pires, Marseille, France] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20370

[illegible] envoie quelque chose tout de suite, [illegible]
[illegible] en Français ou en Espagnol si tu n'a rien de publié
[illegible] ici.

Fraternellement,

Donne un baiser de ma part a ton jeune controle et a la compagne
de Barcelone.

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881027189

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 6 [London to] John Andersson, [Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24252

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Feb.6th.39

Lieber Kamarad John Andersson.

Ich habe Dir gestern geschrieben.Ich hoffe Du und der Genosse der die Englische Ubersetzung macht fur fur die I.A.A. werdet mir nicht bose sein ogen die scharfe Kritik des Manifestes und der Ubersetzung. Ich bin namlich ixxxx in einer verzweifelten Stimmung uber die grosse Tragodie unserer Katalanischer Genossen. Ich fuhle mich hier so abgesnhnitten von allem,und die ungewissheit uber unsrere Spanier lassen mir Tag und Nacht keine Ruhe.

Ich habe heute Euer Manifest noch einmal durch gelesen. Ich finde dass der Inahlt jezt schon veraltert ist. Den es nutzt nicht dass wir weiter unsere Augen schliessen der Tatsache gegenuber dass Katalonine verlohren ist und dass unsere Kamaraden und Truppen fur lange Zeit weder die Kraft noch die Moglichkeit haben werden Katalonien, oder Barcelona wieder zu errobern. Ich glaube wir solten uns jezt darauf konzentrieren unsere Fluchtlinge zu retten,unxxxxxxxx Hulfe fur die Fluchtlinge scheint mir jezt das dringendste.

Glaubt Ihr nicht dass die I.A.A ein neues Manifest herausgeben kann? Wir wurden gerne 10,000 drucken lassen und hier an Arbeiterorganisationen versenden. Einxxxxx Auch solte das Manifest an appel an die Arbeiter enhalten alles zu tun ihre Regierungen moralsich zu zwingen die ungluck liche Fluchtlinge Asyl so geben.Die zwei Forderungen, Asyl fur die vervollgte Massen und materially Stutze fur sie. Niemand anders wird fur unsere Kamaraden kampfen oder ihnen helfen,im gegenteil sie werden von all verraten werden,sind es jezt schon von ihre eigene Rergierung. Ich furchte Negrin wird Zentral Spanien verraten, er wird in Frankreich in Sicheheit bleiben,ich bin uberzeugt davon. Wie solte da Valencia oder Madrid weiterkampfen und wozu noch Waffen fordern?

Sogar wenn wit Euer Manifest hier gebrauchen wolten so musste dax es umschrieben sein,vor allendingen der ganze dritte Paragraph.Kein Englisscher Arbeiter wurde begreifen was Ihr da meint. Ich wurde es ja gerne tun aber ich will mir naturlich nicht das Recht herausnehmen das im Namen der I.A.A zu tun. Ich wurde es vorziehen wenn Ihr ein anderes Manifest herausgegebn konntet und zwar so schnell wie moglich,wir wollen es spattestens Montag drucken lassen. Oder Ihr konntet den dritten Paragraph beginnend mit "It appears difinitiver und deutlicher machen. Jedenfals bitte schreibe mir soffort. Solidarisch

870925374

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 6 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p.; 21 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17028

F.

Feb 6th 39

My dearest most generous Ethel.

Thank yin for your sweet letter. I knew that you always give from the fulness of your kind heart, but I could not have you look after my koop. I know you have enough without me to carry. For the present I need no help. I still have a little left from the sale of my house at St Tropez. Sufficient unto the day when this is used up.

Your appeal and letter have been sent to the house you indicated. We have only three hundred addresses. I will need a few to send to some personal friends here and in the States. If you too care to approach your personal friends five hundred ough to be sufficient. When you received the proof, please make sure when the appeal will be delivered to us for you to sign. Or if you are still pressed for time have the house send them to your place and you can send them to us after you have signed them.

I will be at Sneath Avenue all afternoon tomorrow. I will be happy to hear from you and be with you when you can manage to come in.

With love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 6, Los Angeles [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / H. Yaffe.— 1 p.; 31 × 24 cm.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICES

1038 SOUTH ALVARADO STREET, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

February, 6, 1939

My Dear Emma:

Your letter of January 23 at hand. I was glad to hear from you and also of your work in classifying Berkman's works. We here are going around with the dream of reorganizing the Rocker Publications Committee into a Libertarian Publishing Association. Let's hope he will be able to publish Berkman's work among others if we are successful in arousing interest. Our comrade Michael Cohn is here in Los Angeles with us and seems to show quite a bit of interest in behalf of our work.

Now regarding the sheets of "Nationalism and Culture" for the London publisher. We are trying to negotiate with a publisher in Mexico and we may be able to give him the sheets as cheap as he wants. However don't say anything to this effect until we know definitely. In a previous letter you say he offered 85¢ and if he'll take 1000 sheets we may take him up. I don't remember if we mailed you the opinions on Rocker's book so I am enclosing a few pamphlets with the copy of "The Six". We can let the publisher have the sheets on "The Six" at 27-1/2¢ per copy.

For the sael in Canada our cost on "The Six" is 37¢ per copy. Whatever you think a fitting price is all right with us. We are selling it here in America at $2.00. If you could get $1.00 or $1.25 in Canada I don't think it would interfere much here. I will send a few copies to Desser although this good comrade hasn't replied to three of my letters. I shall convey your regards to the comrades you mentioned. I'm sure Mrs. Levey will forward you the money as I shall write to here tomorrow and remind here of it.

Nothing more I close sending best regards.

Comradely yours,

H. Yaffe

437

880726404

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 7 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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24141

Feb.7th 39

Darling Jeanne.I am writing this from my living quaters. I was just called up from the office to be told that a letter from you with check for fifty dollars had arrive . The letter was read to me so I know its contents. I therefore hasten to reply at once because there is a sailing tomorrow.

No,darling, I did not think you had forgotten me,how can I ever express doubt in your beautiful friendship. What I feared was that you were ill,hence could not write. I am relieved to know it was your acitivity for Rudolf which kept you too busy to write me.

I have written you last week and have mailed it to the Parkway hotel which you gave in your last letter. I have been informed from the office that you again gave your business address so I will send this letter to Marchandise Mart.

You know the frightful catastroph that has happened to our comrades in Catalonia. I had a note as you will see by the inlcosed letter to English friends of mine what caused the collapse of Barcelona. Since then the two places where our hunted comrades had hoped to find sanctuary, Gerona and Figueras have been raided .The papers here reported that 32 Anarchists had been rounded up in the square of Figueras and had been shot. It probably was 432 if not more. I am now in a state of frightful tension hoping for a line from one of the many comrades who escaped Francos mercy to know who has been left alive and where these comrades are. I feel completely crushed and cannot concentrate on any one thought to write or speak about the collapse of what was one of the grandest,if not THE grandest movement we have had in the world. It is my firm conviction that the cowardly Ngerin Communist government have brought our foces and the war to their present terryfying state. But we cannot not entirely exonerate our own people. The childish faith of the CNT in what the Government promised to do and the tolerance with the worst traitors in the world, the Communists have undermind the morale of our people and have left them unprepared for Francos overwhelming forces.

However the suffering and martyrdom of our people is too great to try to fix the blame. Now we must

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concentrate on saving ~~xxx~~ those who can yet be saved. If only the results here were not so puny.Still we are sending out an emergency appeal to rush money for food and we are sending clothes I have collected to Marseille for the refugees. Could not some urgent affiur be undertaken in Chicago to help our martured comrades Do try my dearest and let me know if you undertake something.

About my plans, the appalling situation of our comrades forces me to again postpone my sailing. Not only for their sake but also for the peace of my mind I cannot get away before I know how many have remained alive,who can be helped and what the comrades will want me to do for them.However I have made all inquiries about sailings. The 8th of April seems the nearest date to me. Another thing is if I sail then I will save thirty five ~~dolla~~xx dollars and a most trying trip from Quebec to Montreal in a cold and dismal country which takes about thirty hours. Of course it means getting to Canada rather late to achieve much in the way of meetings.But it cannot be helped. So this is what I mean to do.

As to the State of course I know Jo Coffin.She is a beautiful friend and I know she will do all in her power.But I fear nothing will come of it. Monday I received a letter from Harry Weinberger and a letter inclosed from Roger Baldwin both sayin that the situation is hopeless, at least officially so. Perkins is to be impeached which will not make her more willing to give me a visa than she has been the whole time. Perhaps in an indirect way.But it is no use banking on it too much. As to asking for a visa for more private purpose,ten days ago we received a heart breaking letter from Reddy about Stellas condition which led me to write one of the specialists on the staff at the psychiatric Hospital begging him to let me know whether my presence in N.Y near Stella and taking care of her might rouse her from her depression,I would then ask for a visa just for that purpose. So far I have no answer.Anf fortunately Stella has taken a sudden turn for the better according to the letter Ian has received Monday. ~~Of cxxxx~~ Of course if my beloved child goes on improving I will not ask for permission. My dearest it is impossible for me to ask to be readmitted and go about gagged in America.In any other country yes,but not in the States.It would be too much of a compromire and would make me unspeakably unhappy. To save Stella would be another matter,but not otherwise.

In other words we will have to content ourselves with Canada.Once there I will of course try to sell my pamphlet I will also have the Trtsly pamphlet. Whether will can dispose of both in large quantitites will depend on the number of meetings we will have. If only I could at least tour Canada to Vancuver I am sure I could have big meetings.But I have no contact and no one to organise meetings.How I wish you had time and make the tour with me.I could wish for no ablier and more devoted help.Couldn't you do it for a month? It would be ample to cover Canada. Do

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[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 7 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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24 Feb

think it over and talk it over with Jay, [illegible] a jump would help to heal the wounds from this agony I am suffering now from the calamity of Spain. In my own what you must come to do soon after I land in Canada. You say you are going on a trip in May, that would be wonderful to meet, in Toronto if possible.

Sparrow, the comrades sent me an announcement of Kolenatys fiftieth Anniversary. I know him so little that I really do not know what to write him. I inclose a note, please see that he gets it on the day.

I wonder did Rudolf have success in Chicago. How frightful he must feel over Catalonia and especially that lovely city and the very cradle of our movement. I will write him the next sailing.

Darling I have sent a lot of SIA Bulletins and a letter to Will and Lillian with an accompanying letter to be sent out to men and women of science and letters. It is too late now to send the appeal of Prof Paulis. Who knows whether he is still alive. I am writing your dear ones a card asking them not to proceed now.

With love to Jay and yourself.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]39 Feb. 7, London [to] W[illiam and Lillian] Mendelsohn, New York / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.

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[1]

London Feb7th39

riends. The catstrophe in Catalonia makes it
to send the letter and appeal to the people
d in the bulletin.So please do nithing about
er until further notice. Just now I do not
whether Prof.Paulis is alive. Those of our
riends who had sought sanctuary in Gerona and Figu
ras may also no longer be among the living since th
bombardments there were counted in the thousands
being turned into a heap of bodies,men women an
and children. I feel crushed and the agony of our
friends haunt me day and night. I have again post
poned my sailing to C. I must wait until I know
how many of our heroic people have remained alive
and what I might do for them. For the present I am
doing what I can here to raise funds,little as it

860522072

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[Postcard, 19]39 Feb. 7, London [to] W[illiam and Lillian] Mendelsohn, New York / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.

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POST CARD

THE ADDRESS MUST BE WRITTEN ON THIS SIDE

Mr &.Mrs W.Mendelsohn

545 West End Avenue

New York City

U.S.A.

Sincerely

it will be. We have issued an urgency call and we may hold a meeting. It is all so inadequate in the face of the harrowing calamity.

442

840807000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 7, London [to Boris] Yelensky, [Chicago] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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Feb.7th 39

Dear comrade Yelensky.

I have received the annoucement and invitation to attend your fiftieth anniversary. Need I assure you that I wish I could be with you and the other comrade on this day? Alas I can only do so in thought. However, my inability to attend does not prevent my sending you my heartfelt wishes for your continued health. I am sure I do not have to wish you a stronger and more flaming spirit which will last with you to the end of your life.

And just at present you and I, and all of us need a flaming spirit that should help us over the catastreophe that has overtaken our Catalan comrades. Their mrtyrdom over the complete collapse of their grand achievements is, I am certain harder to bear than their own frightful suffering. Yes, dear comrade, the most heroic people on earth were betrayed, and bartered away for more than thirty pieces of silver. The greater the need have they of our comradeship, loyalty and devotion.

Our tragedy is that we have so few comrades so undaunted and unchangeable in ~~your~~ their revolutionary zeal as you, after all, you will only be fifty years old, a mere youngster compared with me who will be seventy this year. I feel therefore, that you

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840807000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 7, London [to Boris] Yelensky, [Chicago] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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can and I.am sure you will do a great deal for our ideal whose ultimate realisation is as certain as the dawn that follows the night. May you continue for many years to help pave the way for that surpeme day when our Spanish comrades and with them the whole world will make our ideal a living reality.

Please give my fraternal greetings to comrade Mrs Yelensky, the Olays who were thoughtful enough to send me the annoucement, and all our comrades in Chicago. I hope to sail to Canada early in April, perhaps the miracle may happen when we will all meet, if not you and the others will have to come to Toronto to pay me a visit.

I feel certain our splendid comrade Sasha, no longer with us, would also have wanted to be with you on your anniversary. But as that cannot be I send his congratulations as well.

Fraternally.

Emma Goldman

881027210

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 7 [London to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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24292

7th February 1939.

Dear Dorothy,

I admit your letter of January 12th was most depressing. Perhaps because of the desperate state I was already in over the calamity that has befallen our comrades in Catalonia and Barcelona. Please do not misunderstand my dear. I am not objecting to your worrying over your own private troubles and the tragedies of the other comrades. What is friendship for if friends cannot commune with each other about things that is oppressing and harrassing them. My objection is that you permit your own affairs, galling as they are I admit, to influence your spirit and to paralise your energies. It seems to me that just because of the difficulties confronting you and the other comrades in Toronto and because of the ever growing needs of our gallant comrades in Spain your own troubles should sink into the background and you [illegible] would want to go on with our work. I realise that the physical aspect [illegible] health affects ones mind and ones thought. I [illegible] out of necessity, but for small accidents and [illegible] trouble with my heart I have remained in fair good health [illegible] energies instead of declining with the years have increased, and have driven me on often against better judgment to undertake all kinds of things, but [illegible] for our comrades in Spain.

[illegible] was terribly shocked about the accident that happened [illegible] sake than for the latter. I am not [illegible] I do know he was always a good communist [illegible] to my work, which of course in no way has any bearing [illegible] health. I know what it means to Joe. In [illegible] terrible effect of his long unemployment. It must [illegible] Joe was always so proud. It must be [illegible] to live on the small earnings of Millie and [illegible] grown up girls who need a few pennies for themselves. It [illegible] frightfully sad, and Arthur too having been ill and Thorn out of work. It seems that among my friends everywhere it never rains but it poors with all kinds of miseries falling upon each other.

About my sailing for Canada. I am afraid dear Dorothy I will have to postpone it again. Ethel Mannin refuses to continue the representation of the S.I.A. Partly because I think she has become a pacifist - also because of other personal reasons which I do not care to discuss. She plans to sail for the U.S.A. very soon. In other words we have no [illegible] name would carry the same influence as hers. Certainly mine will not. In two and a half years with sheer daily drudgery we have accomplished very little, whereas Ethel by an appeal sent out by mail and an appeal in our S.I.A. bulletin has succeeded in raising £250. Nevertheless I will have to continue to work for the S.I.A. at least for a while.

I wnet to-day to the Cunard line and the Canadian Pacific.

~~I shall~~

445

881027210

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 7 [London to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I shall have to go by the former because there is a difference of £6 in the price. Another thing is that if I go the end of this month or in March I will have to spend an additional £3 for my travelling expenses from Quebeck to Montreal and the trip is murderous. However I will sail the 8th April. I can go direct to Montreal thus saving myself the extra expense and the frightfull ordeal of nearly thirty hours between Quebeck and Montreal. Of course it will bring me later to Canada to do any extensive work until the summer sets in especially so because comrades in Montreal have finally answered my repeated letters saying they want me to step off in Montreal for a little while. They have no hopes of obatining a hall for a public meeting because of the fascist padlock now in vogue in Quebeck; but they might be able to arrange a number of private gatherings. I have always hated them as snobbery; besides it excludes the workers; but I will consent totthem because of the desperate needs of our refugee Spanish comrades. When I will come I will bring a film along with me providedethe damned catholics at the border will pass it through. It was passed by the customs here and I have a receipt for it. I might be able to show this film in private to good advantage, I dont know.

I was to get a film showing a remarkable childrens colony organised by the wife of the man who has given Spain the new schools. I visited the colony. It was an the very pinacle of one of the high mountains in the height of the Pyrances and the film was taken there and then. Unfortunately that must be lost now with all the other things that our people have created in Barcelona.

Very soon I will ship a box of literature to Toronto in your name. It will contain the Estampas album, the album of phoyographs, the Durruti pamphlet, the pamphlet on Socialisation gotten out by "Spain & The World" and my Trotsky pamphlet. We cannot worry about the albums, whether they will be passed by the customs or not. I am prepared to invest on a prepaid telegram if you would find out and wire me. It would be too bad to lose 50 albums when we could sell them at a reasinable price and use the money for our comrades. Of course you may think that enquiring many only do harm. I thought you might know soembody who has some connections with the customs and who could see your copy of the album and might be able to give you the right information.

Yes the condition of my niece is very tragic and very painfull to me; but one must grit ones teeth and face what comes in life.

Please my dear write me soon . Do not delay so long.

Give my love to Joe and his family. I am terribly sorry to hear that Sophie is not doing well. Give my love to to her, also to Hester. I may yet accept an invitation to live with her especially for the summer. On my arrivla I shall probably want to go to the Dessers if they will have place for me. It is more centrally located.

I am enclosing a list of names of Toronto people who have attended my lectures on the last two occasions in 1928 and in 1935, and who may be willing to help again. It may not be a bad idea to get out a short letter telling them that I am contemplating sailing and asking them would they be willing to help. It might also be practical to ascertain what halls could be gotten even if I reached Toronto about 20th Aprilthere would be still be time for one or two meetings with a chance of showing the film.

My fraternal greetings to Authur, Thorn and all the rest of the comrades.

Do not exclude Dein and Tom from my affectionate greetings.

870925531

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 7, London [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.— 3 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17354

Ethel Mannin — Oak Cottage. Burghley Road. London, SW.

Feb. 7th 1939

Dearest Emma, herewith I send you the letter cut and slightly edited - if you approve it send it off just as it is with the accompanying letter to the Facsimile letter people who did theother letter, sending with it as many sheets of our notepaper as you require copies of the letter. I have asked for 500 copies in my covering letter, but if this is too many of course alter to what you think is required, and send the amount of stationery accordingly.

My decision to go to the States was sudden - the realisation of the need to get away before the next 'crisis' was on us. Since then Hitler has made his moderate speech and the threat of another immediate crisis is dissolved. We have now with a sigh of relief decided to wait a few months before going - we can now afford to wait, as we certainly could not ,from any point of view, when a new crisis seemed imminent. By waiting I can get a novel done, a novel which may sell in the States; no one, I should think would cross the Atlantic at this time of the year unless it was imperative.

So I shall be here for a social before you sail for Canada. Recchioni once suggested taking a room at Friends House or (I think) the Conway Hall. He seemed to think they were to be had cheaply.

(over)

870925531

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 7, London [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.— 3 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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17355

Dear Emma, I had not overlooked the economic factor when I said I thought you would do well to wait over in England a bit longer on behalf of the SIA. It was in my mind to assist you financially - to pay Lisa for yr board and lodge whatever it is you do pay her . If it proved too much for me I thought perhaps one other comrade, or one or two others, would also help a little, realising as I do the importance of the work which it is no flattery to say no one can do as effectively as you (that it is sometimes better for your activities to be hidden behind my better known - in England - and perhaps less provocative name , is neither here nor there; in such work personal vanity and credit to oneself is of no consideration for either of us)

I once ~~said~~ told that so long as I had any money at all I would always help you, and I still mean that. In my vacillation over the SIA work I am driven hither and thither by all manner of the winds of living - my work, my fears for Reb in a crisis (conscription) my economic fears for myself (my book would not have come out had the ~~xxxx~~ crisis materialised-its coming out means £500 to me, and not to have it would make matters desperately difficult for me) it is not as though I have only myself to think of; financially my own position is least of all in importance) But I do not vacillate over such promises as my promise to you always to help you so long as I had any money at all to do it with. If you need money to keep you going till you go to Canada you must ask me .- in the name of comradeship, which does not admit of any false pride.

870925531

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 7, London [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.— 3 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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I have had bad setbacks over the book- I had to go off to Dolgelley last week to take the place of a PPU speaker who failed; it meant a day and a night and half another day off work; y/day I went into the country to lunch in fulfilment of a promise made some weeks ago in anticipation of the book being finished by the end of Jan; the fog held up my getting back, and it was nine pm before I got back - too tired to start work then. But I have all tomorrow, Sunday, when Reg will be at an ILP Conference, and I don't intend attending the Branch meeting Monday, so I am hoping that by Tues. I may ring you to suggest a meeting - a quiet dinner together to talk everything over.

Well Ralph I dealt with the last two letters he sent, and ask him to pay the enclosed check into the SIA account, it is from four of Douglas Fitzpatrick's staff; it was sent in ten shilling notes.

I hope to ring you Tuesday, Emma. I will come to the office on the day we settle on as I would like to see how much money has come in since I sent the last lot off.

No more now, as I must make the most of the remaining time before Reg comes in and I must cook a meal. I am so tired !

My love as always

Ps. Don't, dear Emma, in anything you write, I beg of you, perpetuate that legend abt the wicked Moors- its anti-colour propaganda - the terror of the Moors! - they are no worse than white soldiers.

880726438

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 7, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].– 4 p. ; 30 × 24 cm.

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Paris Feb. 7th 1939.

24240

Emmote Tika, my dearest!

Received your letter and the 150 frs. Thanks, many times. I immediately changed the check and sent off 225 frs. to Mercedes. We know now where she is! It is: 100 kil. from Nimes and 600 from Paris. An application was made from here, asking the authorities to release her on the ground that she is sick. Whatever the answer will be, I shall keep you informed. We are terribly worried about her because she seems to be in a very disturbed state. Her letter is just heart-breaking: "My friends, don't leave me in this condition! He eps me. I am very sick." etc. etc. We do all we can and are awaiting the result.

In the mean time, we have other trouble with those who reached Paris without permits nor any kind of papers. Yesterday I saw Lecoin but he told me that the S.I.A. cannot do anything for them!...

880726438

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 7, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].— 4 p. ; 30 × 24 cm.

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Our opinion was seen in Figueras. If this is true, the town people were free.

The Italian representative of the Red Cross of the Left of the Prisoners' "protection" of the P.S.U.M., were all left behind! I sincerely hope there she is mistaken! For the sake of the poor people in the hands of the Spain!

24241

Our old comrade: Gonzalez Rosaroz was forgotten by our comrades and he fell in into the hands of Franco!

His wife was sick at the hospital and he was taken at his own house. Poor grand old man! How great must be his suffering to have been forgotten by the people whom he stood by!

880726438

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 7, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].— 4 p.; 30 × 24 cm.

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24242

nor can he do anything for Mercedes. When I said that we need some money for her, he told me that the Sia has not a cent to its name. And I — believe it is true.

Dearest, this is just for you. I don't want others to know about its incapacity in every ~~[illegible]~~ way. I saw Baruta, but he didn't impress me well and I didn't talk to him.

As for the money for Mercedes? Sonya has sent her some and the 225 frs. which I sent yesterday, will do for a while. She will need it and use it for others as well as for herself, but it will do for the present. I will also write to some personal friends and see if I can get some-thing. Proudhommeaux suggested to publish some of her works in her behalf but Lola — her companion — says she would feel very bad if she would know that any kind of appeals would be made in her behalf, it must only be among friends. — No news about Santillan so far. Jeanette arrived. As soon as we see her, and we know ~~it~~ something new, I shall let you know.

880726438

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 7, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].– 4 p. ; 30 × 24 cm.

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24243.

Darling, The house is full and its difficult for me to write, this is also the reason why the letter is so incoherent.

Do not even think of going to Perpignan. You will not be able to do anything. In order to be of help, you must be friends.

The whole National Committee is in Perpignan.

The old Orates is in concentration camp, and Paul Reclus is doing his best to get him out.

I will close now. The clothes which you have collected in London do sent to the S.I.A. They need clothes.

should you have a decent looking coat, for Lolo. please sent it on my address. That is, if the porto will not be too expensive for you!

Your ever devoted

Mollie

881010194

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 7, Amsterdam [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / M[ax] N[ettlau]. – 2 p. ; 10 × 15 cm.

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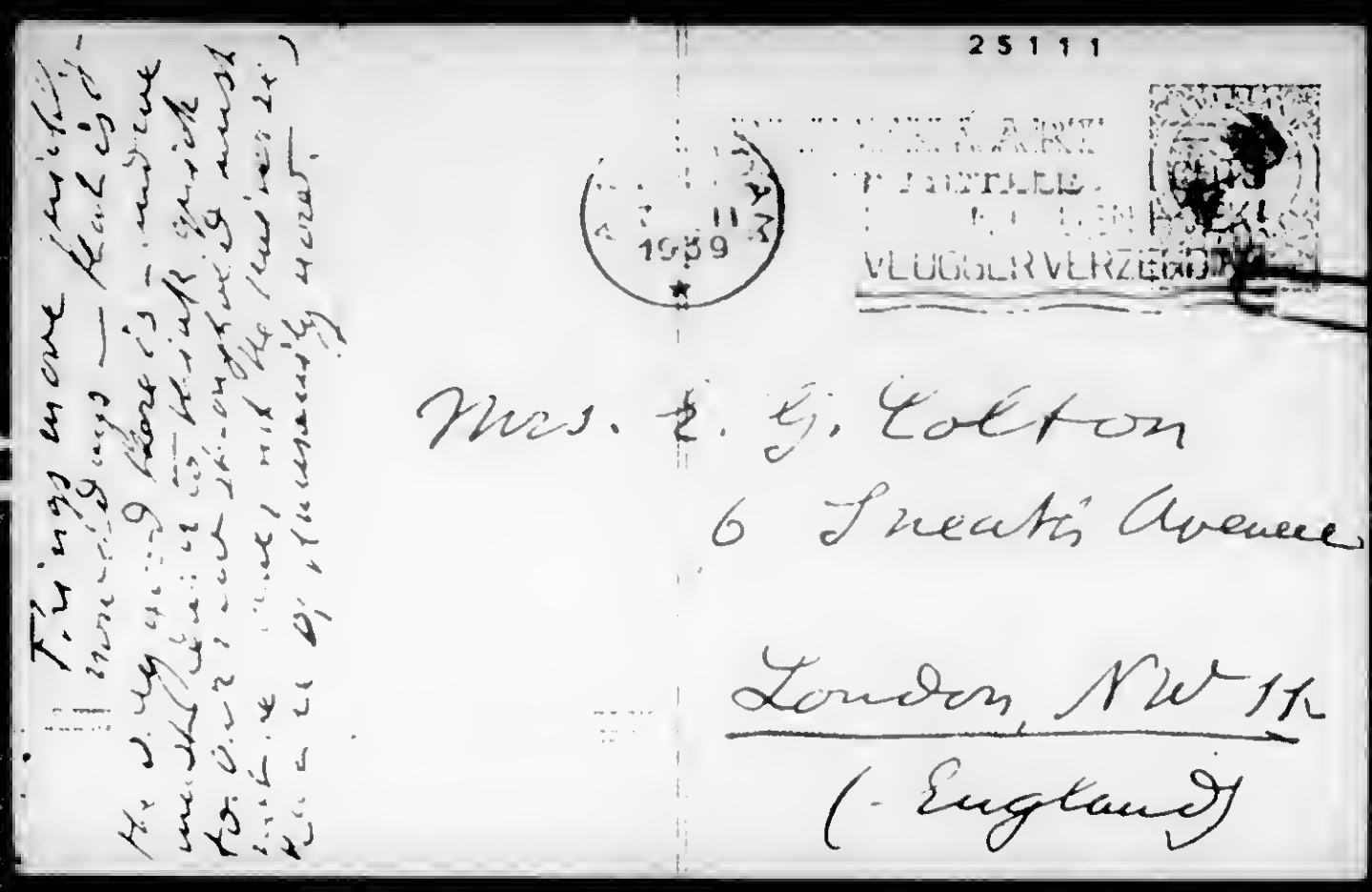

25111

Mrs. E. G. Colton
6 Sneath's Avenue
London, NW 11
(- England)

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881010194

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 7, Amsterdam [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / M[ax] N[ettlau]. – 2 p. ; 10 × 15 cm.

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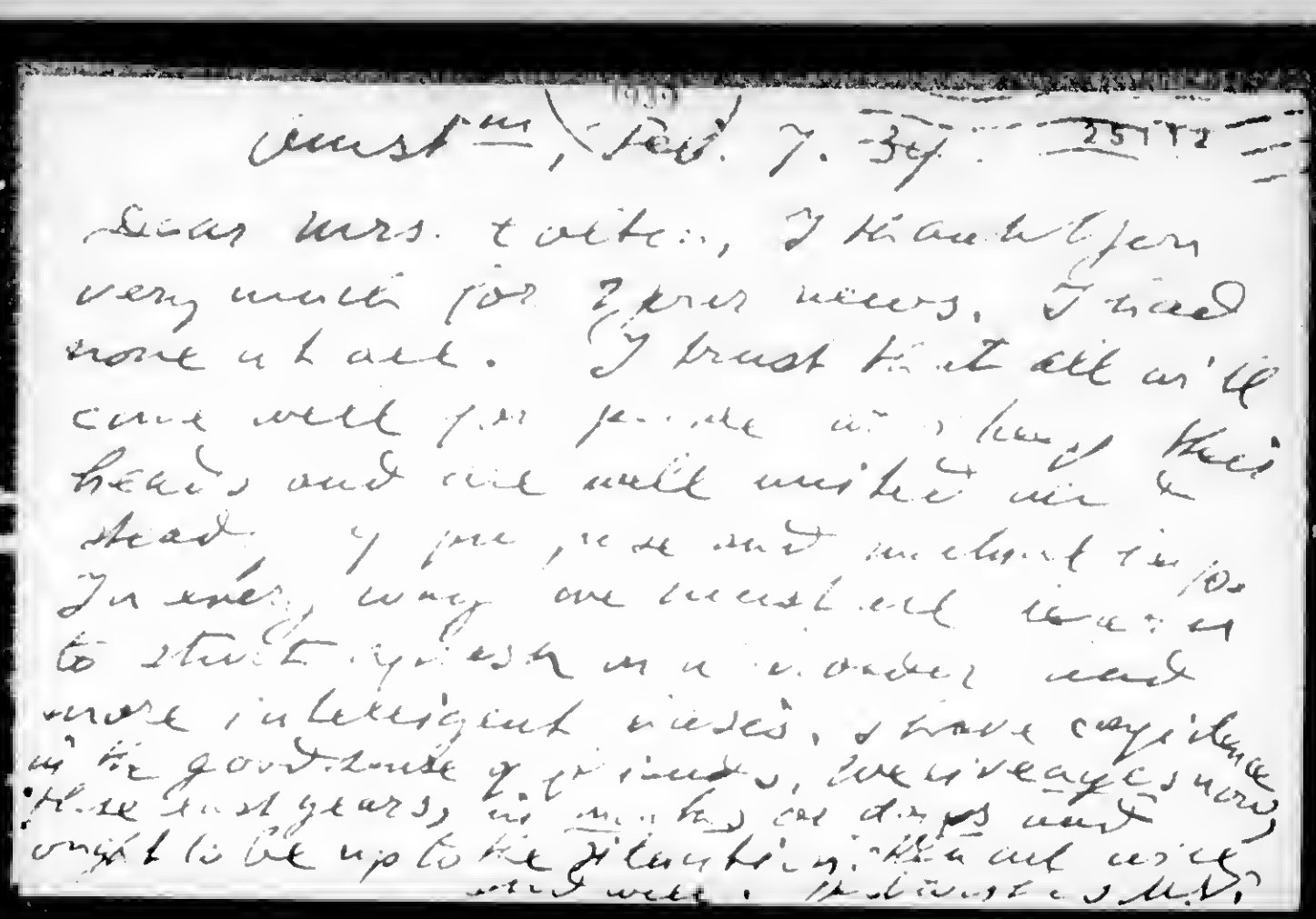
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



Amst^m, Feb. 7. 39.

Dear Mrs. Colton, I thank you very much for your news. I need none at all. I trust that all will come well for people who know their books and can well unite in the head. If you please and include in for. In every way one must and learn to start against on a wider and more intelligent basis. I have confidence in the good sense of friends. We live ages now, these last years, in months or days and ought to be up to the flourishing without wise and well. Publishers [illegible]

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880726423

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 7, Amsterdam [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / Annie [Adama van] Scheltema[-Kleefstra]. — 1 p.; 30 × 21 cm.

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24208

Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis
International Institute for Social History
Institut International d'Histoire Sociale
Internationales Institut für Sozialgeschichte

Directeur Prof.Dr.N.W.Posthumus — Keizersgracht 264 - Amsterdam-C.

A.v.S./t. — Telef. 24409 — 7th February 1939.

Mrs. E.G. Goldman,
6, Sneath Avenue
London N.W. 11

Dear Mrs. Goldman,

Yes, I understand quite how you are feeling and my thoughts were very often with you these last weeks. It is terrible to think what has become of all your friends and all the other comrades, it is terrible to think of the fearful fate that has come to Barcelona now. I can only say to you that I am myself very much under the influence of these anguishing events.

Your packets have all been sent to a safe place in England and will stay there till we may believe in more quiet days.

But I hope you will send all your Spanish material, as prearranged, to Amsterdam. We need it here to sort it out and fill up the gaps in our material. Afterwards we'll see where to send it on, but first we must classify all the Spanish material together, so that we know what we possess and what we should still try to find. So I hope you will help us.

Dear Mrs. Goldman, in these sorrowful days I can only wish you that you will keep your wonderful courage. With my kindest regards,

sincerely yours,

Annie Scheltema

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880726395

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 7, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Edward Ballantine]. – 4 p. ; 20 × 30 cm.
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24117

69 Morningside
New York City
Feb. 7th 1939

My Dear Emma

I wont go into the details about Stella's latest phase as you will read all it in Jan's letter. The grand fact is that Stella is able to come out of her fog even for one day, this encourages the doctors very much. She has gained 4 lbs since that Sunday Jan 22nd when she came out then almost completely. She was down to 106 lbs they have been feeding her vitamins in the form of yeast also she had been getting light doses of Insulin to stimulate her appetite. I saw her Sunday Jan 29th & spent two hours with her, I found her fairly calm she sat in a chair & didnt pace back & forth as she had done before, she had illusions about great dangers threatening me & Saxe she also talked about her intestinal tract being stuffed up, & that the doctors were stuffing her up needlessly,

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(3)

these are all ordinary symptoms of depressive cases. the latest word from medical centre is Stella holds her own and is about the same. The day after the miracle when she came out completely, the doctor talked about her coming out in two months or so, now then ~~that~~ ~~tal~~ make it perhaps a year, that is from the time she went in which was Sept 1st. so patience is the only thing I gather, I haven't the slightest doubt she will come out all right & the Doctor's prognosis is very favourable now. My dear as to what you say about seeing Stella & with your influence doing anything for her It seems doubtful at this stage of her illness, the doctors think that any influence like that only is useful when she is convalescing, Ruth you know went to a psychiatrist a whole year after she left medical centre. + Ruth tells me

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etc it discourages them because they feel so impoverished in will power. So I wouldn't advise you to sacrifice anything to get to see her, you see last Sunday, Saxe & I didn't see her as the doctors thought maybe our visit the Sunday before was too exciting for her. so you see, we are in the doctors hands & they might decide when you had come all that way, that you shouldn't see her. David has gone to a convalescent home for 3 weeks in the country

24119

this was invaluable to her as it reeducated her to face life (these are Ruth's words). now I doubt if any of us can do anything now, as it seems impossible to get at her, I tried a whole month I wrote her every day, building up her ego, encouraging her in every way with little results according to the doctors it seems, only the persons themselves can really do anything, & if you try to force it by such tactics as telling them to use their will-power

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24120

(4)

which the Kid needs badly as
staying at Saxe's wasn't good
for him as the friction between
Dorothy, and her kids is very
nerve wracking for an Invalid
She is for ever screaming at
them, to no purpose. & her cooking
is so terrible that no wonder
Saxe has stomach trouble, if you
think I am exaggerating ask
Dan about it, her cooking I mean.
I was on the point of cabling you
& Dan the day Stella came out
when she talked to David over the
phone, & they both broke down &
cried, & when she read the times
for the first time in 5 months &
discussed a book review with Saxe
but I suspected it was too sudden
to be complete & waited a little to see
what happened. Nevertheless I am very
encouraged. with all love
Yours Ever
Eddie.

881010203

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 8, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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25142

London Feb 8th 39

Lieber Helmut. Ich war sehr besorgt weil Du nicht wie Du mir versprochen hast "spatestens Freitage" geschrieben hast. Ich fuchtet dass der Arzt der De'nen Fall untersuchen solte nicht zufrieden stellend war und dass es D'r schlechter geht. Ich bin froh dass meine Befurchtungen nicht ganz berecht'gt war trotzdem Dein Zustand sich nicht wesentlich verbessert hat.

Ich habe schon von anderseite erfaren wie grauenhaft es in Perpignan unter den Unglucklichen Opfer aussieht. Leider kann ich nichts difinitives von Lucia bekommen.Sie schickt Tele gramme man moge fordern dass die Fluchtlinge asyle bekommen aber kein Wort in Beantowrtung meiner Fragen um man ihnen Kleider,Unter wasche und Shuhe schicken soll. Auch Garrec schreibt einfach nicht trotzdem ich ihm schon vier mal geschrieben habe. Ich dachte schon daran selbst nach Perpignan zu fahren um dor zu helfen und zu sehen woran es fehlt. Aber es wurde dieses ziemlich viel kosten und da die Behorde dort jezt streng ist durfte ich als Ausslanderin wohl nicht viel leisten konnen. Ich wunschte Du hattest mir Berners Addresse geschickt ich wurde ihm dann geschrieben haben mir sofort Antwort zu geben ob ich die Sache schicken soll. Wir haben hier ziemlich viel gesammelt,allsea fast neue Kleider fur Kinder und Erwachsene Nun liegt alles beiuns herum.

Du sagst Berner schrieb die Gefar'in von Martin und seine Sekretarin sind in Perpignan.Und er? Ich bin fast krank von sorge um ihn. Er schrieb mir ein paar Zeilen aus Gerona. Ich war zu tranen gerührt von seine Anhanglichkeit als ich las dass er von all seine Sachen und Bucher nur Living My Life mitgenommen hat. Aber wenn er nicht so ergeber und treu gewesen waere wurde ich mich auch gramen wie es ihm ergangen ist. Dann naturlich Herrera wo mag er sein. Und Escorsa der klarste Kopf unter unsere F.Freunde Du was er war ein Kruppel.als ich noch in Barcelona war feil er die erste Etage herunter un zerbrach sich sein gutes Bein. Er war vollstandig hulflos asl ich ihn vor meiner Abreise besuchte. Es waere zu grauenhaft wenn es ihm so ergehen wurde wie den alten Gonzales Reparez.Mollie schreibt mir man soll ihn einfach vergessen haben.Und er wurde von Francos Leute verhaftet wehrend sein alte Frau im Hospital krank geblieben ist. Wer weiss wie viel von unsere Kamardane vergessen worden sind als alles zusammenbrach und jeder sich auf eigene art retten musste. Ich bin fest uberzeugt, dass der arme taube und halb verkrippelte Alte nicht absichtilich zuruckgelassen wurde. Aber in der vollstandigen Nerven und Geist zerruttendem Zustand konnten unsere Leute schver an alle denken. Escorca waere ein grosser Verlust. Ich wage nicht auszudenken was die Bande mit ihm machen wird.

Ich bin auch um einen andern Genossen besorgt Felipe Alaiz. Ich habe ihn viel und oft gesehen und war mit ihm in Lerida zusammen,ein prachtiger Mensch und ein wirklicher FAI genosse. Es ist ja menschlich um die besorgt zu sein die man intime kannte, aber selbstverstandlich bin ich um alle unsere Kamaraden in grosse Unruhe.

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881010203

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 8, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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Der arme Michel dass er so hin und her getrieben wird ist unerhort aber was kann man schliesslich von Negrins Bande verlangen. Dass es unsere CNT Kamaraden sind di sich von diese Kreaturen haben um die Finger wickeln ist auch ein Zeugniss fur ihre unerhorte naivitat. Ich hoffe Michel komt davon,und Klose.Muss der arme Mensch fast nach zwei Jahren Gefangniss gerade vor der Katastrophe anch nach Barcelona kommen.

Gestern las ich in der hiesigen Presse dass die "Durruti"~~xxxxx~~ Kolonne weiter tapfer kampft aber wo gerade wurde nicht gesagt.Ob damit the 26te Division gemeint war,Sanz,oder Jover oder Vivancos. Die Tragodie ist zu toef und unser Jammer zu uberwaltigend.Man ist einfach ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ unfahig zu denekn oder zu handeln.

Die wirst in die beiliegende Kopie von Souchys ~~xxxx~~ Brief interesiert sein. Jezt endlich giebt S zu dass unsere Leute von der CNT durch ihre Dummheit viel zu dem ganzen Zusammensturz beigetragen haben. Die Zeichen des Zusammenbruches war ubrigens schon im Oktober zu sehen.Hauptsachlich hat Valejo alleas vorausgesehen. Er war vollstandig hoffnungslos dass uberhaupt etwas zu retten waere wenn nich das Personal des Komitees gewechselt wird und eine energische revolutionare Taktik begonnen wird.Die Kommunisten sagte er haben alles untergraben und zeruttet,nur eines konnte die Situation retten ~~xxx~~ drastisch gegen diese Leute vorzugehen.Unsere FAI Kamaraden beharrten auf dasselbe,aber das CNT Kommittee wolte da davon nichts wissen. Kein wunder dass dann Barcelona kapitulierte. Berner hat recht es ist die grosste Tragodie aller Zeiten dass unsere Sache so elndlich zu grunde gegangen ist,jedenfals in Katalonian. Ich furchte es wird im ubrigen Spanien auch zu Grunde gehen wenn nic nicht endlich mit alle Kompromisse ein Ende gemacht wird.

Mein liber,teuer Kamarad es ist lieb von Dir mir zu schreiben das ich ja alles getan hatte fur unsere Spanier. Aber das ist schliesslich kein Trost angesichts der Leiden die unsere Militanten jezt durchmachen und der Zerfall Kataloniens und Barcelona,die Wiege des Anarcho Syndikalismus, der FAI ,die Staette des revolutionaren Arbeiter Massen. Von die thausade und aber thousande Opfer schon gar nicht zu reden. Was mich am meisten qualt ist der Gedanke was wohl aus all den Verbereitungen geworden ist von denen mir Sant sprach und Herrera in seinen Briefe wiederholte? Wie es scheint konnten unsere Leute im lezten Moment nicht an die Mittel heran.Oder vielleicht haben die wenige tapfere Kamaraden die bis jezt noch weiter kampfen davon gebrauch gemacht. Es waere zu wunschen dass es der Fall ist.

Kannst Du nicht Berner veranlassen die Gefartin Martins zu sprechen und von ihr Einzelheiten uber die lezte Barcelaner Tage zu bekommen. Er selbst konnte sie ja notieren. Ausserdem weiss sie vielleicht wo Martin und die andern sind. Bitte tue es, er konnte mir direket schreiben Deutsch oder Franzosisch oder er konnete die Notizen Dir senden.

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881010203

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 8, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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28144

Ich wunsche Dir Genesung von Dieser Krankheit und die Moglichkeit recht bald auf eine Erholungsreise anzutreten.

Herzliche Grusse an Dora.Ich weiss wie Ihr beide and Sp.gebunden seit und es liebt um so gross ist auch Euere und ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ unser Jammer.

Ich werde vielleicht morgen noch ein paar Zeilen hinzufugen.Ich bin jezt totmude und zermurbt.

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870929384

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 8 [Paris to Emma Goldman, London] / Mariano R. V[á]zquez.— 2 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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20532

C.N.T. - A.I.T.

CIRCULAR REPORT.

The recent events that have taken place in Catalonia cannot but create a state of bewilderment among the comrades abroad who are sure to be anxious to understand how is it possible for a people who for two and a half years have been fighting the enemy without respite, to collapse so suddenly. For this reason we deem it advisable to issue this report explaining in a succint form what has happened.

When early in 1938 the enemy started a strong attack in the Eastern front - in which they succeded in breaking our lines and splitting in two the loyal territory - it becase absolutely essential to reorganise hastily our forces and to prevent the offensive becoming a total rout. The enemy's advance having been stopped, they started their attack towards Valencia until, owing to the exhausted state of our Army after two months of resisting the onslaug-ht, Valencia was truly in danger. In order to save it it was necessary to start a counter offensive that would compel the enemy to abandon their plans and upset their strategy. This was the origin of the Ebro battle, which more than fulfilled the aims we had in mind, compelling the enemy to face our attacks and to withdraw troops from the Levant front. The enemy, however, was not content with halting our advance, but intended to recover the lost ground. Our Army had to withstand seven fierce counter-attacks with quantities of armaments never before equalled. At the end of these counter-attacks we found ourselves again at the starting point. But our Army was badly weakened as a result of these seven counter-attacks, and it was in such circumstances that the enemy began the great offensive announced by the italians as final and which has ended in the loss of the whole of Catalonia. The enemy put in this offensive their best troops and larger quantities of armaments than ever.

Our Army, already weakened as previously explained as a result of the Ebro battle and lacking in arms, was tragically handicapped. Moreover, the civilian population had lost some of the enthusiasm of earlier days, as it was bound to happen, for even the stoutest hearts must flag after two and a half years of continuous struggle, made all the more difficult for us who had to make good with individual courage the shortage of arms. The lack of food among the civilian population was also a contributing factor to the weakening of their morale. The shortage of men at the front had to be made up by mobilising classes that were practically valueless as fighting forces; men of 35 and over, - for the most part with vested interests, married, with children, and lacking the fire and enthusiasm of youth - were not the best elements to oppose to the enemy's violent attacks. All these circumstances brought about such a loss or morale and widespread panic that Barcelona was

(cont.)

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evacuated by the civilian population days before the enemy had reached the town.

Another factor that contributed to the spreading of panic in Barcelona was the fact that the Government and all the official Departments left Barcelona hurriedly and actually carried out the removal in full view of everybody; the people sensed the danegr and, foreseeing the loss of Barcelona, abandoned the town.

All the rest, the loss of the whole of Catalonia is nothing but a continuation of the same circumstances that brought about the loss of Barcelona.

This is, in short, what happened; such are the causes of a disaster that can hardly be understood by anyone who was not in Barcelona at the time. It is all the more to be regretted because we were at the time placen in circumstances more favourable than ever. For several reasons that need not be mentioned here, the international attitude was most favourable to us. We were then receiving armaments in considerable quantities, as never before; but they came too late, they arrived when Barcelona was already lost and when the panic had already spread to the whole of the loyal catalan territory. The larger part of such armaments have fallen into the enemy's hands brand new.

Our comrades will ask themselves what about the future, what are we going to do. It is most difficult to give a definite answer. On our parte we still think in terms of resistance, and this, under the present circumstances, means to save as much as possible and to carry on with the fight for as long as we can. However, the main task, and that to which we must direct all our efforts, must be where to send the fighting forces that have left Catalonia and are now in french concentration camps, and how to save the lives of the fighters still remaining in what is left of the loyal zone when further resistance is no longer possible. We feel confident that our comrades will make this the starting point in their efforts to help us in so far as it is possible. The most important thing at the present moment is to send out and to find occupation abroad for as many of our men as it is possible.

For the National Committee of the C.N.T.

Mariano R. Vazquez,

General Secretary.

A. 8-2-1939.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 8 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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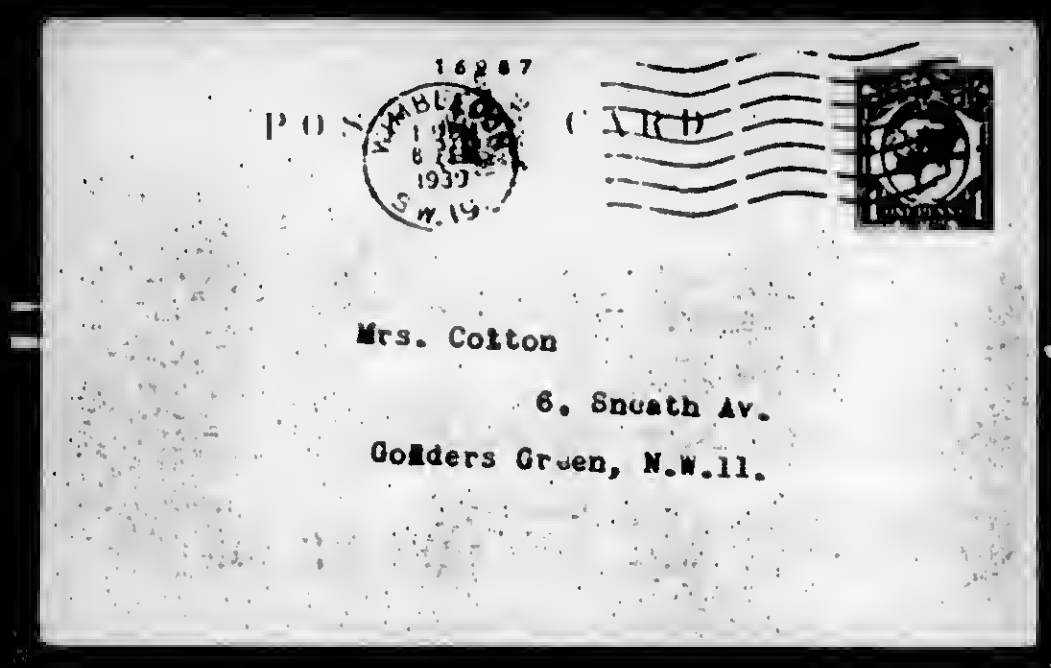

Mrs. Colton

6, Sneath Av.

Golders Green, N.W.11.

466

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 8 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].— 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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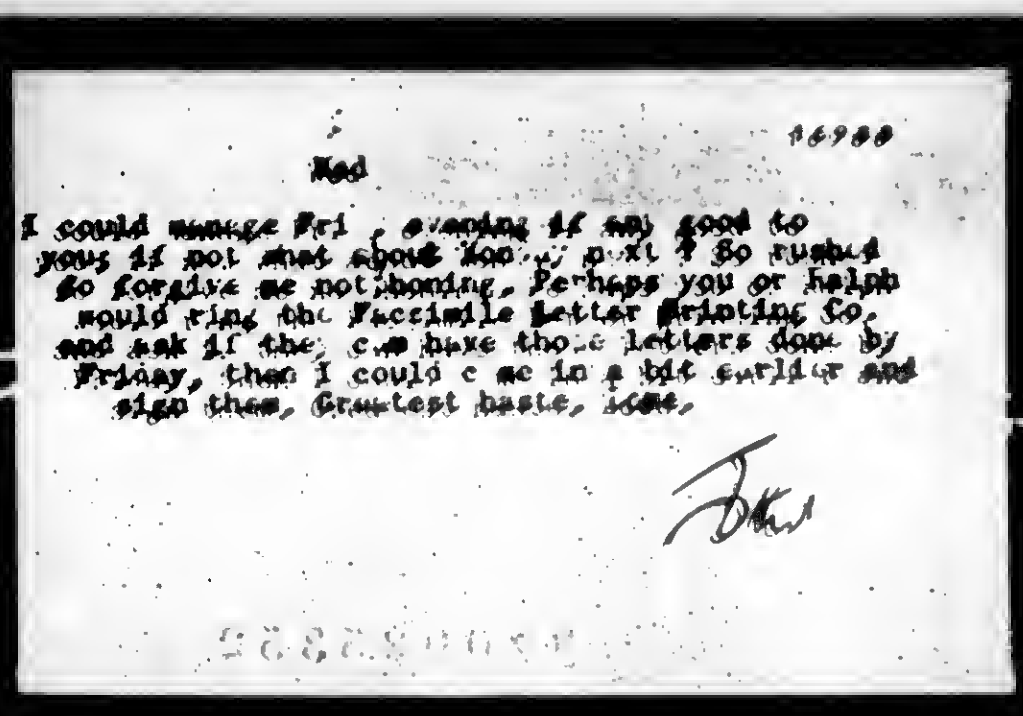

16988

Mad

I could manage Fri. evening if any good to you if not what about Sun. p.m.? So rushed so forgive me nothoning. Perhaps you or Ralph would ring the Facsimile Letter Printing Co. and ask if they can have those letters done by Friday, then I could come in a bit earlier and sign them. Greatest haste, love,

Ethel

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871005223

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 8, Marseille [France to] Emma Goldman, London / I. da Camara Pires.— 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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20400

C. E. C. I.

CENTRE D'EXPANSION COMMERCIALE INTERNATIONALE

SOCIÉTÉ A RESPONSABILITÉ LIMITÉE AU CAPITAL DE 50.000 FRANCS

BUREAUX : 40, LA CANEBIÈRE - MARSEILLE

TÉLÉPH. : DRAGON 59-03 & 84-53

ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE : CECI-MARSEILLE

ALL CODES USED

R. C. MARSEILLE 188.188

O/A

8 de Febrero de 1939

Emma Goldmann
21 Frith Street
Shaftesbury Avenue
London, W.1.

Querida Emma:

Recibi tu atta. fecha 6 del Cte. y te manifiesto que las noticias que tenemos de Herrera y Germinal de Souza son que eatan en un campo de concentracion asi como tambien creemos que lo esté Santillan; el confusionismo producido por la cantidad verdaderamente enorme de refugiadoa que llegan de España y las medidas draconianas cue el Gobierno frances ha tomado para que ninguno de ellos deje de ir a loa campos de concentracion que a este objeto ha formado, en varias regiones de Francia, nos hace no poder localizar con la rapidez que nosotros deseariamos a nuestros compañeros; espero que muy pronto hayamos conseguido que la mayor parte de los compañeroa salgan de los campoa de concentracion. Te tendré al corriente de los resultadoa de las gestiones que hacemos a este objeto.

Veo lo que me dices de la demanda de Lucia y Baruta para conseguir en esa que admitan a los refugiadoa y yo les transmitiré tus impresiones a este respecto.

Es cierto que Francia accepta a los refugiados de la poblacion civil asi como que el ejercito de Cataluña se encuentra casi en su mayor parte ya en Francia, pero lo que no sabemos es si esta acceptacion serà por un periodo muy largo aunque lo dudamos, y habrà de pensarse cosa que creo ya se està haciendo, en mandar contingentes de refugiados a las republicas americanas que quieren aceptarlos.

He cumplido tu encargo con respecto a la compañera de Herrera y enseguida recibiras sus noticias de acuerdo con tus deseos.

Con saludos de Jesus y de la compañera de Herrera, queda fraternalmente tuyo

Centre d'Expansion Commerciale Internationale
Le Gérant
Camara Pires

(sigue)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 8, Marseille [France to] Emma Goldman, London / I. da Camara Pires. — 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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BUREAUX 40, LA CANEBIÈRE - MARSEILLE

TÉLÉPH. : DRAGON 59-03 & 84-52

ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE : CECI-MARSEILLE

ALL CODES USED

R. C. MARSEILLE 183.188

A\O

20 400 A

8 de febrero de 1939

P.D.- Referente a lo que me dices de si tienes que mandar tambien a Marsella los vestidos, mañana haremos una gestion al objeto de ver si conseguimos que estos donativos no paguen derechos de aduana, pues en caso contrario creo subiria mucho el importe de dichos derechos; inmediatamente te comunicaré lo que haya.

London, W.1.

Querida Emma:

Recibí tu atte. fecha 6 del cte. y te manifiesto que las noticias que tenemos de Herrera y Germinal de Souza son que estan en un campo de concentracion así como tambien creemos que lo esté Santillan; el confusionismo producido por la cantidad verdaderamente enorme de refugiados que llegan de España y las medidas drecomianas que el Gobierno frances ha tomado [illegible] guno de ellos deje de ir a los campos de concentracion [illegible] objeto ha formado, en varias regiones de Francia, nos [illegible] no localizar con la rapidez que nosotros deseariamos a nuestros compañeros; espero que muy pronto hayamos conseguido que la mayor parte de los compañeros salgan de los campos de concentracion. Te tendré al corriente de los resultados de las gestiones que hacemos a este objeto.

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He cumplido tu encargo con respecto a la compañera de Herrera y enseguida recibiras sus noticias de acuerdo con tus deseos.

Con saludos de Jesus y de la compañera de Herrera, quedo fraternalmente tuyo

Centre d'Expansion Commerciale Internationale

La Gerante

(signe)

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881027179

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 8, Banyuls-sur-Mer [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emilia Roca.— 2 p.; 19 × 30 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

8-2-39

Amiga Emma:

Recibida su atenta carta y aceptando su ofrecimiento para los niños, le cuento mi situación en Francia para que me pueda yo desenvolver.

Estoy con los 30 niños de Mon Nou y dos maestras sin puesto fijo. Por de pronto estamos adheridos a una Colonia ya formada hace meses; pero esto es provisionalmente mientras encontramos donde colocar la Colonia de Mon Nou, Pero ya estoy perdiendo las esperanzas po-

881027179

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 8, Banyuls-sur-Mer [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emilia Roca.— 2 p.; 19 × 30 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24231

que todas las Delegaciones que se han formado para recoger niños españoles han decidido repartirlos entre familias.

¡Figúrese! el trastorno de esos niños y mío al tenernos que separar. No los he sacado de España para sacarlos de la guerra, pues el frente ya se acercaba a nosotros, y ahora, separarnos, es algo que nos apena muchísimo.

Los 30 niños, las 2 maestras y yo residimos en la Colonia de Banyuls sur Mer. Marva está en Perpignán gestionando algo para salir de esta situación.

Puede contestarle a las mismas señas: Hotel "Font del Gat" M. Marva, o bien a mi a: Rue Sebastopol 6, el ministerio Perpignan.

No he recibido ningún paquete de los que Vd. me anunciá en su carta anterior.

Con muchos besos de todos los niños para Vd. le saluda su alma.

Emilia Roca

P. D. Le cuento nuestra situación por si Vd. tiene alguna idea que pueda sacarnos de ella.

880726418

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 8 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Angelica [Balabanoff]. – 3 p. ; 32 × 25 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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ebr.8.39

-y very dear friend Emma:

The chief, if not the only reason of my not writing to ou was the fact that I was sure from the begining that the Spanish tragedy would end as it did. Knowing how you felt, what you thought and what you were doing in that heroic struggle I did not feel like telling you what my apprehensions were. Since that tragedy began, I became much less spontaneous &, I was afraid to discourage and at the same time I had scacely the courage to read papers. It became quite a habit with me not to express my opinion on the nearest future of the labor movement....I felt stroger and stronger that Sacha's voluntary end was the only one ...X
What is the use of writing to a friend unless you can tell him openly what you feel and what is the use of telling it?
I certainly would not have had the courage to write you today if not two circumstances: even you come over to Canada, I shall not see you, my dear friend. I made 2 attempts to go to Canada in order to get the first papeers and what not allowed to notwhilstanding I have a legal pass. And-last and not least-I do not believe it possible for you to come in this country....The second reason is that you ask me certain questions.
X Dear Emma you are the l a s t person I would expect to believe G.S. You were the first to warn me (you remember when I was leaving Europe you attracted my attention to his book containing so much of my material and you wrote him the first letter) and whenever I had to realize how unfair and unreliable he is and how unscrupulous, whenever I heard comments about and against him-I used to say to myself How right was Emma in writing me "A man like G.S. contributing to "Masses" is capable of everything" So you may imagine how surprized I was to re-d your letter! I do not think-and I hope to prove it to you-that I am the victim of an attorney" as you presume, but you, because of the same idealism are the victim of a comunist agent who abuses of your kindness and idealism...
When I came to this country I realised that the harm of Seldes publication was much more important than you imagined when you advised me to ask him to give a partof the proceeds of his book to "Avanti" He had not only published my material -which he was entitled to since I did not take any measure against his doing so- but he incorporated an article I had given him for the publication in a magazine in his book saying in a footnote that I had written that "episode" for his book! I was very much upset because I do not intend to share responsibilities for a book I had not read nor to have my name associated without my consent with books or authors. When I met S. he was very surprised that you had written him of his obligations toward me and said finally he would ask his publisher to settle the matter with me. Of course I refused. I did not want a publisher to interfere in such a question, nor was the financial side the only one. What sum of money could ever compensate me for the fact that I was supposed to be a contributor to a book which I had not read.
I dropped the whole affair. You may know that I had a very serious accident (i broke a shoulder in a bathtube) in May 1930 which kept me for many months in Chicago. When I came back to N.Y. I practically had forgotten the whole story. In April 38-a friend of Mr. S. which happens to be a lawyer in very good relationship with the russian Institutions and to whom I had been previously introduced by a german ex-socialist, now notoriously an agent of C.P. of the worst ones not officially joining the party but working for it-fervent defensor of the Moscowtrials and whom I said "Ich bitte Sie nicht mehr zu meinen Bekanten zu zählen" (This gentleman (one of those who signed a telegram congratulating Staline for the purges) phoned me (his name is Recht you may know him) that he has a cheque for me. "a cheque" "yes" said he "from Mr. Seldes." I asked him to keep the cheque until I would find out what it was about. A day or two after this call I received a registered letter containing a cheque (Ioo D.) with following wording "For material given 1931 to Mr. G. Seldes." I was more than amazed. After 7 years and Ioo Doll. for a contribution to a best seller. Kate Solfson who was just in my room when the letter came had the same impression. "Now he is paying you your material. And Ioo Doll. Well, your italian comrades will be gald to get it."
Two weeks after, an italian journalist-a friend of yours Armando called. He was

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furious. A certain Seldes who previously had taken much of his material without quoting him had written in a reactionary illustrated magazine an article full of erroneous dates and statements. He insisted that I should rectify at least the most evident errors. While we were talking over the situation, an american friend phoned "How could you, Angelica, write an article in such a magazine and such a vulger style..." I? You. In "Ken" The magazine against which G. Seldes has warned in " nation" Ken" (same editirs as Esquire) was a paper I had never seen or heard of before, excep the copy Armando had sent me... Next day my mail contained "Ken" with an article signed by me! An article with a most vulger introduction of "mussolinis social disease" etc. You may imagine! Kens office was just as surprised as I had been. Seldes had given the article how could they imagine that I did not know anything!!!
The article is a mixture of certain things I may have said and certain others arranged in a way that makes of me a kind of Stalinist. This shows the intention of S. who became a Stalinist, to misinterprete my attitude. And this on the eve of the publication of my book in which I denounce bolscevism! You may imagine. How could I explain to the publisher that this article was not mine, that I did not know anything! My editor wrote me a terrible letter: some Californian professors had told her that they would never read a book similar to that article. In a russian literary club a marxis declared that unless I can prove that this article has been falsified, my book woul be considered as utterly unreliable. How could I conciliate my view point with the assertions contained in this book. I could quote dozens of examples of how I have been damaged-not only financially-but, which is much worse-morally and politically by this way of misusing my name and my material. Among the many lies Mr. S. is using when gossiping about this story he says also that he only modified the form of the article which I gave him 1931!! You are the best judge: the articles had been revised and typewritten by Sacha, a so you imagine whether they required corrections or chan ges...
Such people deserve lessons. There is no way of giving them besides the tribunal If there is a reason why I insist upon this solution it is just because he is trying to influence friends and public opinion. I do not care. You, Emma, are the only one whom I give an explanation because I know that you are really interested and would not like me not to be consistent. And as I do not care in the least for public opinion I tell only to you in what the money question consists. It is a pure formality. 500 Dollars divided in this way-the whole sum-the expenses goes to the refugees One thing only seemed me a little strange: you say that S. is not wealthy. I do not kn know nor want to know. My attorney (the same Max Eastman has in his sue against the Daily Worker) has never spoken of it with me. But whatever the material conditions of this Mr. S. may be they have to be compared to the conditions of the refugees to who I would give the money as well as I did with the 500 d. received from Ken. You know how I used to live in Paris. Here I live much worse because the number of those I have to help is much greater. I make debts to be able to fulfil my most elementary duty to save human beings from something which is worse than death.
I am sorry and humiliated to have to waste your and mine time for all these explanations. It is so disgusting that such a gentleman dares to disturb you. And dares t complain about his economic conditions! Whatever he may say or invent about the sale of his book, one thing is sure: being a Stalinist he is not menaced by starvation as the writers or journalists who are radicals without being Stalinists are..

Let us speak of something else, Emma, dear! About Stella I hear only from Kat Wolfson, who having fortunately found work and living now with her children comes to see me very seldom. Last week she told me there was an improvement in Stellas condit I do not think she is allowed to visit her. But she sees Mr. Balantine and Dave ofte I do not know to whom I could compare Kate as far as her devotion to Stellas family is concerned. She almost neglects her own children. In general she is a wonderful woman. So much enrgy and selfdiscipline, and such a human unselfish approach. To me it is a real loss that she can no more come, but you may imagine how happy I am in sein how much she achieves and how much happier she is now.
Jane Lewey is such kind and gifted woman and such an organiser. She is almost the onl one who made me earn something by a few lectures in Chicago

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met your friend Mrs Halperine on several occasions.She seems to be a very sensitive and generous person.You may imagine how much we speak of you,dear Emma. So we do when I have the opportunity to meet your comrades R.and M.R.What warmth consistency ,intellectual and moral charm ! This poor vanishing generation of ours!How glad I am to get older and older..The end is near.....

Eugene Lyons is my neighbour.I like him and his wife.(By the way he was among the most upset and disgusted by Seldes way of treating me)Now he is the editor of Ameri an Mercury .Very succesful.I hope life will not spoil him.

The boat is l eaving in a few hours.

Good byue,Emma dear.I know you are strong and the uncomparabl courage of your comrades will help you to live..for them.

More than ever affectionately

Please write on my address: 50 W.

Angelica

I had to interrupt this letter more than once. And Spain more and more absorbs me. I was ashamed to think of other things and letter has been written in these conditions. I see that among others I have forgotten to mention something very characteristical for Mr S. He became the creditor of "Ken" with the intention of making it a communist paper for innocents. When he was pressed from Moscow, in he wrote an article in "Nation" denouncing Ken and the capitalist press in general stressing the irreparability of radical writers with insignifications. This did not prevent him from giving my article to Ken. I have asked for a settlement because the fact of having published an article not thought the authorisation of the editor could have very serious consequences for the prestige of the magazine. They would have paid more if I would not have [illegible] that Seldes and not Ken is morally responsible –

Now, Emma, dear, I repeat like you not to let know Seldes what I am writing you. If you have to tell him anything, do please tell him that I insist on the strict just because is gossiping trying to create the sympathy of my friends. He is saying that I am asking [illegible] To you

I say that I do not care a single penny for my prestige to whom I do not owe any explanation.

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881103000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 9 [London to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Ethel Mannin, Hon. Treasurer
Emma Goldman, Hon. Secretary

Telephone: GERrard 2636

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

9th February, 1939.

Dearest Rose,

I do not think I have to go into details why I did not write you sooner in answer to your letter of January 4th. It was forwarded to me to Amsterdam while I was digging in the dead past in Sasha's and my material - a very painful occupation I must say. It took me four weeks, and then I could only compile the material without making real order, as it should havebeen done. Then before I returned to London began the Calvary of the Spanish people in Catalonia which ended in the collapse of all that our own comrades had built and had struggled for so heroically. I suppose you and other comrades are in distress of doubt of what exactly happened in Barcelona. I can't say that I have many details, but a copy of my letter to Ben Capes will explain part of it. I have since received greater detail from a comrade who came out of Spain and is in Paris now. Among them is the fact that the Carabinieros (Negrin's counter-revolutionary army) were the ones who have failed at the Ebro front and have made it possible for Franco to break through and march triumphantly from town to town and village ~~and~~ to village, slaying everyone in his way. This news did not surprise me. We all knew who had been in Spain in 1937 after the May tragedy that the Negrin Government has created a police ~~army~~ body for ~~its~~ own protection, consisting of the Assault Guards and the Carabinieros, to be used at any moment should the Spanish workers and peasants rise, as they did in May, 1937. We all knew it and so did the National Committee of the C.N.T. Unfortunately our naive comrades were wound round the finger of Negrin and his Communist Cabinet. There are other factors which I received from Souchy. He, too, escaped and is in Paris. I am not sure that your reading German, but I am sending you a copy of his letter with the understanding that it is not to be made public. It is only for your information and such comrades who are reliable.

Before Gerona fell into the hands of Franco I had a few lines from one of our most reliable comrades who worked in the foreign section in Barcelona, who gave me a number of details about the collapse of defence in Barcelona. He also told me who the comrades are who have succeeded in getting to Gerone. Since

NEW

Rather send Rose my letter after I've read it. Attach it to Souchy's letter and return to me. Thanks Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 9 [London to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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then not a word from anybody, so I don't know who is alive and who is dead. I do know that the Committee of the S.I.A. has reached Bernignan. I have received the enclosed wire and appeal, but nothing else. I have telegraphed them to-day asking for more satisfactory news about our comrades.

You will see by my letter to Ben that I feel completely crushed. If only I could do something here. I know I could pull myself together then - but outside of an emergency call which is now being mimeographed I can think of nothing, and my distress and anxiety over the comrades grows by leaps and bounds. As to going to Canada, I can't think of it now. I can't get away until I know the fate of our comrades. It would rob me of my peace and poison my life to be so far away and in ignorance of ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ their plight and their possible plans if they still have any.

Regarding my re-entry into America - I had a letter from Harry Weinberger telling me that the time seemed hopeless. Imagine anyone wanting to impeach Perkins, as she were not already reactionary. But even that does not suit the ultra-reactionaries, the idiotic witch-hunters, who are afraid for their own hides. It is true that an old friend of Sasha's, Fitzi's and mine, Jo Coffin, has written Fitzi expressing desire to help. She happens to be the assistant of the Government Printer. I wrote her giving her all the details about myself and my reasons for wanting to return to the States, but I do not believe she will succeed. Nevertheless I will go to Canada, not that I expect success there, but that I am too unhappy here and must have a change. But as I already said, I simply must wait until I have gotten in touch with the comrades and know what they would like me to do.

You will be very glad to hear that some sort of an extraordinary thing has happened in the condition of Stella. A letter Ian has received contains the wonderful news that she woke up one morning with her mind as clear as it has been in her normal days and with a zest for food. You see, she had starved herself under the pressure of her mania of suicide, and had lost an awful lot of weight. It is therefore wonderful that her will to live has re-awakened, and especially that her mind has become clear of the dreadful blackness that had held it captive. We are all now filled with hope that our Stella will soon be her old self again. You can imagine what that would mean to me and in fact to all of us who love her.

Thank you for the albums you sent me. Your organisation has certainly done wonders for its members. I hope it is not at the expense of their militant spirit and of their realisation that the improvements they have gained should not make them so self-satisfied and contented as most people grow when their economic status has changed. As far as I now I expect to sail the 8th of April, so you can still write me here.

Affectionately,

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 9 [London to J.] Owen Grundy, [Jersey City, N.J.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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9th February, 1939.

Dear Owen Grundy,

Thank you for your Christmas letter and also the card of our mutual friend, John R. Longo. I am very glad indeed that my letter helped to brighten his spirit in his present position. I know from personal experience that nothing helps one in prison to keep one's faith as the remembrance of friends outside and the kind messages they send us. I should have written you and him sooner, but it was impossible owing to some work I had to do in Amsterdam and after that to the great catastrophe of Catalonia and Barcelona. To avoid repetition I am sending you copies of recent letters I have written to friends about the frightful calamity and its effect on my own spirit. You can if you will send these copies on to our friend. I really haven't the peace of mind to write him separately, but I am sure he will understand. Another thing is that I am not sure whether he is still in gaol or has been released. I don't care to write to a prison in the full knowledge that the authorities will possess themselves of the letter. You may be able to let John read it when you visit him.

Dear Friend, you do not realise how little influence our mutual friend, Leonard D. Abbott, or Harry Weinberger, have in Washington. If anything their attempt to get me ot America would do my case more harm than good. Besides, even more influential friends seem to have lost hope of getting me a visa. No wonder. Reaction seems to be rampant in the United States. If it has come so far as a suggestion of impeachment of the Minister of Labour - she is herself so ultra-conservative and respectable that I cannot imagine why anyone should want to impeach her. It merely goes to prove that there is no end to to reaction. One competing with the other in their efforts of destroying "the evil spirit".

To send a copy of "Living My Life" to America would be like carrying coals to Newcastle. Besides, I haven't a copy. All I could do is to write to the publishers to send a copy for our friend, but that would do no good as I could not autograph it.

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I think he and you had better wait until I reach Canada which, by the way, will not be so very soon, as I had expected. But I will be there in April, I hope. Perhaps when our good friend has left the smaller prison for the larger, which is the world outside, you may pay me a visit in Toronto. I will then be delighted to autograph a copy of "Living My Life".

Sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 9 [London to] Evelyn [Scott, Walberswick? England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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9th February, 1939.

Dearest Evelyn,

You never date your letters, so I do not know when you wrote your last, except that it reached me about a week ago. The tragedy in Catalonia and Barcelona has completed knocked the bottom from under me, so that I was unable to think, let alone write, a coherent letter. Else you should have heard from me before. To avoid repetition I am sending you a copy of a letter I wrote to an old and most devoted friend of mine, Dan Capon. It will tell you of my state of mind about the greatest disaster that has happened in our century and perhaps in all time. I say the greatest, because never before have a group of men and women neared so high in their ideation and in their determination to make their ideal real, a living force for the beginning of a marvellous social order. That this should all have been destroyed by the conspiracy of the totalitarian states, the treachery of the so-called democracies and the apathy of the international proletariat, represents an overwhelming disaster - and then the martyrdom and human suffering. It would require the pen of a Dante or a Dostievsky to describe the magnitude of that which has happened in Catalonia and in Barcelona. As I have not their pen, I can only give a feeble account as you will find in my letter to Dan.

There is really nothing I can add, except to tell you that the seeming hospitality of France to the unfortunate tens of thousands, like all such charity, freezes one's blood. A very dear friend of mine, Mercedes Comaposada, the editor of the Magazine, Mujeres Libres, one of the most striking publications ever gotten out by women, has been put in a miserable concentration camp near Nimes. The place is desolate and cold and the food abominable. It would not matter so much if it were not for the fact that Mercedes is a sick woman and that if she remains long in the concentration camp it might even affect her life. We are trying what we can to get her out of the place and to supply her with clothing and some money so that she can rest and recuperate her very much depleted health. Anyway, you can see the martyrdom that is now come to the most heroic people and the greatest lovers of freedom.

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Tragic as the present situation is, I want you to know that this is by no means the end of the battle. Only those who do not know the Spanish determination to win liberty or die in the attempt can believe that. Besides, what peace or harmony can there be between Franco and his Spaniards, and the masses of the Spanish people whom he has made to pay a thousandfold in suffering and death? Whatever the unscrupulous politicians at the head of the States in the world will do, they will never break the spirit of the Spanish workers and peasants, nor appease them with oily promises for very long. It is my faith in the Spanish people which helps me in this, the greatest of fire, I have yet experienced.

Now to your letter. Most interesting and thoughtful - it really would take a great deal more than I can write to-day to do justice to it, but I will deal with some of the most salient points. First of all let me tell you that I feel very proud that your son wants to own the letter I wrote you. By all means let him have it with my love.

I, too, have heard from Margaret. She writes the situation is hopeless, so I do not think that my presence in Canada even will facilitate my getting a visa. Worse still, I have no idea why I am going to Canada now. The purpose was to speak on behalf of the Spanish struggle and raise funds for the children's colonies and the work. For the present this aim is no longer there. The colonies have all been destroyed, and there is no saying whether the children have been rescued. I must wait until I hear from my friends, at least from those who have survived alive. I am distressed beyond words because of the uncertainty as to what has become of them. If I eventually do go to Canada, it will largely be to run away from myself, though I know perfectly well that no one can do that. We drag ourselves with us wherever we go. Anyway I am not thinking about getting to America now. I am too much in the throes of the tragedy of Barcelona.

You are quite right, my dear - "All the newspapers are interested in preparing this country to accept war at short notice". The newspapers in every country are interested in that because they serve high finance and the merchants of death, the ammunition manufacturing crowd. Also they serve those in power to keep the masses in their place. The reason for it is that there is many prefer war to revolution. You see, my dear, in war the masses pay the price. In Revolution the present oppressor system is likely to fall. That was precisely the reason for the cowardly act of the so-called democracies against the Spanish Revolution. That is why they no less than the Hitlers, Mussolinis and Stalins preferred Franco to win than the Revolution. In the war, it is not only the Press, but also the school, the pulpit and the home that emasculate the human mind, for nothing is so dangerous to the status quo as independent thinking.

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The title of Herbert Read's book is "Poetry and Anarchism". I am sending you a copy. I rather think he does ~~xxxx~~ "share with me a ~~xxxxxxxx~~ continued conviction in respect to efficacious violence as a means to other ends, and share, as I do with you, the connection of freedom as ultimate alignment". You are entirely right, dear Evelyn, when you say that the "simplification introduced by the machine which is useful for manipulating thousands" and that "changes wrought by machine intervention are completely on the external side and leave the real ~~xxxx~~ battle which has to be fought from within the person". Certainly the machine has become a fetish ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ eulogized by every shade of Marxian schools. We Anarchists have realized this modern superstition long ago. That is why we have insisted that the man, instead of being subjugated to the machine, must become the master of it so that he may gain time and leisure for his inner growth and development. Above all, the use of the machine must be so directed as to take very little time from man so that he may learn to appreciate the quality and beauty of things he produces.

I cannot quite agree with your interpretation of the new superstition. That is the religious fervour of dictatorship and its ~~xxx~~ replacement of Christianity. I think it was all the way round, whatever greatness the ideal of early Christianity had, ceased to exist when it was tied to the chariot wheel of the State. Since then, it was used to destroy independent thinking and to chain the masses to the State. This process of two thousand years has naturally turned mankind into an abject slave. When Christianity lost all its potentialities, some other superstition became imperative. The idea of dictatorship potentially wielded by the masses, became the new Messiah. In point of fact dictatorship, whether of Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin, emanates from the lowest depths, from the workers and peasants themselves, for it must never be forgotten that all the modern dictators are either of proletarian or peasant stock. This inevitably spreads the delusion that the masses have now come into their own, that they will now have a chance to lord it over those who have lorded it over them for so long. After all, the workers have attained to a "fatherland" and their own republic - a la Russia. ~~xxxxxx~~ Don't you see the lure that this has for so many people -"many too many"as Nietzsche called the blind worshippers of Christianity.

I am glad to see that you express the thought I have been expressing since my return from Russia, namely that it has already proven more difficult to slay the false god than it did the old, and you are also right in your fears that "the Revolution may also become a superstition since part of its protagonists make it a movement in their own interest and the opportunity for tyranny is ever greater". You overlook one great factor, however, the change in these present day "revolutionists". They have substituted "democracy" for Revolution. While this new slogan has helped to paralyze the energies of the masses, and has deliberately betrayed the struggle of the Spanish, it has also helped to rescue the very concept of Revolution from its false pretenders. These stil

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capable of independent thinking will now be compelled to see that Revolution does not express merely the overthrow of institutions, necessary as that may be, but also the inner growth as well as conscious intelligent understanding for the individual and collective life. The Spanish Revolution had aimed at this at the inner and outer transformation of man and society. But the odds against the realization of this great ideal have proven too formidable. World imperialism of the totalitarian, democratic and Russian States, all combine to cache crush the Spanish Revolution in the bud. If they have so far succeeded in Catalonia, it does not mean that they will also succeed in all Spain. In fact I know that the spirit of the Spanish people is unconquerable. No power on earth will for long subdue it, even though their present martyrdom has reached the very depths.

Yes, it is a "test" to withstand the blind fury of the miserable Stalinites. Even a greater test will come when we will refuse to support the impending world slaughter in order to save the precious "workers socialist republic". It will indeed be a test of fire. I have no more fear for you than for myself that you will come out unscathed.

Thank you, dearest Evelyn, for the nice things you say about my last letter. I am glad that my understanding of your mind and your values helps you so much. It is precisely what you do for me. Believe me, it is a great comfort to know that in faraway America there are a few, you foremost among them, whose hearts beat in unison with mine and that your mind is harmonious with mine without the need of arguments or explanation.

I hope you will not object to my sending Herbert Read some excerpts of your letter. It has always been my function to help kindred minds to meet. I do want Read to know you at least through your letters. He may write to you. He is very much worth while as an artist and as a human being.

With love to Jim and yourself.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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9th February, 1939.

Dear Rebecca,

Here I am again come to pester you, as I did last year. My only excuse is that the catastrophe of Catalonia and especially Barcelona compels me to break my decision not to worry you again. The tragedy of my friends in Barcelona and those who have succeeded in escaping the tender mercies of Franco does not permit of any personal considerations.

I am enclosing a telegram and a translation of an appeal I have received from my friends who are in Perpignan trying to do what they can to aid the refugee children from the 19 colonies they had established in Barcelona and surrounding places, and also to assist in every way the men and women who have finally been admitted by the French Authorities. You will see that in the face of one of the greatest tragedies, Spanish men and women can still think of their "dignity" and still resent the possibility of being turned into "slaves". In addition to this I have received a letter from a remarkable Spanish woman, Mercedes Composado who was the editor of the magazine called Mujeres Libres, which she and other intellectuals had published over two years. She is in a concentration camp near Nimes, a cold and miserable place, and wretched food. She is in poor health, and a long stay in that camp is likely to make her condition worse and possibly even end in death. I am writing you for your help, primarily in reaching your women friends and acquaintances. You have done so much when I was here working for the political prisoners of Russia in 1925 and 1926, I cannot believe you will not also respond to the great needs of the Spanish refugees. Do you think it possible to let me see a group of women to whom I could state the case of the unfortunate victims of not only the Fascist States but also the so-called democratic governments, among whom the British Government has played the most despicable part: or will you speak at a meeting I will arrange? Help for the refugees is desperately needed, but also it is very necessary indeed to explain the part in the collapse of Catalonia and Barcelona of the insidious forces in Spain itself.

Please let me hear from you soon.

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In case the enclosed letter in the Manchester Guardian of the 7th instant has escaped you, I want to call your attention to the fact that Mrs. Muesahm had been lured to Russia four years ago by a certain Mrs. Stassova who was at the head of an organisation "for the protection of foreigners who visited Soviet Russia". This lady faithfully promised Zensel Muesahm that her husband's works would be published in Russia. As you will see, she has since been hounded twice. She was saved in 1937 only through the world-wide publicity given her case. I feel certain if it is not done this time again she will most likely go the way of other opponents of Stalin's regime. Could you not write a letter of protest to the Soviet Ambassador, asking about the whereabouts of Zensel Muesahm. Anyway write me by return mail if possible. Better do so at my private address, 6, Sneath Avenue, N.W. 11. My telephone there is Speedwell 7135. I can be reached every morning until noon, and most days in the afternoon. If not, my office number, Gerrard 2636, will reach me.

With my old affection,

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John Cowper Powys

9th February, 1939.

My dear good Friend,

Your letters of December 23rd and January 6th were forwarded to me to Amsterdam where I was at work in bringing order in the confusion of our accumulated material, Alexander Berkman's and mine. I went there for ten days, but soon discovered that even a month would not be sufficient to arrange the tremendous amount of correspondence, articles, sketches and whutnot that we had accumulated since we came out of Russia in 1922. All our other material, much vastor and richer, which we accumulated in America from the very beginning of our entry in the Anarchist and labour movement, were confiscated by the Federal Authorities when they came to our office in June, 1917. They went over everything like a tornado and I have never seen a scrap of paper since. They certainly made a rich haul. My good friend, Honkin, once tried to get everything back from the Federal Authorities, but he was assured that they know nothing about it. Their assurance is on par with Hitler's and Mussolini's. I am afraid that they convinced my credulous friend, Honkin, as the totalitarian gentleman have convinced credulous Mr.Chamberlain. Of course the Federal Authorities may have destroyed or burned everything. Who can tell? Anyway I remained in Amst rdam a month, the last week in great distress over growing collapse of Catalonia. Shortly after I came back, came the tragedy of tragedies, the collapse of Barcelona. I have since been in such distress and misery over my friends' fate I have not been able to do such straight thinking, but I have written a letter to a very fine friend of mine, a copy of which I enclose. That will tell you why Barcelona "surrendered". After all, the men and women who have fought so valiantly for two and half years are but human. It was impossibleto hold out against the overwhelming physical force of Franco in addition to starvation which ended the last four days in actual famine. All that only intensifies the deep tragedy of the tens of thousands of heroic people literally forsaken by the whole world. Of course, many of the ladies and gentlemen in this country who have been sending food and medical supplies to Spain, thereby soothing their own guilty conscience, because they permitted Mr.Chamberlain and the National Government to work directly into the hands of Franco, Germany and Italy. They all talked in Parliament while sitting in their comfortable seats and knowing full well that their wives and children will be safe, and that no one of their own will go hungry. Sympathy is the cheapest thing in the world. The very thing that would have stopped Mr.Chamberlain long ago no one was willing to undertake, - direct

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action, a general strike and a systematic postering of the M.Ps. Only the brave suffragettes have proven the ~~efficiency~~ efficacy of this method. Nobody since them in all of England.

If the catastrophe were only a matter of Catalonia and Barcelona it would not be quite so shattering, but it is a catastrophe to the whole world. I can only hope that it may have struck deep into the hearts of the international proletariat and into the minds of those who are still capable of thinking. I know for certain that far from destroying the faith of the Spanish people and the determination to continue the struggle for freedom, It has only strengthened it. As I said in my letter to my friend, Evelyn Scott, no power on earth can crush the Spanish people for long, but for the present they are paying a frightful price.

My dear friend, I deserve no thanks for the literature I have sent you. I am only too glad when those who are my friends express interest in the ideas that have been and are the raison d'etre of my life. I have never imposed my ideas on people and I could never bear people who talked shop in and out of season. But if I see the least interest I am happy to help those who are seeking for information. I am very glad also that you liked the Life of Bakunin. It is by no means a deep work, but then my friend, Dr. Kaminski, does not pretend anything more than firstrate journalism, and as you say it is written in such a simple style that anyone who knows even little of French can easily understand it.

In attempting to make a "convert" of you I felt quite safe that you would not develop a sense of "intellectual and spiritual superiority" over the unconverted. I shouldn't want such a convert but I had enough faith in you to know that as far as your time and energy will permit you will use whatever knowledge and conviction you have gained from the literature I sent you to impart both to others who like you have been Anarchists all their lives but did not know it. And you see, I know you better than you knew yourself. There is more fact than fiction in the contention I have maintained that Anarchists are born rather than made. I frankly own up to my ignorant belief in my youth that all that was necessary to make everyone of the thousands of people who heard me an Anarchist, was to speak to them with my heart in my throat. But I soon climbed down from this self-sufficiency. I realised that all that one can do whatever by word of mouth or pen, is to awaken whatever is inherent in man, namely the longing for freedom and self expression. I don't know how much I have succeeded in that through a half century of effort. It is already much to have awakened the interest in people of your calibre and some of the other individual minds who have come my way. There is much more I would like to write you, dear friend, but I really feel very restless and in great mental stress over the fate of the tens of thousands of the heroic Spanish people. How they loved their Barcelona and how they worked and toiled to make it the first truly free city in the world. I should despair utterly

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if I did not know my Spanish friends, if I did not know that no matter how few of them remain alive and escape the Christian pity of Franco, they will continue the struggle for which the others have died.

With affectionate greetings,

P.S. In the frightful calamity that has come to hundreds of thousands of people one must not forget the interest of individual human beings. It is for this reason that I would like you to write a review of Bakunin's life. It would be well if you could get it in any of the important magazines, but if not Spain and the World will be very willing and very proud to publish it. It would help the circulation of the book and also materially its author.

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9th February, 1939.

Dear Monica Whateley,

I have received several invitations to some of the affairs organised by the Six Point Group. I wanted very much to attend, but the tragedy of Catalonia, and especially of Barcelona, has quite overshadowed everything else in which I am interested. In fact, it has been a terrific shock and has paralysed my energies, at least for the present. The conspiracy of the totalitarian states, the treachery of the so-called democracies and the indifference of the International proletariat, have finally succeeded in crushing the magnificent beginning in Catalonia of the 19th July, 1936. No one who has not himself repeatedly returned to Catalonia and has seen the splendid constructive work carried on by the Spanish workers and peasants, can realise the full depth of the tragedy that happened on the 26th of January - the tragedy not only of the Spanish people but also of the whole world.

The enclosed telegram and translation of an appeal that reached me from Perpignan, speak for themselves. Nothing that the newspapers are reporting about the frightful situation of the refugees quite expresses the terrible suffering, accounts of which reach me by mail. If only the entry into France would eliminate the agony that the men and women and children have been going through. Unfortunately their condition in the concentration camps into which they are stuck continues the purgatory of the hapless victims of the whole world. Two days ago I received a letter to the effect that Mercedes Composado, the editor of Mujeres Libres, one of the three woman who were to attend the Geneva Conference in 1937, has been sent to a concentration camp near Nimes, a place barren even of mattresses to lie on, terribly cold and with wretched food. In as much as she has been ailing for a long time, her present condition is likely to cause a very serious illness or possibly her death. I am therefore appealing to you, dear Monica Whateley, to help me reach the members of the Six Point Group. Would it be possible to call them together and let me present the case of my friend, Mercedes Composado and the other women sufferers whose heroic struggle for the emancipation of women, has for the present

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come to a standstill. Surely the women of your organisation will want to help our Spanish women friends. Their misery in their own wretched condition is great indeed, but I feel certain that their main unhappiness is more in their inability to continue their great task. They need material and moral help, and I rely on you to arrange some way that might enable me to reach the members of the Six Point Group.

Another item is the case of the widow of the poet, Erich Muesahm, who was tortured and killed by the Nazis. I enclose a letter of mine that appears in the Manchester Guardian of the 7th, which will give you the details of the disappearance of his unfortunate widow. This case should not prove so difficult to help as that of Spanish friends. Please write to the Russian Ambassador and ask for an explanation and information about the whereabouts of Mrs. Zensel Muesahm.

Do you not think that it might also be of great moral help to make a demand on the British Government to offer asylum, if in a much smaller measure than France, to the thousands of refugees, and finally, will you write to the French authorities and ask for the release of Madame Composado. After all, she is not a criminal and she is not actually under arrest. It is outrageous to have her locked up in a dreadful concentration camp. If she is released, she will be taken care of and helped by our friends in Paris.

Let me hear from you soon.

Cordially,

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880726173

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 9, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Albert Meltzer.— 1 p.; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Dear Comrade,

You may know already about the formation of a Distribution Committee of "Revolt!" of which I am one of the members. I have been discussing several plans to (1) increase the circulation and (2) raise money by selling the old literature which is lying about in cupboards etc., and one of the schemes suggested has been to run a bookshop where the paper and the literature (as well as other literature, a selection of which could be made from other organisations could be sold. It should be possible in time even to make a profit on this; naturally, this would go to the movement.

I thought that it might be possible to run the bookshop in the small room on the second floor, at present used by the C.N.T. Bureau; since the question of rent is becoming a pressing problem, I imagined that you might acquiesce in running the C.N.T. Bureau and S.I.A. in the one large office. If the room could be used (permanently) as a bookshop, it should be possible to pay, after a while, the rent for the "Revolt!" office in addition, and also to help the movement by having such a place.

If you can sub-let it, no doubt we can agree on the rent: the members of the A.F.B. have been preparing a Rent Guarantee Fund for such a purpose (fixed address). At present there is, strictly speaking, no A.F.B. centre as such. As the scheme progresses, the rent can, of course, be increased.

We want to get things going as soon as possible, so I'd be very much obliged if you would let me know as soon as possible (by Saturday) if the C.N.T. Bureau would sub-let the room. You can either write to me at home or leave a reply in the Distribution tray in the "Revolt!" office, where I can collect it Saturday night. You realise I have to raise the question as to whether they are also agreeable at the A.F.B. North London branch meeting and at the "Revolt!" meeting.

With fraternal greetings,

Albert Meltzer

(Distribution Committee "Revolt!"
A.F.B. North London Branch).

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 9, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Pauline Turkel.— 4 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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24263

PAULINE H TURKEL
420 EAST 86TH ST
NEW YORK CITY

February 9, 1939.

Dearest E.G.

I was glad to get your letter of January 15th and to know that you are really planning to come to Canada. I do hope that you will be able to come to the United States but in case you cannot I shall manage -- if only for a week-end -- to come to see you in Canada. It will be good to see you again.

David is getting on. I got Dr. Warburg, whom I know, to give me entré to a convalescent home -- the Loeb Convalescent home -- and they have taken him for three weeks. He has gained two pounds since he is there -- almost a week-- and he has had no temperature. After he came out from the hospital for almost two weeks he ran a temperature at times very high, but for the last two weeks he seems to be all right. I tried from the very beginning to get Teddy to take David to a convalescent home, but Teddy and Saxe seemed to think he will be better off at Dorothy's. The result was not so good. David is a very difficult child although he is extremely intelligent -- perhaps because of it. He was irritated by the children and in the end they had to take my advice and send him to a convalescent home. I am hoping that he will gain some weight and will be quite well when he gets out of there. He should be sent to a boarding school when he comes out and I shall talk to Teddy about it.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 9, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Pauline Turkel.— 4 p.; 20 × 17 cm.
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24264

Now as to Stella. She is not much better although for a day or so she had recovered quite remarkably. They don't know whether it was the first shock of the insulin treatment they were giving her or what it was that made her come out of her melancholia, but anyway, now she is back in it as deep as ever. They are going to try some other treatment. I hope it will do some good, but if not I want to propose something for which your and Ian's help is needed. I didn't even speak about it to Teddy because I don't know how he would take it. However, I do intend to speak to him about it. In fact, one part of what I am going to write to you about I didx discuss with him already. It is to take Stella out of The Psychiatric Institute and put her in Bloomingdale Hospital which is one of the finest institutions of itex kind. That part I didx speak to Teddy about. The part I didn't talk to him about is how to finance Stella's going to the Bloomingdale place. It would have to cost about $50. a week and that is where you and Ian come in. I know that if anything similar happened in my family we would -- one and all -- take off our last shirt and do everything possible to save the person involved. Here is Teddy's mother, rolling in luxury [Ian wrote to Saxe that Teddy's mother spent 20 pounds on favors alone for the table for Xmas dinner] and Teddy ~~[illegible]~~ is not able to get Stella to a place where it would cost $50. a week to keep Stella. Of course, there is no telling that Stella will get well in Bloomingdale Hospital but I think it is worth an investment of three or four thousand dollars to get her the best opportunity for getting well. It is not only worth it but they owe it to Stella and I think that Ian ought to put it up to Teddy's mother and even if they should have to cut in on their capital I think they should do it. They pay now $25. a month and you and I know that in a place where they pay that amount they cannot give her the best of care and attention no matter how good their intentions may be.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Saxe is doing what he can. He had all the expenses to pay for Ruthie's illness, he tells me, and he sends a small amount to Moe every month. Besides he has a family to take care of and I don't think it would be fair -- even if he could -- to expect him to do anything for Stella though God know she would be glad to.

I should not perhaps butt in and perhaps I am jumping in where angels fear to tread, but I think that a couple of thousand dollars should be cabled at once to Teddy or Saxe for the use of Stella and for her cure only and I think that if Ian put it up to his grandmother properly she would do something about it. Stella is down to 108 pounds and cannot afford to lose much time. Something ought to be done quickly. It is unfortunate in a way that Ian had to go to England just at this time because he could be of great help to Teddy in deciding what to do with David and also it might help Stella to have him here. But I suppose he had to go then and he didn't know how seriously ill Stella was when he left.

Do let me hear from you what you think about what I had to say.

Yes, it is fine that Tom is out and I hope it will not be long before Billings comes out too. You probably read that there is a break between Tom and Rena which I suppose is inevitable although unfortunate.

The situation in Spain is too hopeless to even write about. I feel it is the last bulwark of the democracies. England will go Fascist next if she is not already so and then will come the United States. Roosevelt is putting up a game fight but he is losing out I am afraid.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 9, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Pauline Turkel.— 4 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

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24266

I know that when you make up your mind to do a thing you usually get it done and I think you should — and I know you want to — do everything you can to get Stella every chance.

My love to you dearest E.G.

As ever,

Pauline

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881027161

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 9 [Montreal to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rose Bernstein.— 5 p.; 23 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Mrs R. Bernstein
198 Chamfrenay
Outremont

Feb. 9, 1939.

24188

Dear Emma:

I was overjoyed to receive a letter from you. I can understand now, how easily my letter might have been lost in the mails. It is not surprising that you mistook us for another Bernstein. After all you have gone through and are still enduring one can comprehend the state of mind you must be in.

495

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 9 [Montreal to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rose Bernstein.— 5 p.; 23 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24189

The situation in Spain is heartrending. The battle they are putting up against such tremendous odds is unbelievable. I feel like screaming when I see how the rest of the world is helping in destroying Spain & incidentally themselves.

The Padlock Law in this Province is still as bad as ever. Several landlords were ordered not to rent their flats to certain people who were believed to be communists.

496

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24190

One landlord had to put out his own son-in-law. That case is being brought to court as a test case. The Civil Liberties Union is defending the unfortunate victim.

Concerning the renting of a hall, for you to lecture in, the situation at the present moment doesn't look very bright. As you say, when you will come we will see what can be done.

I was very sorry to read in one of the copies you sent me that you took a nasty fall down a

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24191

4

Flight & stars How do you feel now? Emma dear. You don't seem to be excited at all about anything.

Perhaps the thing already had O'Myer in a worry about receiving the letters. The East suspicion that O'Myer might be connected with anything which might be termed radical, would be sufficient for him to have this letter

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24192

5.

I don't feel so well myself but so many things of such major proportions are occurring that I don't think much of myself.

Give the comrade and you their best regards. Frank sends and the children and so you their very best regards.

With love,
Rose.

P.S. The letter which you failed to receive mentioned ~~about~~ Hitler's marriage.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 9, Stockholm [to Emma Goldman, London] / John Andersson.— 1 p.; 32 × 25 cm.

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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE des TRAVAILLEURS
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER-ASSOZIATION
ASOCIACION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES
ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORETORI

ADRESSES:
Secrétaire Général John Andersson, Box 415,
STOCKHOLM 1, Suède

Stockholm den 9.Februar 1939.

Lieber Genosse!

Ich habe Deine beiden Schreiben empfangen.Auch den Aufruf von der IAA. Wir haben bereits früher denselben erhalten und in der Propaganda benutzt. Bereits ehe Genossin Lucia über die Grenze gekommen war, nach Perpignan,waren wir hier in Schweden mit einer neuen Hilfskampagne beschäftigt und in vollem Gange. Affische,Aufrufe und Manifeste wurden gedruckt. Einsammlungscoupons und Listen sind überall im Gebrauch.Auch haben wir einen Aufruf über Boycot der italienischen Aofelsinen,die den Markt überschwemmen,ausgefertigt. Unsere Presse macht tagtäglich grossen Alarm. Sonnabend haben wir der SIA 8,000:- Kronen zugesandt und der CNT 13,000:-Kronen. Und wir setzen unsere Aktion mit Energie fort.Jede Minute wird dazu benutzt. Wir versuchten auch in direkter Verbindung mit der CNT zu kommen,zwecks die Bemühungen,die Militanten von der Rache Francos zu r retten.

Heute abend werde ich ein neues Manifest für die IAA schreiben und werde es morgen mit Flugpost aussenden. Ihr könnt auf Kosten der IAA 25,000 Exemplare drucken lassen,zwecks Verbreitung. Aber versucht,dieselben möglichst billig zu drucken,denn die IAA ist,wie Du weisst,arm. Sende dann die Rechnung an uns,wonach das Geld gesandt werden wird.

Ich habe keine Zeit mehr zu schreiben.

Wir senden Dir unsere herzlichen Grüsse und sei überzeugt, dass wir unser Bestes tun werden!

Gruss

John Andersson

INTERNATIONAL A. SECRETARIAT

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 10, London [to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / Emma [Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.

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London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

Feb.10th 39

Dearest Dorothy.

I wrote you Monday.To day your letter of the Jan 29th arrived. I haten to reply because there is a fast boat tomorrow.You will know by my Mondays letter that I must postpone my departure for Canada until the 8th of April. I have actually made reservation on the Cunard boat sailing then. I hope fervently that by that time I will know what has become of our comrades, how many have remained alive, and what they expect to do or want me to do. I cannot leave them now, and I feel sure my stay in Canada would be poisoned if I went away.

Yes,by all means get me a place for a month, centrally located. It would have no sense to go to Mrs Laddon even if she were in her house,let alone when she is away. For the summer yes,but not the first few weeks when I will have to see all the comrades every day.

I am glad to hear the I.W.W is picking up in Northern Ontario, I hope they can do something in re meetings for me.Still better in Winnipeg and further to British Colubbia.

Here ~~is~~ are copies of letters I wrote to Evelyn Scott yesterday and also to John Cowper Powys.

In haste with love. Emma

501

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 10 [London to] Arthur [and] Mad[e]leine [Müller-Lehning, Amsterdam] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23723

Feb.10th 39.

Dear Arthur,dearest Madleine. I know you will understand without my saying why it has been impossible for me to write you sooner. The frightful catastrophe in Catalonia and Barcelona has completely unnerved me. I guess my friends in America are right when they say "Emma is like a cat,throw her from high elevation and she will full on her paws. For a week I thought there was no sense in going on after the collapse of such a glorious beginning in Spain. All the firchtful sacrifice in lives and in hopes appeared ut erly useless,in fact I felt the bottom knocked from under me and nothing before me except a bleeding pit ,but the will to life ~~xxx~~ incapac itates one to make an end.And,so one goes on dragging oneself along the homeless and thorny road.

I know that you ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ have been in the same torturous puzzle as I as to what caued the collapse of Barcelona. The inclosed copy of Souchys letter gives some explanation. Since then I have a letter from Rudiger with translation of ~~xxxx~~ a letter from Berner our Swedish comrade which is also illuminating.Espec ially about the treacherous part played by the Carabinéeros, the Negrin counter-revolutionare police he had created for the protection of his own rotten hide. Lastly is also the information from Martin Gudell which I quoted in my letter to comrade Ben Capes a copy of which I also inclose. Yet all this explanation does not seem to explain the surrender without the least resistance of Barcelona the former stronghold of the CNT-FAI. Only the future will per haps give us adequate knowledge of what had happened. Meanwhile I have been haunted by the sickening anxiety about our comrades,who is still alive and where they are.So far,only ~~Xxxxxxx~~ Fedrica, her husband,Germina Esglias, and the wives of Hererra and Martin have been accounted for.Martin himself had r ached Gerona,he wrote me fro from there. What became of him since Gerona and Figueras fell into the hands of Franco I dare not contemplate. To day I learned that Herrera and Germinal Sousca are in concentration camp in France. So is Mercedesnear Nimes in a dessolute place without even a matrass to lie on. Mollie has written Proudomeaux to try and get her out, and other comrades are working for her.Her friend Lobo is in Paris [illegible] Mrsfa Mrlph, and other comrades. Not a trace of [illegible] It is all [illegible].

[illegible]

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sell our people out,bater them for a mess of porrage. I cannot think how our comrades in Valencia and Madrid can hold out much longer espcially after the fall of Catalonia and Barcelona. Their morale must have received a frightful jolt.But then there is no accounting for the possibilities of our Spanish comrades. I am certain those who have remained alive and not too incapacitated will pull themselves together and fight on. It is really this abiding faith of mine in the Spanish workers and peasants that pull me out from the depths of despaire and hopelessness.

I am glad to know the materila I left together with other valuable archives have been transferred to safety. I was about to mail my entire Spanish correspondence but will not do it now. I am however sending the printed stuff I have,nearly all Spanish publications. I had a letter from Sheltema in reply to mine asking me to send the material. I am going to write her to let you go over everything I would like sets made up to be added to the rest of our material, especially the package that will on the top of the box containing the printed stuff.They are of the most recent date my personal copies and I value them highly.The rest can be used to complete your files.

You two dear friends must have had the devils own time to make the lists of the books. Thanks a lot. I see one bokk not mentioned, THE ANCIENT LOWLIES which is a very rare book,in fact unattainable. I am glad to see that Posthumous was interested in so many of our books. I suppose you have still been unable to talk to him about the contract and the material end. I am not meaning to be impatient,it will be alright if I know difinitely before I sail for Canada. I have postponed it for April 8th. I must,I must know what has become of our comrades,how many are alive,what they plan to do and what they want me to do for them. I hope all that will be settled before April 8th.

And you my dears,you wrote me Arthur dear that your affairs maybe settled "in a few days". It is nearly two weeks or more and not a word. I am most concerned in your plans and the chances of carrying them out. Please write me.

With love to both.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 10 [London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 4 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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C.N.T. A.I.T. F.A.I. ROC

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AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

London, 10th February 1939.

Dear Rudolf,

I have been in such mental anguish since I wrote you last over the frightfull catastrophe that has befallen Barcelona that I have not been able to concentrate on a decent letter to you or any of the other comrades. I know that you have been in the throes of the same despair and the same agony as I here over the complete collapse of Barcelona. I dont know whether you have had any direct word from anybody. I myself had a very short note ~~by~~ from Martin Gudell from Gerona telling me that some of our comrades in the committees of the C.N.T. and F.A.I., the Youth and the S.I.A. succeeded in evacuating when they realised evprything was lost and that there was no way in which any kind of a stand could be made. Unfortunately since that time Gerona has been bombarded and although I have tried again and again through the comrades in Perpignan and the Spanish delegation in Paris to get word as to what had become of Martin and the others I have not heard further.

To-day I had a letter from Mollie. She tells me that until the time that she wrote no word had been received directly or indirectly from Santillan or Herrera, who by the way is one of the finest types among the F.A.I. members it has been my fortune to meet.

I am enclosing copy of a letter I have received from Herrera written ~~three days~~ a few days before Barcelona collapsed. You will see that ~~while~~ he realised the forebodings of the impending calamity, he still did not realise how soon it would be. I will come back to this letter.

I first want to tell you that according to the short script from Martin Barcelona found itself without arms of any sort to face the overwhelming supply of Franco. In addition was the fact that the Barcelona population had been ~~without~~ suffering from a shortage of food for ~~two~~ years, was famished for lack of bread the last four days before the collapse, two days without water or light and all through that time an incessant bombardments ten or twelve times a day. In other words the civil population had gone to pieces physically, mentally and spiritualy. No doubt our comrades felt that to continue the hopeless defence would merely mean to add to the suffering of the men women and children of Barcelona and end in defeat anyway.

Since I have received this news Helmut sent me copy of a ~~let~~ letter from a Swedish comrade Berner who is now in Perpignan trying to work with our comrades to alleviate if only in a small way the frightfull suffering of the refugees. Helmut also sent me a copy for you which I will enclose in this letter. You will see that actually the people who are responsible for the surrender of Barcelona and the collapse of Catalonia are the Carabineros, Negrin's counter-revolutionary police force. Their cowardly withdrawal from the Ebro front made it possible for Franco's forces to march into Catalonia and to take possession of it. I am sure that in due time, what seems to be to us now a puzzle, namely that

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

a city like Barcelona should have surrendered, the very citadel of our ideas and the stronghold of the Anarcho-Syndicalism should fall so pitiously, will be explained.

I enclose copy of a letter I have received from Souchy. The feebleness of the Negrin government and the insidious actions of the Communist Party in addition to the lack of arms and lack of other help undermined Barcelona. However it is no use closing ones eyes to the blunders made by the CNT Committee. It was too lenient and its foolish faith in the Negrin government succeeded in blinding it to the dangers ahead and to the warnings issued by the committee of the Peninsular and the Regioal F.A.I. Some signs of this situation I saw when I was in Barcelona last as I have written in my last letter. I know that a number of very dependable comrades also saw the signs and were trying desperately to ward off the catastophre, among them was Santillan, Herrera and a number of others of the F.A.I. and two marvelous comrades F.A.I. members as well members of the C.N.T. The comrades at the head of the transport and Valejo who was at the head of the munition factories, in fact their creator. He was especially discouraged because he said that unless the committee changed and some new blood filtrated into the organisation the war would be lost. He was more prophetic than he realised.

Now as to Herrera's letter . The reference he makes to the talk Santillan had with me about the prepatory work the F.A.I. was doing to meet the enemy within as well as without I have mentioned in my last letter to you. Santillan told me that the F.A.I. had hiddden arms and had organised an-underground ways of disposing of the Republican government as well as of the communists and to offer the strongest resistance to fascism. Only the most trustworthy and reliable comrades know about it. Santillan wanted me to communicate with trustworhty comrades in England and America with a view to raising a special fund for this purpose from which boots, clothing, food and arms were to be purchased. The reason I have not written you before about his matter was neither Snatillan por Hrerera told me where actually and to whom money for this purpose was to be sent even if it could be raised. One thing I know it was not to tbe sent to the Spanish delegation in Paris to whom all other manies to help our comrades had been sent. Neither Santillan or Herrera trusted that delegation not that they considered them likely to oppose their scheme; but that they knew them to be extravagant with the funds they had received for Spain. In point of fact their extravagance had so impoverished the C.N.T.-F.A.I. that the Spanish Bureau in America and our section in England had to be liquidated. I have written to you about that before. Unfortunately Santillan and Herrera, like true Spaniards, took their time about giving me a reliable and trustworthy address, for money to be sent to which they asked us to raise.

Since the surrender of Barcelona I have been tortured by the question of what had become of the preparation for the concerted fight of the F.A.I. and what had become of the F.A.I. arms and whatever else they had succeeded in hiding and why these arms were not used to defend Barcelona. One reason may be that the arms were hidden in the mountains and could not be reached in time or that the material has been given or taken by some of the members of the F.A.I. who continue to offer resistance to Franco's forces. Even the London newspapers report that such resistance is going on. Only yesterday there was an item in to the effect that the "Durruti column is continuing the desperate struggle". I am hoping against hope that this may explain away the arms that Santillan spoke to me about. In any

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Roc

event is there any possibility for you to raise a fund among our close and intimate comrades for the exclusive purpose of the plan of our FAI comrades? I have to confess that I know no one person in London or the provinces to whom I could apply. The few comrades whom I could trust implicitly are either unemployed or so poor that they cannot contribute anything, and of course I could not appeal to any of the middle class people who contribute to the S.I.A. for such a purpose. I know how difficult it is for you to write letters while you are touring but I must beg you to make time and answer this letter by return mail. I will send this letter c/o Samuel Freedman registered and ask him to forward it to you. I am doing this because I do not know whether Milly has remained in Crompton or whether she is with you and I want this letter to reach you without delay.

To come back to the frightfull condition of the refugees. There are a number of organisations here who raise a lot of money for food ships, food lorries and medical aid. Without exception the prime movers in these societies are communists. I know for a fact that not one single tin of milk or any other foodstuffhas ever reached our people. The most outrageous discrimination has been practiced against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the S.I.A. The last message we have from Vasquez dated Barcelona 19th December together with a letter of the same date from a comrade of the Iron workers syndicate and more than a thousand names of their members imploring that parcels of food should be sent to these people because they are starving and they received no help from any one else. No doubt all these people were among the refugees tramping the high ways and bye ways in the bitter cold between Barcelona and the French border. That should serve as proof how terribly neglected our people have been by all these good philantrophic societies in America and England who are raising help for the refugee women and children from various Spanish parts occupied by Franco, and are now screaming from the house tops for money to help the refugees.

I do not have to tell you of all comrades and friends that I am not opposed to help for the refugees regardless of what political party they belong to; but I fume with rage over the contemptible communists methods of leaving our comrades out, although one should not be surprised in view of the criminal sabatage the communists in Spain are carrying on and in view also of the fact that Negrin and his cabinet have done much to undermine the strong position the C.N.T.-F.A.I. has held until May 1937.

You will see by Souchy's letter that he now admits that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. were powerfull in the May events, The implication is that the appeal made by Montseney and Oliver for the workers to get back to the factories was in a measure responsible for destroying the camels back. Souchy also sent me copy of an article which he had already sent to a Swedish paper and wanted me to try and place it in the"New Leader" "Spain & The World" or send it to Mark. I did nothing of the kind. That article was the most superficial and sensational reportage by an anarchist I ever hope to see. He is reporting the flight from Barcelona and the inferno of the refugees on the route as Hearst reporters might do, in addition it is the most defeatist article. I confess I was incensed especially as Souchy was the man who in 1937 argued with me day and night trying to convince me of the inevitability of the compromises our comrades had made, and painting in lured pictures what would have happened if our comrades on the barricades had stood their ground. The only way I can explain his change of heart is that he him-

506

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 10 [London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. – 4 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

Roc

self has become unnerved by the frightfull things he witnessed in Barcelona. Stronger wills and nerves than Augustins would be broken under insessant bombardment and starvation. Any way I sent the article back to him.

As I told you I am in great anguish. I feel something ought to be done but it is impossible to even organise a meeting of protest or expression of our complete sympathy and solidarity with our comrades. There is no money for it and no people. We are issuing an appeal for the refugees but I am not very optimistic about its result. One thing I know I cannot leave England until I have heard from some of our Spanish comrades, to know where they are and what they intend to do, and what they want me to do for them. I have made a tentative reservation for the 8th April on one of the small Cunard steamers. Surely by that time I will know of the cruel fate that must have come to tens of thousands of our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the Youth and the S.I.A. So far I know only a few are safe, among them Uralis, Frederica and also her husband Germinal Esglias. I was told that there was a notice in the Daily Herald that Frederica's father died on the road to Calvary; but I have no definite proof for that. On the other hand I learn to-day that the distinguised thinker and writer our comrade Gonzales Reparey, a man of 80, was forgotten by our comrades and that he is already in the hands of Franco. Whatever they will do to him I dare not think. His poor old wife is ill in hospital. I am afraid that there must be many like him who in the mad exodus from Barcelona were forgotten. The whole future seems to me more ghastly than Dante's inferno, and more hopeless.

One more thing that has nothing to do with Spain. In arrang-ing Sasha's material while I worked in the Institute for Social History, I found a large bundle wrapped up and inscribed " translation of Rudolf Rocker's Nationalism & Culture". I could not even bare to open that bundle knowing how much time and suffering Sasha has put into that work. I have sealed it up and it is with the rest of the material sent to a safe place because their is great uneasiness in Holland regarding Hitler's possible invasion. What do you want done with it?. Do you think it might remain as an historic document of Sasha's labors, possibly for students who will want to know something abour him and his work, to be able to see the translation? Its for you to decide.

Good bye dear Rudolf. My heart feels like a stone and I do not know in what direction to turn to help our unfortunate comrades, whatever their mistakes are or their blunders may have been or their comprimises may have done.

With love to Milly, Polly, Fermine and yourself.

Affectionately

Emma

PS. Our very dear comrade Mercedes Comaposada is in a concentration camp near Nimes. They have herded admitted masses in the refugees and their condition into which they were plunged seem to be appalling. Still no trace of Santillan or Herrera. Vas Gines is the others. Am in with apprehension

880726440

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 10, Stockholm [to Emma Goldman, London] / John Andersson. — 1 p. ; 31 × 25 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24248

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE des TRAVAILLEURS
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER-ASSOZIATION
ASOCIACION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES
ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORETORI

ADRESSE:
Sekretär Gustaf Adolf Andersson, Box 413.
STOCKHOLM 1, Schweden

Stockholm, den 10. Februar 1939.

Lieber Genosse!

Ich sende hierdurch unser neues Manifest. Wir senden es in deutscher Sprache. Uebersetzt es bitte selbst!

Was dem Inhalt des Manifestes betrifft, so ist es nicht gerade so wie Du es haben willst. Wir meinen aber, dass gerade dieses jetzt gesagt werden muss. Das zuviele uebertribene Hervorheben der Grenzenöffnung zugunsten des spanischen Volkes könnte missverstanden werden. Unsere Gegner können in diesem Punkte behaupten, dass wir den Kampf als verloren betrachten. Der Kampf setzt immer noch im Zentral-Spanien fort, wenn auch die dortigen Genossen seit dem Fall Kataloniens weniger Möglichkeiten haben zu siegen.

Sobald das Manifest gedruckt worden ist, sende uns einige Exemplare für unsere Archiv!

Herzliche Grüsse

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS SECRETARIAT

John Andersson

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870929485

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 10, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / P[edro] Herrera.— 1 p.; 21 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

París 10 febrero 1939

20693

Querida Emma:

Dos unas líneas para dar señales de vida. Es muy poco lo que puede decirse de la enorme tragedia que hemos vivido las últimas semanas. Con dos líneas se dice todo: Ha pasado lo que tenía que pasar como consecuencia de una política catastrófica.

Me encuentro en Francia con el enorme dolor de haber visto confirmadas por la trágica realidad, las previsiones que hicimos hace muchos meses cuando examinábamos la situación. Mantenemos, en lo posible, la cohesión del movimiento entre los compañeros que hemos podido evadir el campo de concentración conque han obsequiado los franceses a los antifascistas exiliados.

Puedes, si tienes alguna cosa que comunicarme, dirigirte al bureau de Roca donde yo podré recoger la correspondencia.

Espero te encuentres bien a salvo de esta. Me imagino que te habrá producido enorme impresión mixta y dolorosa. Pero no tienes de perder la esperanza.

Cordialmente te abraza

Pedro

509

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 10 [Paris to] Emm[a Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer]. – 1 p.; 30 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Feb. 10th 1939. 24237

Dearest Emotchka,

I told you that I was going to let you know what Michel will say. Here it is, in the letter to Abe and Selma. I made a clear copy for you so that you can read it easily. May be you will find there something that will help you understand why Barcelona didn't resist at all.

Have good news for you: Mercedes is out of the Camp! She is now in St. Raphael.

Yesterday, I wrote Marie-Louise and asked her if she could make a private collection among a few friends in her-Mercedes's-behalf. May be you could help her in this by approaching Ethel M. and others you know? We expect M. in Paris by next week.

Santillan was seen near the french border. But Rocca said yesterday that he is in a C.C. Well, wherever he is, as long as he is alive, that's all that counts.

I embrace you warmly and hope to hear from you soon.

Love from Senya. Mollie

P.S. Dearest, looking at Michel I didn't have the heart to ask him to write. It will take some time until they will come to themselves, then they will write, now its impossible.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb. 10, Paris to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure, fragment)] / [Mollie Steimer]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 24 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24280

Paris Feb. 9th 1939.

Dear Abe,

I know you expect some details from me about the terrible tragedy: the fall of Barcelona. Alas, I cannot tell you anything new. The explaination we got from the comrades who have reached Paris, is about the same which we got from the general press: the people were exhusted, hungry and demoralized. The worker's organizations had no initiative any more. They meekly submitted to the decision of the Government. ---When the Government suddenly decided to leave Barcelona, it did so in great secrecy. The National Committee followed them - also secretely-. Only Vasquez, Vasa and 2 or 3 others remained (not in the CASA, but in another building) to notify the militants and to save some of the archives. The news that the Government, and then the National Committee LEFT Barcelona, spread quickly, and the slogan became: "SAVE WHO CAN" .....

Yesterday, we saw Michel-the comrade who worked in Tierra. You would never recognize him! He lost 40 Kilos!
To the question: "How comes that Barcelona gave up so quickly?" he answered simply and calmly: "Non of us know". As we insisted: "But still, you ought to know!" --- "Well (he says) on Monday, January 23rd, there was a session of the Front Populaire and it was decided to to fight to the end. 5 minutes after this decision, it was announced that no time can be lost and that all those who want to save themselves, must do so at once!"
What about the famous Maginot line which was so much spoken off and which was 15 kilom. from Barcelona? Answer: "Oh, these are just Spanish castles in the air!" But why weren't there built any? You had more time than the people in Madrid. --"Because the Spaniard puts things off for tomorrow, until one day, it's too late!"

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The Emma Goldman Papers
[Letter, 1939 Feb. 10, Paris to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure, fragment)] / [Mollie Steimer]. – 2 p.; 30 × 24 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Was there any betrayal? --"No, I do not think so."
"No one knows as yet, but I rather think it was more the FEAR of being cut-off from France... Further more, there was no electricity, No gaz, no water, no food. Very few planes, few tanks and very few reliable tecnicians. It is all this, which helped Franco" ----
Question: "How is it that when the Government left Madrid, the people organized the defense of the city better than ever; why couldn't the CNT try the same in Barcelona?" answer:"The independence of spirit was greater there, than in Catalonia. Here, the CNT submitted to the decision of the Government. Besides, people were discouraged and tired." ----------

All our active comrades are safe and in France. Some are already in Paris. Others are in Perpignan, and still others are in the Concentration Camps. Federica Montseny, Esgleas, Hererra, Garcia Oliver are in Perpignan. Federica's Father is in a Camp. Her mother, sick and worn from the terrible road, died in a C.C.--Cortez and two other comrades -whose names I do not remember-were arrested in Perpignan as Criminal Anarchists! Santillan, of whom no one knew anything until now, has finally been seen near the french border with a Group of militants from the village: Tarassa. Mercedes, is in a Concentration Camp. We applied for her release and hope to see her here soon. The decision to leave, came so sudden, that most of our people have no documents, no passports or any identification papers. This fact, makes their crossing the border difficult, also, their moving about in Paris. Lobo, Torre, Torio, Jeannette, Baruta(he) Rudolf Berner, W. Markwald and many others whom you know, are here. It is a most pitiful sight to see them come. Worn, emaciated, dirty, in torn clothes and all broken up physically and mentally. There is no question of discussion, not now. We must help them and help them quickly.

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870929487

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 11 [London to] Pedro [Herrera] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20696

11 de febrero 1939

Querido Pedro,

Estoy dictando esta carta a Ilse,ella tambien tiene esta tan contanta como yo con tu carta corta,que recibio hoy. No puedo decirte la ansiedad que tenia de ti y de los otros companeros.He recibido tu carta larga,pero nada mas hasta hoy. Tambien recibio algunas lineas de Martin,fecha 8 de febrero, y de Perpignan.Espero que el tambien ha llegado a Paris,y me puedo figurar que vida tan terrible sera sin documentos legales.Martin me escribio que tu y Germinal,creo que hablaba de Germinal de Souza,estan en un campo d concentracion y que Germinal tiene pulmonia.Una senora inglesa llamada Nanei Cunard ha escrito en el Manchester Guardian del estado abominable de los campos de concentracion y eso se llama hospedad del parte de las autoridades franceses.Verdad,surpresa la llegada de tantas miles,pero no obstante esta terrible de poner la gente en estas campos sin proveer por lo mas esencial.

Querido Pedro,estoy muy ansiosa de muchos de nuestros companeros,entre ellos Escorza.?Que paso con el? Espero que no paso lo mismo con el¡que paso con Gonzalede Reparaz.He oido que al pobre le han olvidado y que se encuentro ahora en los manos de Franco.Entiendo que,cuando tantosvidas jovenes sehan sacrificado y estan en peligro,un hombre de 80 anos ha vivido su vida.No obstante era un choque terrible para mi que el viejo companero se ha dejaso alli.Sabes algo de Vallejo y donde esta? El era mas profeta en todo lo que me dijo sobre la politica equivocado del Comite Nacional.Era muy pesimista y sentio que la batalla de Barcelona no se podia ganar.Me gustaria saber donde esta el y todos los otros companeros esplendidos.

Entiendo que a Santillan han visto a la frontera? Ha podido entrar,y donde esta? Querido companero,no puedo explicar te que paso con las prevenciones me hablaba el.No era hecho un plan para la defensa de Barcelona,y porque no era d fensa ni lucha de alguna manera? Si es posible,explicame,y dame todas las informaciones que puedes.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 11 [London to] Pedro [Herrera] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20697

No quiero salir todavia para Canada hasta que se donde estais todos y que vais a hacer.Entiendo que s la intencion de la mayorid de los companeros irse a America del Sur.Quiere decir este que todos han perdido la esperanza en una victoria,causada por la defensa de Valencia y Madrid. No puedo creerlo.Seguaramente tu y los otros,despued de una tiempo corto de quiedad,vais a decidir un plano.Aparte de eso,los companeros en America y en otros paises tienen derecho a saber que actualmente paso y que la Fai y la CNT propone a hacer. Crees que puede ayudar si vengo a Paris? No quiero echar el dinero si no es necesario,porque cada centimo es precioso en esta situacion.Se que Suecia ha enviada 55 000 Kronen a la CNT a Paris y 8 000 a la SIA.De toda manera,escribame tan pronto posible. Si,el catastrofe de Barcelona es la tragedia mas grande. A mi la tragedia mas grande de mi vida. Me siento completamente destrozada,mentalmente y spiritualmente. Pero espero que tu y los otros companeros podias continuar la lucha en la que depende tanto para nuestras ideas y para los trabajadores en todas partes. Si tu companera esta contigo,dala mis recuerdos tambien a t dos los companeros qabli. A ti mis recuerdos y saludos y mi devocion profunda en esta hora tragica.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 11 [London to] Emil[i]a [Roca, Banyuls-sur-Mer? France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24220

11 de febrero 1939

Querida Emilia,

Estoy contenta d haber recibido tu carta del 8. despues de tanto tiempo que esperaba una carta de Garric,a qu quien mando tu telegrama,preguntandole de verte y de contarme de ti y de los ninos. Me siento contenta que has podido traerlos a Francia.

Entiendo que estas muy infeliz de la proposicion de poner los ninos en casas particulares.No sentiabas de esta mane ra si te figuras que no hay sitio en paises capitalistas para casas para ninos como lo era Mon Nou. Por eso siento,que hay casas particulares estan ofrecidos a los ninos,con buena comida y carino,sera lo mejor para ellos.Sabiendo como los queires, no debes ser tan discontento de un tal plano.

No he oido de los companeros de SIA,de Lucia Sa Sanchez Saornil y de los otros.Poreso no se lo que van a hacer ellos con los 2 000 ninos ~~Nexxxx~~ que tenian en sus colonias en y cerca d Barcelona.Si pueden organizar algo como una colonia de SIA para los ninos,proponro que tus 30 ninos se unaden a los otros. No se que mas de proponer.Estoy seguro que Inglaterra no permitira nunca que entran este pais. Habia mucho ansiedad de los ninos vascos,que han traido acui hace un ano y medio.La mayoridad de ellos lo han vuelto a Franco,y los que se quedan no estan muy contentos.Aparte de esto,es imposible obtener permiso del Gobierno ingles.Si podias informarme cuando costara mantener un nino en Farncia,quizas podemos encontrar gente que contribuira a esto. Pero como he dicho,tengo que esperar hasta que me han informado de la parte de SIA. Siento mucho que los 13 paquetes no te han llegado. Lo he mandado junto con paquetes a un amigo mio.Han llg llegado a su direccion y no entiendo porque estos para Mon Nou no han llegado en tiempo. Los companeros de la SIA estan tan confusos al momento que no puedo preguntarles ahora,si los paquetes han llegado al Consejo Nacional de la SIA. Mis instrucciones eran que inmediatamente que llegan,se entregarn a Mawa y que el te los traiga. Es tan mal que los pobres ninos no lo han recibido

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[Letter] 1939 Feb. 11 [London to] Emil[i]a [Roca, Banyuls-sur-Mer? France] / [Emma Goldman]. -- 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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[illegible] sta el companero Puig Elias? Se fdo el [illegible] los otros ministros? O esta en Francia con [illegible] o xxxxx cuando me escriban. Tan pronto como [illegible] gienos de SIA les dire de ocuparse con tus ninos y de [illegible] manera quizas puedas quedarte con ellos. Hagame el favor de [illegible] carta enclulda a Emma.

Con mis saludos carinosos a todos los ninos

Fraternalmente

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 11 [London to] Mawa / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20386

11.Februar 1939

Lieber Mawa,

ich war nichtwenig erfreut durch unsere Freundin Emili Roca zu hoeren dass Sie auch in Perpignan sind.Ich habe viel an Sie gedacht und ob Sie gluecklich entkommen sind von dem grauenhaften Erdbeben in Barcelona.Ich wundere mich was aus Puig Elias geworden ist.Ist er mit Blanco nach Valencia?

.. Ich habe viel daran gedacht wie sehr Sie angaessig waren in Ihrer Wohnung und wie sie an dem Gedanken hingen dass Sie endlich ein Heim und Ruhestaette gefunden haben. So vergaengli sind alle Plaene der Menschen.Hauptsaechlich in unserer jetzigen Welt wo man nur mit Stunden und Minuten rechnen kann.

Ich zerbreche mir den Kopf was wohl geschehen war in Barcelona.Wie konnte die Stadt so zusammenstuerzen und die Menschen so versagen. Ja,ich weiss,man hatte keine Gewehre.Nach d der Masse von Waffen die die Republikanischen Truppen Frankreich uebergeben mussten,scheint die Waffennot doch nicht so gross gewesen zu sein.Es muss daher ein anderer Faktor gewesen sein,der die Moral und den Mut der Barcelonaer gebrochen hat. Wissen Sie naeheres? Wenn ja,dann bitte schreiben Sie mir. Sie wuerden mir damit eine grosse Erleichterung verschaffen.

Frau Roca schreibt mir,dass die 13 Pakete die ich lange vor Weihnachten an die SIA schickte nicht zu ihr gekommen sind Sie wurden zusammen mit Paketen an meinen Kameraden Martin Gudell geschickt.Er hat seine erhalten,Warum also nicht die Anderen? Es interessiert mich zu wissen ob Sie je benachrichtigt wurden die Pakete fuer Mon Nou abzuholen. Wollen Sie mir auch das mitteilen? Die arme Emilia scheint ganz verzweifelt zu sein dass man ihre Kinder in Privat Familien unterbringen will.Sie scheint natuerlich nicht zu wissen dass es in kapitalistischen Laendern keine

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[Letter] 1939 Feb. 11 [London to] Mawa / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.
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20385A

Keine Moeglichkeit gibt kinderk olonien a la Mon Nou zu schaffen. Sagen Sie ihr Sie moege Ihnen meinen Brief zeigen, damit ich nicht zu wiederholen habe was er enthaelt.

Ich habe die feste Ueberzeugung, dass Sie, lieber Mawa, sich irgendwie durchringen werden. Ich kann nicht sagen dass ich ebenso ueberzeugt bin dass viele von meinen ungluecklichen Kameraden ihre Ziele so schnell erreichen werden wie Sie. Ich wuensche Ihnen Glueck und die Moeglichkeit recht bald eine gute Beschaeftigung zu bekommen.

Freundschaftliche Gruesse

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 11, Perpignan [France to] Emma Goldman, London / [author unknown]. – 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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20446

FEDERACION DE COMITÉS ESPAÑOLES DE ACCION ANTIFASCISTA

(COMITÉ NACIONAL) (SECRETARIA)

16, BOULEVARD DES ALBÈRES
(REZ-DE-CHAUSSÉE)
PERPIGNAN
(PYR.-OR.)
TELEFONO : 20-20

Los fondos deben ser mandados a
Garrec Frédéric
Compte Chèques Postaux 246-46 Montpellier

Perpignan, 11 Février 1939

Emma GOLDMAN
21 Frith Street
Shaftesbury Avenue
LONDON W 1
ENGLAND

Chère camarade,

Tu nous excuseras si nous ne t'avons pas encore écrit;mais tu dois comprendre que l'évacuation de la Catalogne nous a donné un travail considérable,jour et nuit,et que,par conséquent nous avons dû,malgré nous,négliger la correspondance.

Néanmoins,en ce qui concerne Emilia ROCA,le camarade GARREC est allé,sitôt réception de ta lettre à l'hôtel d'où émanait le télégramme,et il y a appris que si ,effectivement,Emilia ROCA s'était trouvée les premiers jours dans une situation assez critique,elle avait ensuite reçu de l'argent,et de plus elle était partie avec ses enfants à la colonie de vacances de BANYULS S/MER (P.O.)Tu peux donc te tranquilliser à son sujet.Ta lettre lui a été transmise,et il est probable qu'elle t'écrira elle-même.

Quant à la situation en général,évidemment, elle n'est pas brillante.Tu auras appris par les journaux que tous les hommes sans exception sont enfermés dans des camps de concentration,où naturellement ils manquent de tout.Les blessé eux-mêmes ne reçoivent des soins que grâce aux dons des différents organismes de solidarité.Telle est la France hospitalière.

Les colis de vêtements nous sont en effet très utiles,mais il n'est plus possible de les envoyer <u>sans douane</u>,puisqu'il nous les faut à Perpignan.Il faut donc nous les adresser directement.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 11, Perpignan [France to] Emma Goldman, London / [author unknown]. – 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20447

Les colonies de la S.I.A. ont été évacuées, mais se trouvent dispersées dans tous les coins de France.

Pour BARUTA, tu peux lui écrire provisoirement sous double enveloppe à la S.I.A. française, 26 rue de Crussol à PARIS (11ème).

Sans plus pour aujour' hui, nous te saluons fraternellement.

Pour le Comité National
Le Secrétaire,

Federación de Grupos Españoles de Acción Anarquista en Francia
COMITE NACIONAL

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 11 [Banyuls-sur-Mer? France to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Emilia Roca. – 3 p. ; 24 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24221

11 Febrero 1939

Querida compañera Emma Goldman:
Salud

Hace pocos dias Mona me dijo por teléfono que había recibido una carta suya para mi en la cual se ofrecía a ayudar la Colonia de Món Nou. Inseguida le escribí explicándole mi situación. Hasta hoy no ha llegado su carta en mi poder la cual contesto más extensamente que la anterior.

Barcelona cayó en poder de los fascistas el dia 26 de Enero a las 3 de la tarde y yo salí de Món Nou con todos los niños el dia 27 de Enero a las 7 de la mañana. Quiso la suerte que un compañero encariñado con nuestra Colonia y de la obra que realizamos se presentara en Bilbao con un camión que puso inmediatamente a mi disposición.

Fuimos de Bilbao del Treser a Puigcerdá, nos dieron permiso para pasar a Francia y ya en Bourgmadame después de muchos requisitos legales logramos llegar a Banyuls sur mer gracias a 2000 f. que quedaba con los cuales pude pagar el tren a todos los niños.

Al dia siguiente de haber salido nosotros de España ya no se podía pasar por las fronteras porque las caravanas de gente que dias anteriores estaban por las carreteras formaban ya una muralla de carne hu-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 11 [Banyuls-sur-Mer? France to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Emilia Roca.— 3 p.; 24 × 16 cm.

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mana infranqueable. Llovió durante 3 días 24222
y 3 noches y murió mucha gente de hambre, frio y de cansancio.

Los niños así que llegaron de España: los pusimos en la Colonia de niños Españoles que mantienen los suecos en Banyuls sur mer.

Nosotras pasamos unos dias en Perpignan gestionando poder colocar esta Colonia en alguna parte y viendo que momentaneamente no se resuelve nada nos trasladamos tambien a Banyuls sur mer con la Colonia en espera de que nos den algún destino. Total que tengo una Colonia integrada por 33 niños, 2 maestras y yo sin destino, porque nuestra estancia en Banyuls sur mer es provisional y aceptando su ofrecimiento espero que Vd. nos sacará de este apuro apadrinando o subvencionando la Colonia de "Mon Nou"

En cuanto al compañero Ruiz después de mil sufrimientos por no querer abandonar su sitio, pasó a Francia a pie.

El ministerio lo trasladaron de Barcelona a Gerona en donde estuvo muy pocos dias. Bombardeaban continuamente Gerona, ametrallaban por las carreteras y no tenian comida. El tifonico se apoderó de tal modo de casi todas las personas que huyeron a la desbandada. Pocos quedaron en el ministerio, sólo el ministro, compañero Segundo Blanco, Ruiz, Mieva Campo y algunos otros. Trasladaron el ministerio a Figueras, pero el frente cada vez estaba más cerca, los bombardeos y ametrallamientos no cesaban y la guerra se perdia. Por casualidad viven Ruiz y Blanco pues acababan de salir del ministerio cuando cayeron

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(= bombas en el pereciendo muchos compañeros.

Viéndolo todo perdido pasaron a Francia los pocos que quedaban en el Ministerio junto con Azaña, Companys y otros miembros del Gobierno Republicano.

Llegaron a Francia pasando por las montañas y a pesar de esto les quitaron cuanto llevaban por esto mi situación es más crítica. Ultimamente casi yo sola sostengo esta Colonia de món Roc.

Hoy estuvo 24 horas en Perpignán y pasó a París comisionado por el Gobierno Republicano.

Los fascistas tienen ya casi toda Cataluña. La tragedia que se ha vivido y continúa viviéndose en Levante es conmovedora y sin igual. De la zona de Levante y Centro no se sabe nada. Allí tengo yo a mi hijo: ¡Figúrese mi desesperación! Por lo menos el y yo estamos estos días consolándonos.

Por fatigoso no largo más. Un fuerte abrazo

Emilia Roca

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The Emma Goldman Papers
[Letter] 1939 Feb. 11, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].— 2 p. ; 30 × 23 cm.
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24232

Paris Feb.IIth 1939.

My own dearest Emmotchka,

How sorry I am for you that you make yourself so much worry for persons who are in perfect safety! Didn't I tell you that HERRERA was out? In fact, he was out among the very first, with the National Committee! He is O.K.and free--not like those poor devils who are in the Concentration Camps. Vasquez was in a Camp, but he too is free now. BARUTA(Christine) is in Perpignan working at the SIA. Barita (he) I saw at the SIA in Paris.

It's no use writing to Perpignan. They are overloaded with work. Elisa wrote a heart breaking letter to Federica asking her to find out where is Santillan, but never got any answer. However, I don't blame Kontreny. She has plenty of her own troubles. Her father is out of the Camp now, but she lost her mother and... another thing, the moral of our comrades is pretty low. Now one accuses the other of irresponsibility (allready!). And this is natural. It always comes with defeat. It will take some time until they will come to themselves and see things clearly.

And now my beloved Emma, I want to have a heart to heart talk with you.

You will agree with me that we can serve our movement much better by seeing our comrades as they are,with all their faults, instead of idealizing some individuals and trust into their hands most important missions without questioning their honesty or ability. And now to the point. I believe that new blood has to come in into the SIA. That it has to be reorganized FROM THE TOP, and the METHODS of working must be changed too.

You had lots of praise for Baruta, that he is generous and good hearted etc. etc. Well, L. and L. told us that once, when Mercedes was very sick, they both went to the SIA to ask for a bit of milk for her and inspite of their pleading and then cursing... they were flatly REFUSED! Only about three days later, a small package was given to her!!!
Michel says about B. "But he is no comrade. He has been put in the SIA by Federica, and he was there due to her protection! We, even active militants, couldn't do anything because he was protected by the K.C., and they didn't know of the injustice he committed because they were always well taken care off...." In other words: like the Bolsheviks, ours, took care of the leaders --the big ones--and let the lesser lights to their own fate.....

And now let us come to Paris.When I was the other day to see Lecoin, asking what could be done for those who have no papers? He told me that the only thing for them is to go back to Perpignan and give themselves over to the authorities(!) even if they will be put into the Concentration Camp, it is better for them they should share the fate of the other comrades!" I was there with Jeanne Berneri and we were both dombfounded!!!!Then I asked him about Mercedes, Maybe the SIA will have some one in that neighborhood where she was kept, who could visit her? Or may be they could send her some help."No he said, we have no one who will be there, nor have we any money".

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It is true, that the SIA has no money.
But the CNT has --and a lot of it. Rocca should take two or three millions from the money which is in his care, and DONATE IT TO THE SIA so that the organization could take real care of the unfortunate militants! You will tell me that the money is put away for propaganda? There is no better propaganda than taking care of the victims of a cause! And the REPUBLICAN, The Socialists and the Communists know it! Non of these organizations advise their comrades to give themselves up! "To go back there"---

Fortunately, these boys didn't go back, and today they are allright. They have their papers, a room, and a bit of money and their pocket. But this is not thanks to the SIA.

In Perpignan, the SIA is doing very good work. But the same must be done in Paris. And Sections ought to be created all over France --wherever there are concentration camps a Committee of the SIA should fonction AND FONCTION WELL, comradely, large-- not for themselves-- not on posters--but in reality. Concrete help in every form should be given to all those who need it! Those who are bureaucrates should be mercelessly thrown out of the SIA. Why the hell are we Anarchists, if we haven't got the guts or the energy to clean our own house????

I hear that Hererro is now in Paris. I shall tell him and Rocca exactly what I think. But the suggestion that the CNT should supply the SIA with means at once, I will make through Spaniards. It has no sense that we foreigners should do it, they will not accept it. Their mentality ix and their understanding of internationalism is different from ours, and we have to reckon with it if we want to achieve something.

While I am writing, Etta came in. She went to Perpignan and got Hans out of the Camp. She says that everything in Perpignan is now in the hands of the military authorities. That the Red Cross is doing grand work, that they were very kind in handling the sick people, and in general talks very well of these with whom she came in contect. Carbo and Rudolf Berner--who also come from there- tell us that they handle the people with terrible cruelty. Both, I suppose tell the truth. There must be some who are kind and others who are cruel, as is always the case when hundreds of thousands of people have to be attended to in such a rush and under such circumstances as the present.

From Santillan, not a word.

And now so long, my dear. The post man just brought me some money from a good friend of ours for Mercedes, and I am so happy! I shall run to the post office to send it to her by wire, I want so much to see her among friends and give her a bit of warmth.

Lovingly

Mollie

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 12, Perpignan [France to] Emma Goldman, London / [author unknown]. — 1 p. ; 29 × 23 cm.

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23464

Comité de Defensa de la Revolucion Espanola Antifascista

Federacion de Comités Espanoles de Accion Antifascista

AY JEAN
5 bis. Rue des Cardeurs
PERPIGNAN P.O

Permanencie :
Ancien Hôpital Militaire
Rue Moréchal Foch
PERPIGNAN

Téléphone 23-01

Le 12 fevrier 1939.

Emma Goldman
2I. Frith Street. Shaftesbury Avenue
LONDON W. I.

Chere camarade.

Bien reçu ta lettre du 6 courant, nous avons fait parvenir les lettres jointes a ses destinataires, et esperons que chacun te repondra rapidement.

Le camarade Martin Gudell a été avec nous jusqu'a hier, que nous l'avons conduit a Montpellier rejoindre sa compagne ou elle été depuis quelques jours; dès qu'il fixera sa residence il a promis ecrire a tous ses camarades.

Les autres camarades se trouvent, les uns en lieu sur et les autres aux camps de concentration; nous nous voyons dans l'impossibilité, vu l'ampleur qu'a pris cette evacuation, de faciliter les moyens necessaires pour leur sauvés du camp a tous les camarades, nous faisons car même, l'impossible pour adoucir ses penalités.

L'espectacle que nous offre l'exode des evacués, c'est quelque chose qui tardera a s'efacer de l'esprit de celui qui l'a vu de près; les camps de concentration sont des vastes prais, ils couchent soit sur l'herbe, la neige ou la plage, il y a des evacués qu'ils n'ont pas mangé depuis 5 jours, par consequent il faut pas s'etonner que toutes les nuits meurent asses d'eux. Enfin, plus tard on connaitra toutes les miseres qu'on suibis nos vaillants camarades après sa sortis d'Espagne.

Sans plus rien à dire reçoit chere camarade notre salut fraternel

Comité de Defensa de la Revolucion Española Antifascista
Pour le Comité
Le secrétaire
à PERPIGNAN (Pyr.-Or.)

526

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 13 [London to John Andersson, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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24249

Feb.13th 39

Lieber Genosse. Dein Schreiben und Euer neues Manifest habe ich erst gestern erhalten. Er kam spat Abends in unser Burau an aber es war niemand dort. Gestern ging Genosse Barr hin und fand den Brief. Ich bitte Dich mir von jezt ab in meine Wohnung zu schreiben dass Dumich zu jeder Zeit erreichen kannst. Die Addresse ist 6.Sneath Avenue, London N.W.11.

Euere Manifest ist fur den hiesigen Gebrauch zu lang. Auch wurde der Druck ein Heidengeld kosten. Ich nehme mir daher das Recht den Text etwas zu kurzen. Ich hoffe Ihr habt nichts da gegen. Ausserdem habt Ihr nicht betont dass gerade the Englischen Arbeiter Fuhrer die Regierung mit dem Verbrecherischen Non-Intervention Pakt gestutzt haben. Und obgleich sie zwarspater dagegen ankumpfte so war es auch nur mit Worten. Sie haben tat saechlich die Arbeiter Massen davon abgehalten irgend welche direckte Aktion zu gebrauchen. Man muss also fur England dieses in dem Men Test hervorleben.

Du sagst nun darf die Asylfrage nicht hervorheben denn unsere Feinde konnten denken der Krieg ist verlohren. Ich galube unsere Feinde werden darin recht haben. ER IST VERLOREN. Denn es ist jezt sicher dass England und Frankreich Franco anerkennen werden. Wie wollten da unsere Kameraden weiter kampfen? Womit ? Aussordem heist die Forderung des Asyls fur die hundrets thausnede noch immer kein Beweis dass der Krieg verloren ist. Es muss sich doch jezt darum handeln soviele von den ungluecklichen die von der Franzosischen Behorden geradezu grausam behandeln zu retten. Ich schicke Euch in ein paar Tagen eine Beschreibung von dem Zustand der Konzentrations Lager die geradezu haarstreubend ist. Die Menschen werden dort aussterben wenn wir nicht mehr menschliche Behandlungnen in Frankreich verlangen und dass auch andere Lander einen Teil der Opfer Frankreichs annehmen. Noch ein Punkt den das Manifest nicht hervorhabt ist Mittel. Ein Appel an die Arbeiter Harungsmittel aufzubringen. Es geschiet ja Hier aber nur von seitens der Kommunistin die unsern Kameraden keinen penny zu kommen lassen.

Noch eins es ist notwendig mit nicht nur die Addresse des Sekretariats in Sweden anzugeben sondern auch eine Address in London. Bitte sende mir sofort ein Telegram ob Ihr einverstanden seit 1) mit der Kurzung vom Manifest. 2) mit der Betonung auf Mittel, und AsylForderung. 30 Ob ich unsere Addresse angeben darf. Ich muss dieses sofort wissen. Schicke das Telegram auf meine Privataddresse, Goldman, 6.xxxx Sneath Avenue London da ich morgen

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den ganzen Tag zu Hause sein werden und Mittwoch bis Mittags.

Es handelt sich leider nicht mehr soviel um Italien und Deutschland wie um England das wiederum ihre erbarmliche Heuchelei und ihre Imperialistische gemäinste Politik immer getriebn und auch jezt das Gelichе getan hat. Ich meine den Verat mit Minotes Seit 30 Monate hat England auf NON I tervention bestanden und bei der ersten Gelegenheit wo ihre Interessen in Frage kommen hilft diese Fascistische Bande Franko Minroca einzunehem und die so genannte Republikaner zu uberrumpeln. Jezt wird sie Franco an erkennen und die Negrins und ihre Kollegen im Schwindel als Rebellen erklahren. Schon schreibt die Londerner Times ganz frech Frankreich wird nichts verlieren an den Fluchtlingen indem sie massenhaft munition bekommen hat, unter andern 10 Flugzeuge, und dass Franco eingewilligt hat Sie soll ihren Schaden von dem Gold ersetzen dass die Republikanische Regiegung in der Bank von Frankreich hat. Also noch eher Franco anerkannt worden ist er klart man es als selbstverstandlich das Geld des Spanischen Volkes einfach in die Tasche zu stecken. Ubrings ist diese Republikanische Regierung nicht besser als Chamberlain und Deladier. Unser Ungluck ist dass unsere Spanische Kamaraden an sie geglaubt und sich von ihr uberrumpeln liessen. Ich weiss nicht ob es gerecht ist dass unsere Genossen weiter geopfert werden sollen fur die Negrin Bande.

Also bitte telegraphiere mir Antowrt auf meine drei Fragen.

Genossenschaftlich

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 13, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald]. — 3 p. ; 31 × 23 cm.
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14100

95 Christopher Street
New York City
Apt. 4 - G

February 13, 1939

Dearest Emma:

I have your letter of January 28th in which you say "it is not a question of a $1,000, or even more" - Yes it is, Emma, a question of money, or at least Teddy is not loosening up on any money for Stella's care. I simply have to be frank with you and tell you the truth - the way her case has been handled has about driven me crazy. Teddy pays the "munificent" sum of $30.00 a month for Stella's care, which anyone can tell you, is practically a charity patient. She is in a ward where screaming, crying women are brought in - and if she has a lucid moment in such environment it would drive us so-called normal folks "cuckoo". Stella needs to be by herself with a kind, gentle nurse and a doctor's attention constantly - a few times a day at least. Why, even the Doctor has to phone and phone Teddy to come to see him for a consultation - then when such a consultation takes place - it usually takes a week before anything is done about it. I'm sorry to tell you that I feel that Teddy is very indifferent about Stella's illness - or perhaps it is his helplessness about doing anything for any one but himself. I no longer think Teddy the "beautiful sensitive artist" I once did - he is only sensitive for himself - a penny pinching Scotchman - but I presume he is English - anyway it is the same thing.

I had a long talk with Dorothy over the telephone Saturday just before I left the house to have four teeth pulled - she told me exactly what I had been feeling about Stella and she said "I'm nearly crazy and so is Saxe over the delay in having things done for Stella." said that "Saxe is naturally diffident about speaking to Teddy about money for Stella." I told her I was writing you and asked her exactly what I should tell you - she said "tell Emma to have money cabled to Saxe so that he can go ahead and do for Stella what he thinks is necessary." She said upon her return from Europe this fall she went the following day to see Stella - she got no feeling about Stella's condition but that she needed a change, rest and adjustment and she would be all right. That she felt Stella had too many responsibilities - two boys that she was never able to handle - even David is a difficult child - no discipline - if Stella had had a motherly type of woman in the house to take some of the burdens off, while she was going through the change of life - could have had a few clothes - not something given her by friends - in other words just the ordinary "milk of human kindness" she would not now be where she is - this is what Dorothy told me - and I believe she is right. And the last word Dorothy said: "Tell Emma to get the family to cable money at once - and even this will take a month - and send it to Saxe so that he can do something immediately."

For example, when David was stricken - Dr. Girsdansky said there was no hope - peritonitis had set in - every one knows that a deposit must be made at a hospital for a week's care and an advance for nurses - even though Teddy loves David - was as much concerned as he could be about anything outside of himself - he never offered to write a check for this expense (perhaps he was too stunned, who can tell) but Saxe had to go to his publishing firm and borrow the money to make the necessary payment. Of course, Teddy has since paid Saxe - but this shows how his brain works!

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24101

I run [illegible] to [illegible]rie's (she's just a block away from me here - by the [illegible] is 25 Christopher St. not 90 as you had it on your last letter - it [illegible] a couple of days reaching me) to catch Teddy to ask him [illegible] - [illegible] I miss him, sometimes I find him there [illegible] (a thin[illegible] last name is [illegible]olfson) - and most of the time he [illegible] and has [illegible] away to Kate's house. You [illegible] (old enough to be his mother) that "raped" Ian [illegible] - [illegible] Ian turned against his mother and was so [illegible]. True, she [illegible] having her vacation and took care of Teddy when he was [illegible] sick with a [illegible] tocus infection in his throat, while David was in the hospital - that was fortunate and good that he had special care at that time - but I'm telling you, Teddy is only sensitive when he himself is concerned. [illegible]ven when a dress has been bought for Stella while she has been in the hospital - Teddy is overly anxious that it is "a good buy" - what the hell, when one has a trust fund to draw from - when money will be coming in when some of the family pass away (and even if one had only a small stipend a week) wouldn't a "sensitive" person say - buy what you like - what do dollars mean when a human life is at stake. . . And if necessary - Ian could put off his schooling for a year if the money is needed for Stella - I just can't understand this placid Ballantine family. Even Ian debated whether he should send a cable to his mother at Christmas time - he didn't send it - but what if she couldn't read it - it should have been sent to her - something of his thought would have gotten over to her - and god knows, she needs a little recognition from her son Ian that she has doted on all these years! . . .

Anyway, the burden of my letter is: get in touch with Harry Ballantine at once, and see that some money is cabled over here at once for Stella's care. Tell him that only $30.00 a month is being spent for her - which is nothing at all in her desperate condition. She can be brought back to life and health - but she must be given a chance. . .

Yes, Ruth is all right again - I saw her last spring just before I left the Woodstock Hotel for that little room up town - she and the baby and her husband came to see me - she was fine - then I met that Bernstein girl on the street (the one who was in the bookshop with Ruth) and she had just visited Ruth in her home - she tells me that she is her old self - takes beautiful care of her home and child - even talks about her illness. It made her very happy to see Ruth again so well and all right again.

I can very well realize how torn you are, what with Stella, Spain and a million other things. Don't be too hard on Rose Schneiderman - she was sympathetic, eager to know about you - but in the position she holds, she said she could do nothing - when I spoke of Jo Coffin - she said immediately, "there is a person who might get results" - I wrote Jo immediately and the letter I sent you shows her response. It is just possible that she may be able to touch the right spring that will give results. Perkins is not the one to grant visas - she can only extend one's stay or refuse it. It is true that the matter of your getting into the States must finally go through the Minister of Labor - even if higher-ups bring the pressure. Perkins is now going through examination to save her from impeachment. This is the reason that I feel a naive, innocent looking Jo might be able to do something about getting you in to the States. This sounds like Ben - " a child will lead them". . .! !

So, I never heard before the story of Lincoln Steffins - about Schmidty saying to "J.B." "Jim, aren't you glad we are NOT innocent". That sounds just like Schmidty - he was a lovely boy. You may not know it - but Schmidty fell in love with me - during that time when awful things were happening while you were away - I was getting ready to do advance work for Sasha across country to the Coast - Schmidty was such a big person - It's a shame that I

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b[illegible] - but I have never forgotten him. But just remembering doesn't do anything about getting him out of prison! ! I fully realise that. . . 24102

Well, Emma dear, I have just had seven teeth out - and three more to come - it certainly gives one an inferiority "complex" if anything can - it makes one feel that age has suddenly [illegible] crept up unaware - wish I had about six months that I didn't have to see anyone until I finally get 'em in again. Such is what is called "life". I, too, wish that you could celebrate your 70th birthday in the States - perhaps you can. We will see. I haven't stopped yet, maybe I can do something - I have nothing to lose - the worst has happened to me - and if I can be instrumental in getting you into these United States where you belong, I'm going to do it. . . After all I'm the granddaUGHTer of a pioneer in this old country of ours - and as a matter of fact, I feel rather proud of being the so and so of a pioneer - the United States seems pretty free and big compared to some of those European countries. . . . There has been times that I have been ashamed of my country as during the war - but in comparison now - it seems pretty good - god knows there are enough faults to be rectified. . .

All my love, Emma dear - I didn't want to worry you too much - or hurt you, but I had to tell you the facts as I see them.

I hold you close in a big tight hug - I love you dearly - [illegible] even when I'm bad about writing. I'm the sort of person that one must take on trust - even when there is no sign. . .

Lear
Fitz

Sara has just come in from her Doctor - "such a hard struggle she has made - now only 87 lbs blacks - doesn's retain her food hardly ever - its awful - such energy - will power - she wants to do it - there would be no one in the world but Sara could do it - they would be in her work nurses & doctors!

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 13 [Paris to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez.— 2 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
Y
Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

207.11

A 13 de Febrero 1939.

Emma GOLDMAN
21 Frith Street
Shaftesbury Avenue
LONDON, W. I.

Querida amiga,

He recibido, por medio del compañero ROCA, tu sentida carta del 5 de los corrientes. Me apresuro a corresponderte, lamentando no haberlo podido hacer antes para librarte de tus temores fundados.

Salí de Barcelona horas antes de que la tomara el enemigo. El Miércoles, día 25 a las 9 de la noche, hice una alocución por radio al pueblo de Barcelona, que fué la última. Horas después, el enemigo dominaba Barcelona, la de nuestras luchas, alegrías y sin sabores.

Nos hemos salvado todos los compañeros, porque al final, logramos que se abriera totalmente la frontera. Pero casi todos están en los campos de concentración. Yo no lo estoy, porque me fugué.

El problema fundamental, la máxima preocupación en estos momentos, es ver en que paises colocaremos a nuestra militancia, a esos centenares de compañeros que, en España, serían fusilados por Franco. Sobre esta base, estoy trabajando; ya hemos logrado algo. Pero aún queda trabajo a hacer.

Yo no sé concretamente en qué nos podrías ser útil, puesto que ya te he dicho que es lo que más nos preocupa. Sólo se me ocurre que hicieras la jira de propaganda por Canada, convencido que sería interesante, bajo un punto de vista moral y también del material, ya que podría ser un éxito económico y comprenderás que tenemos necesidad de mucho dinero para afrentar las múltiples necesidades que se presentan y se presentarán, especialmente para organizar los viajes de los compañeros a América.

Como creo que en Inglaterra no es posible colocar a ningún militante, y que poco dinero podrá sacarse, te indico lo del Canadá. Sin embargo, tú verás si otra cosa puedes hacer dentro de esa idea de colocar compañeros en los paises posible sea y recaudar fondos para atender el exilio de los militantes, de sus compañeras e hijos y los gastos que representarán los viajes.

Es cuanto puedo decirte por el momento. Cuando escribas, hazlo a ROCA y él me hará llegar la carta. Te advierto que la vida en los campos de concentración es muy mala y que los meten a todos porque no quieren arreglar la situación legal de nadie. Yo aún no he podido hacerlo.

Mariano R. VAZQUEZ.

Abrazos.

532

533

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The Emma Goldman Papers

87092949 2

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 13 [Paris to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez.—
2 p.; 26 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

París 13 de febrero de 1939

Querida amiga:

He recibido por medio del compañero RODA, un sobrino carta del 2 de los corrientes. Me apresuro a contestarte lamentando no poder hacer antes para liberarte de tus temores tan graves.

Sali de Barcelona poco antes de que la tomara el enemigo. El Ministerio, día 25 a las 9 de la noche, hizo una evacuación por tierra al barco de Barcelona; que fue la última. Hoy desde, el enemigo domina Barcelona, la de nuestra infancia, alegría y vida espiritual.

Nos hemos enterado todos los compañeros, porque el final, lo que más se sabía de nuestra infancia, es que los hemos enterado todos que los refugiados en Francia. Pero casi todos están en los campos de concentración. Yo no lo estoy, porque me [illegible] en el mismo barco de Argel. Y no me es posible [illegible] la situación legal de Argel. Pero más tarde, cuando escribas, dirígete también al mismo barco de Argel.

Yo no se concretamente en qué son bonitas ser útil, puesto que se me ocurre que es lo que más nos preocupa. Solo se me ocurre que se le da dicho que es lo que más nos preocupa. Solo se me ocurre que [illegible] la lista de propaganda por Canada, convencido que sería interesante, pero no punto de vista moral y también del material, es que podría ser un éxito económico y comprendería que tenemos necesidad de mucho dinero para sostener las múltiples necesidades que se presentan y se presentarán, especialmente para orientar los viajes de los compañeros a América.

Como creo que en Inglaterra no es posible conocer a ningún militante, y que poco dinero podría escasear, es indicio lo del Canadá. Sin embargo, tú vuelve si otra cosa pueges pacer dentro de esa idea de compañeros en los países posible ese y recuerdat tambien para atender el exilio de los militantes, de los compañeros e pilos y los Rasos que representan los viajes.

Me cuanto pueda decirte por el momento. Cuando escribas, dirígete a ROCA y él me dará lugar la carta. Te agradezco que le digas en los cambios de concentración es un vuelo y que los mejor a todos porque [illegible] dirigiendo el sin no de bodigo particular la situación legal de Argel. Y no me es posible [illegible] carlo.

Adiós.

MARIANO R. VAZQUEZ.

LONDON, W. 1.

870929385

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 13 [Paris to] Emma Goldman, London / M[ariano] R. V[á]zquez. – 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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COPY.

13.2.39 20538

National Confederation of Labour
and Anarchist Federation of Iberia.

Emma Goldman,
21, Frith Street,
London, W.1.

Dear Friend,

Comrade Roca handed me your letter of the 5th. I hasten to answer and am sorry I could not do so sooner to liberate you from your anxiety.

I left Barcelona a few hours before the enemy took her. On Wednesday, 25th of January at 9p.m. I called on the people of Barcelona over the radio. It was the last time. Some hours later the enemy dominated Barcelona, city of our struggles, our joy and

We have saved all the comrades, because in the end we succeeded in making them open the frontier. But almost all of them are in concentration camps. I am not, because I fled.

The fundemental problem and our greatest preocupation at present is to find out in which countries we can place our militancy, those hundreds of comrades who, in Spain, would be shot by Franco. On this basis I am working: we have already achieved something, but there is much work to be done yet.

I do not know concretely in which way you can be useful to us, after that I told you about our main preocupation. It only occurs to me that you should go on your propaganda tour through Canada. I am convinced that it will be interesting from a moral as well as material point of view, because it may be a financial success and you will understand how much we are in need of money to meet all the many necessities which present themselves, especially when it comes to organize the journey of the comrades to America.

As I do believe that it will be impossible to place a single militant in England, and that one can collect but little money there, I advise you to go to Canada. You will no doubt, see yourself what else you can do within this idea of placing comrades in any possible country, and of collecting money to help the militants in exile and their wives and children, and to meet the journey expenses.

This is all I can tell you for the moment. Write to me c/o Roca, he will forward the letter to me. The life in the concentration camps is very hard and they put everybody in, as they don't want to arrange anybody's papers. I could not do it myself yet.

Embraces,

M.R.Vazquez.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 14 [London to] Molli[e Steimer, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24234

Feb.14th 39

Mollitchka,my Dearest. I did not answer your last letter because I was waiting to see Ethel Mannin in re some money for Mercedes. We still have a little SIA money in the bank and so we decided to let Mercedes have ten pounds which I inclose per my check on the Seligman Bank.But I must ask you to wait a day or two before calling there to cash it. You see I have not enough pounds with the Seligmans.So I am sending them to day an English check for ten pounds which you will be able to draw by Friday certainly.

Darling it is impossible to raise money here from individual people. The only one I could have asked is Dr Stella Church ill and she just contributed five pounds to SIA.Besides she is in the South of France now. Ethel contributes to all sorts of funds and I know she is rather short now. Besides, our appeal for SIA is for the purpose to help refugee women and children and as Mercedes is one of the refugees I don't see how it matters. If you think it will bother her just day I got ten pounds for her and have sent it. I hope she has already reached Paris and that she will be able to recuperate if only little from the frightful shock and strain.

Darling,don't be bitter about those who are already free from the concentration camps.Surely it will do the others no good if the few also remained.Besides Herrera and Germinal Soussa were also in the camps. Should they have refused to get out when they had a chance? For myself I can say I rejoice about everyone who can get away. The discription of the camps I got the other day in a letter from a young American correspondent is too heartrending to contemplate.Never mind Ethas account. The exception only proves the rule. If everybody was nice to her,she has a way of getting through and achieving what she sets out to gain, does not prove that the French authorities are treating the refugees remotely decent. It is enough that they permit Francos emissaries into the camp to recruite their men. It is one of the most outrageous action imaginable.It is adding insult to injury. Yes, I suppose we ought to be grateful that the French government gave the refugees asylum.But after all the French government will make a nice little profit from them.She already has in all the arms the unfortunate soldiers had to give up and according to the London Sunday Times Franco "graciously" permitted France to cover her losses from the gold Negrin sent to the Bank of France. It is the usual

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charity hypocracy that goes about in glad rags. No, the treatment of the refugees is the most dastardly I have ever heard of. No one of the German,or Austrian refugees have been so treated. I understand why there should be such a difference.The Jews have Jews in Frunce and oth other countries who can make and do a halebaloo.But the Spanish refu gees have no one.Anyhow I for once rejoice if any of our people can get out of the inferno. I only wish they all could.

Ererra could not have been out among the first because he wrote me nearly two weeks ago from the camp. And only the end of last week from Paris.But I repeat I see no sense in those remaining in the camps when they have a chance to get out. It cannot possibly help the others.Besides by being out they might help others.

Darling,you are right in sayin we must see the faults of our comrades rather than idealising them. But also we should not take for granted every ot rre hurled against them without waitubg to verify the charges.For instance you tell me that the SIA while in Barcelona they took good care of the N.C. Michel always told me that Well, all I can say is that Michel knew this only from hearsay wheres I was at the table of Vazquez,Herrera and Montseey. And all I can tell you is that what they had for lunch was no more luxurious than what Jeannette and Michel gave me in their house. In point of fact Montseney did not need parcels from SIA because Nettlau used to send her parcels regularly,and so did Slutacker and Dr Friedberg. I do not mean to charge Michel with deliberate dishonesty but I do believe he like so many others paid willing ears to the stories circulated in Barce lona about the grand life the N.C. or the Comittee of the F.A.I were leading. It is the same as many telling me that Santillan lived on the grand style.It was that which so infuriated me when I finally told her what I thought of her. I lived in Santillans house and I tell you there were many days when there was nothing to eat,let alone lux uries. It was even worse when I was in Barcelona last. I never told Eliza that Sant llan was hungry most of the time. He invited me to have a meal with him one Sunday and then came terribly embarassed to confess that he had not succeeded in getting anything. So I begged him to eat with me in the hotel where I was stopping at my expence the meal costing 14 pesatas which then was about seven francs. So you see how much one can believe the various stories afloat especially in such abnormal times as it was in ~~ex~~ Spain and now when people are nearly mad with suffering.

About Baruta, I did not praise him darling,I merely said he has tendency to burauecracy though he is geberous. You know how I detest turauecracy.But on the other hand in handling public money it is dangerous to have people in charge who easily,dispose with funds for all osrts of purposes and not for the one for which it is collected. To be sure one should have judgment where it is imp erative to help even if it is not within the frame of the prupose. And Baruta ~~xxxxxxx~~ is by no means blessed with good judgment. Yes, I know he is no comrade.But what would that matter? I know any number of Anarchists who could be relied upon even less than on Baruta. You should know by this time sweet Mollitchka that theories do not make the

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 14 [London to] Molli[e Steimer, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 28 × 23 cm.

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24236

comrade. If it did our movement would not be so woefully neglegent everywhere as it is. However,it is not a matter of Baruta,it is of Lucia Sanchez Saornil not merely a comrade of Mercedes but an int imate friend,one she worked with in Mujeres Libres. I cannot believe that she would have refused Mercedes some provisions from the SIA parcels knowing that she is so ill.Why did not Lobo or someone else speak to Lucia about it? It is all so terrible that comrades are now hurling recriminations against each other.But as you say yourself it is always the case in despert.

I don't know what the N.C. or Roca have in money. All I know is that the CNT had to liquidate their American Bureau as well as the one in London for lack of funds. As far as London is con cerned I myself begged them to do it because the two years slavery brought the CNT-FAI nothing. I was therefore immensely relieved when I got Vazquez letter that it cannot be kept up. Of course we are cont inuing as far as it is possible without any contributions from any source. But the CNT could not possibly be so "flushed" if they decided to discontinue the bureau in the States. As to needing money for prop aganda,I should say that is of the utmost importance to do that if the CNT-FAI are ever again to get on their feet. but I am entirely of your opinion that part of the propaganda should consist of helping our people in distress. Darling I wish I had your cocksureness about the millions in Roccas hands.I don't see where you get your facts.I have not got them. Indeed the Spanish mentallyabout International affairs is different than ours. I therefore wish you luck in your efforts directly or indirectly to induce the N.C. to give "couple of millions to SIA". I hope they have them to give.

I am most distressed about Santillan.Surely there must be a way in finding out in what camp he is. He was seen at the French border so he must be alive.Could not Elisa do as Etta go to Perpignan,or to the Argelles Camp and make inquiries there. Or some one of the French comrades could they not make enquiry from the author ities in charge of the refugees. I wish I could afford the expence of the trip to France I would leave no stone unturned to locate Santillan We have damned few such comrades as he is.Michel worked with him could he not suggest a way. I feel that most of the European Anarchists are frightfully callous. I never met such cold indifference in America.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 14 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Gerston Agronsky. — 1 p. ; 28 × 23 cm.

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24258

Hotel Waldorf
~~79A GREAT RUSSELL STREET~~
14 Feb. '39 W.C.1.

Dear Miss Goldman

I'm sure my nephew would like his cliff on the Spanish frontier to be known. He first had a wire from him that he's coming back to Paris & expects to be in London on Monday. I'll try to arrange a meeting with you. If you are having the letter copied, perhaps you'll return the original at your convenience.

I was ~~absolutely~~ delighted to run into you at last.

Yours Sincerely
Gershon Agronsky.

538

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 14 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. – 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16996

F·b. 14th 1939

I have asked the Duke of Yorks to send the tickets for Fri.night to you direct, Emma.

I have asked the Morrises to tea on Sat. I will expect you andyour nephew any time you like between 12.30. and 1. Don't forget that at Waterloo (the big main station I mean) you come from platforms, 1, 2, 3, or 4. Look on the big indicator to see which goes first. It will take 20 mins. though if you are lucky to get a non-stop, which doesn't stop between Waterloo and Wimbledon, it will take 15 mns. or less. You can either get a taxi at the station, or you can cross the road (turning to the right on leaving the station) and get a bus outside the Westmnster Bank; a Putney bus, up to Marryat Road, at the top of the hill. If you walk down this road to the

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 14 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

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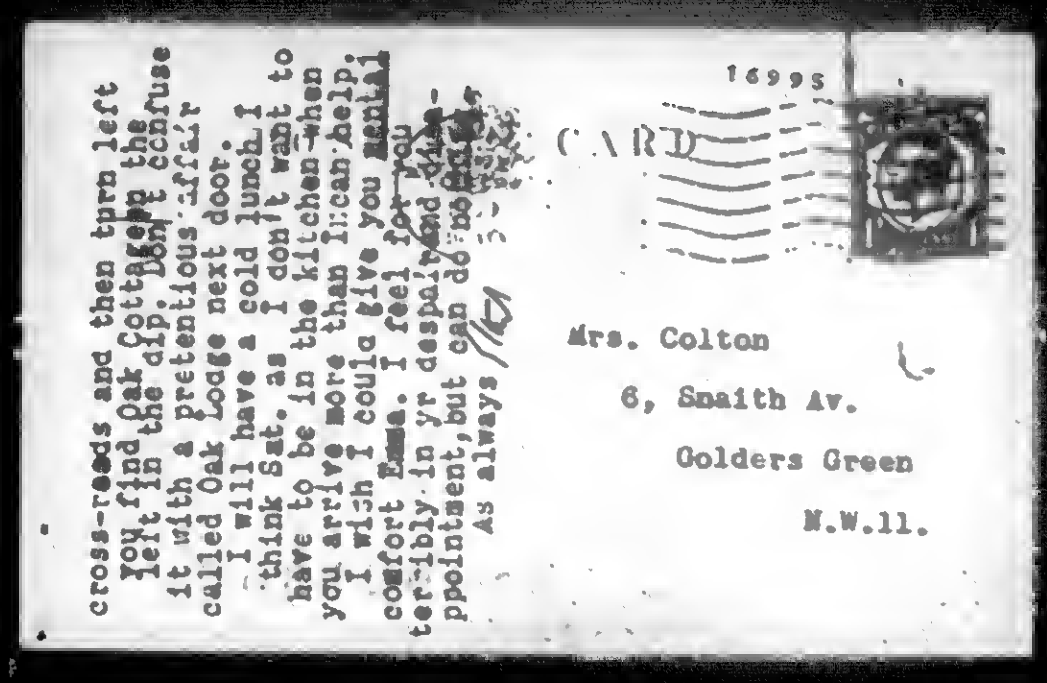

cross-roads and then turn left
You find Oak Cottage on the
left in the dip. Don't confuse
it with a pretentious affair
called Oak Lodge next door.
I will have a cold lunch, I
think Sat. as I don't want to
have to be in the kitchen—then
you arrive more than I can help.
I wish I could give you mental
comfort Emma. I feel for you
terribly in yr despair and
ppointment, but can do no more.
As always

CARD

16995

Mrs. Colton
6, Smaith Av.
Golders Green
N.W.11.

540

881010195

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 14, Amsterdam [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / M[ax] N[ettlau]. – 2 p. ; 10 × 15 cm.

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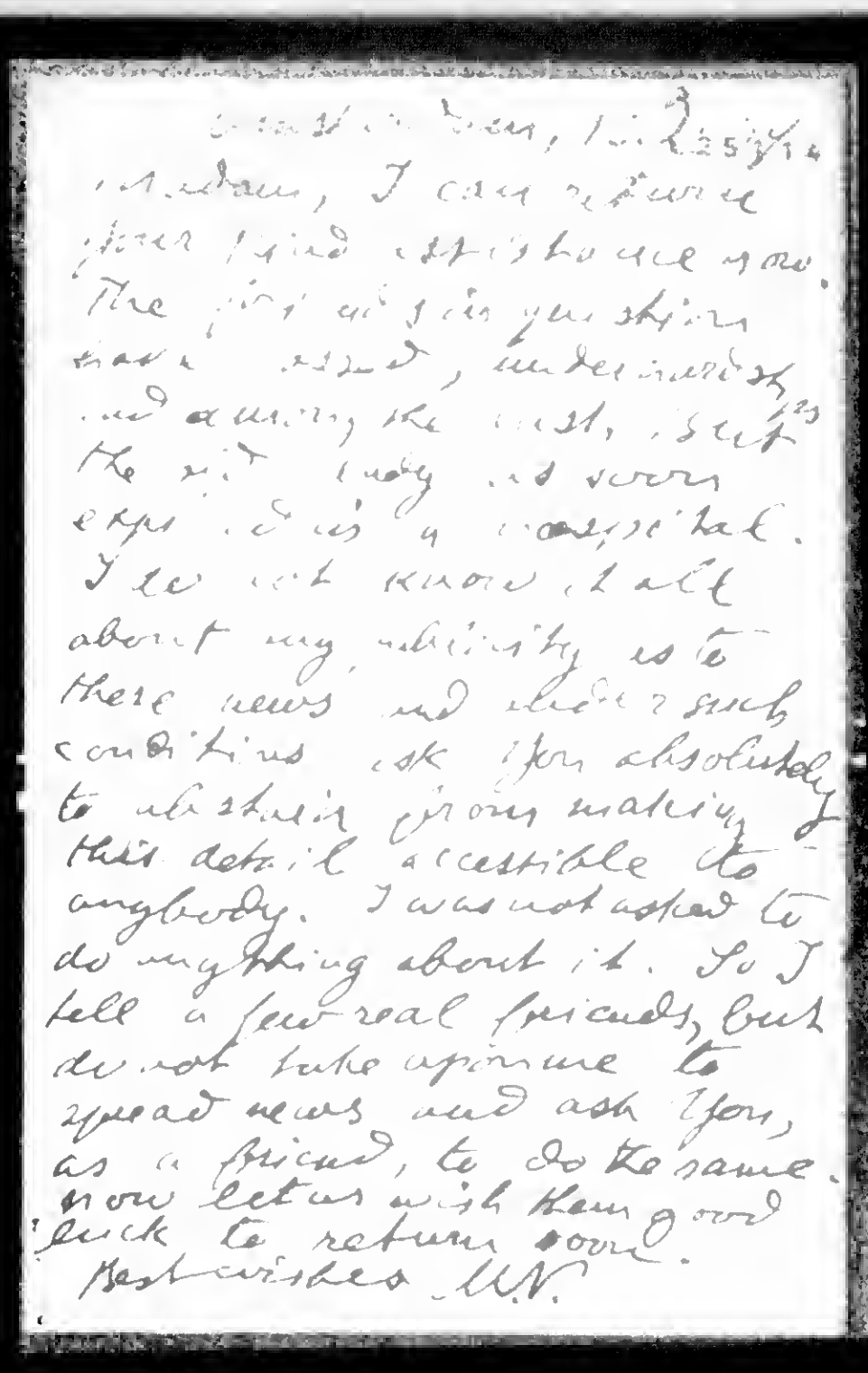

Amsterdam, 14.2.39

Madam, I can remove your fond apprehensions now. The first wire you sign your stamp have arrived, underneath and among the rest, stuff the sick lady has worn expts. in a hospital. I do not know at all about my ability to these news and under such conditions ask you absolutely to abstain from making this detail accessible to anybody. I was not asked to do anything about it. So I tell a few real friends, but do not take upon me to spread news and ask you, as a friend, to do the same. Now let us wish them good luck to return soon.

Best wishes M.N.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 14, Amsterdam [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / M[ax] N[ettlau]. — 2 p. ; 10 × 15 cm.

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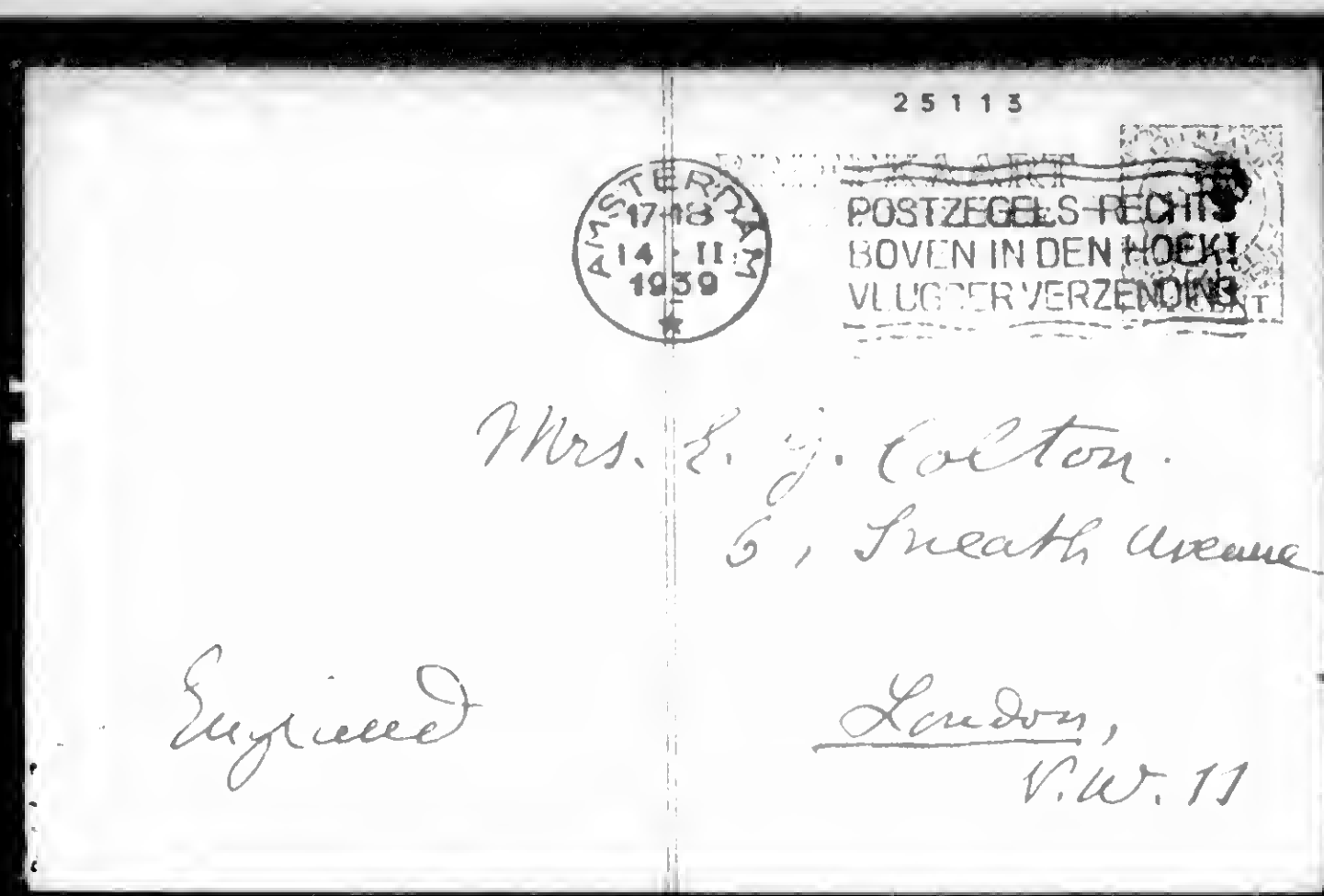

25113

AMSTERDAM 17-18 14 · II 1939

POSTZEGELS RECHTS BOVEN IN DEN HOEK! VLUGGER VERZENDING

Mrs. E. G. Colton.
5, Sneath Avenue

Engined

London,
N.W. 11

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871005188

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 15, London [to] Chemin de Fer du Midi, Cerb[è]re, France / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20423

London 15-2-39

London 15-2-39

Chemin de Fer du Midi
eg. Com Seine No.45-'87
Gare de Cerbere
FRANCE

Monsieur le Chef de Gare,

Nous avons recu votre avertissement nous informant que 4 sacs de vetements usages envoyes a M.Julien Crevel Transitaire Cerbere, qui vous sont arrives le 19 janvier sont encore en votre possession.

Nous venons d'ecrire a M. Correo Federico Federacion des Comites Espagnoles de Accion Antifasciste, de venir chercher les quatre sacs. Nous lui envoyons votre avis avec l'autorisation de venir chercher les sacs.

Recevez Monsieur l'expression de nos sentiments distinguos.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 15 [London to] Jean Ay, [Perpignan, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20422

Ay Jean

15-2-39

Cher Camarade,

J'ai recu deux lettres l'une lundi et l'autre aujourd'hui et je pense qu'elles viennent de toi. Je n'en suis pas tout a fait sure car je ne peux pas comprendre la signature. Si elles sont au Camarade Garrec tu pourras lui faire lire cette lettre.

Je veux te dire avant tout que nous avons recu l'avis ci-joint nous disant que les 4 sacs de vetements que nous avons expedie a Cerbere a Julian Cruzel Federation des Comites Antifascistes ne sont jamais arrives a Barcelone et qu'ils sont encore a Cerbere. Hier nous avons encore envoye 9 sacs adresses a Garec Frederic Federation des Comites Espagnols d'Action Antifasciste 16 Bd.des Aberer Perpignan. J'espere qu'ils arriveront rapidement. Meme si vous avez payer quelques frais de douane il sera avantageux de le faire car bien que les vetements soient usages ils sont encore en bonnes conditions.

Donc veux-tu te mettre en rapport avec Cruzel et aller chercher les sacs qu'il a recus et t en servir pour les refugies.

Oui, je sais les horreurs des camps de refugies. Je suis entrain d'ecrire un article la dessus pour nos journaux.

J'ai recu une lettre et un telegramme de Emilie Mera. Elle ne se rend pas compte de l'impossibilite ou nous nous trouvons de faire accepter par le Gouvernement Anglais des refugies Espagnols. Mais je lui ai ecrit que nous avons publie un pressant appel pour de l'argent. Si nous recevons de l'argent je lui enverrai quelque chose pour elle et pour les enfants de Mon

Reste le plus possible en contact avec moi et fais Nous moi de voir toutes les nouvelles que tu peux avoir.

Fraternellement,

P.S. J'ai ete contente d'avoir des nouvelles de Martin et de sa compagne. Il m'ecrira probablement bientot.
Veux-tu toujours m'ecrire a 6 Sneath Ave London N.W.11. car je ne vais pas au bureau chaque jour.
Quand tu auras vu Garrec a propos de ces sacs veux-tu me le faire savoir tout de suite

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 15, London [to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Emma Goldman.– 4 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

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Feb.15th 39

Dearest Fitz. I was glad to get yours of Jan 30th. It must have croosed mine wherein I told you I had written Jo and had given her all part iculars. I sent you a copy of my letter ~~xxxxx~~ to Jo. I also wrote you that it is not a question of money to save Stella, it is that there is no one who could take care of Stella outside of the Center. It is not enough to have a day and night nurse and doctor, someone in whom Stella has absolute confidence and who would have influence over her. And without such a person, ~~xxx~~ one who would take a ~~deep~~ personal influence it would be very risky to take Stella out. If the experiment failed the Center may not take her back. And what would happen then? I wrote in my last letter that, if I thought my sudden appearance before Stella would rouse her difinitely, or even partially out of her for I would ask permission to get into A. only for the purpose of dedic ating myself to Stella to get her well. Not that I think I would get a visa even under such condition, my promise not to appear publicly anywheres, but I would try. I have written Dr Kopeloff, old Kopeloffs son, begging him to cosult the other men on the staff and let me know what they think about my taking care of Stella.

Ian had a letter from his father last Saturday saying he had been prepared for Stellas great change, that she had aged and was looking frightful. In reality he was very pleasantly surprised to find her very much improved. True the "miracle" the docotrs called her sudden coming out with such a clear mind did not last long, but they insist there was nevertheless a positive progress, and that she had gained two pounds. Ian also had a letter from Kate Wolfson reporting that Stella does suffer from all sorts of imaginings such as that some harm is sure to come to Teddy, David and Saxe. So it is not only her idea that the other patients are her enemies. It is her general state of mind. I do hope they let you see her. I am sure you would do Stella good. If you do write me at once my dear. I am sick with anxiety.

The collapse of Catalonia and Barcelona was the most staggering blow I have received in my life and the gods know there was no scarcity of blows of every discription. And now the appalling condition of the hundreds of thousands of the refugees. France has let them in, but the accounts I get of the treatment of the unfortunate victism of the whole world, and not only Francos, is too harrowing to contemplate. Added to the cruelty there is the insult to these her oic people to permit Francos men to go into the camp and there to

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 15, London [to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Emma Goldman.— 4 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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cajole and bribe the men to come back to Franco. The other day the women refugees rose in indignation and peltered the Franco hirelings with everything they could lay their hands on while the men fought them with bare hands.

England has once more shown its hypocritical face. For thirty months she claimed to be moved by humanitarian motives in standing by the Non Intervention Pact. Now she takes a Franco general on an English warship and by the meanest of tricks induces the Republican officials to surrender Minorca. Moreover England is now trying to persuade France to recognize Franco. That means that the Republicans will then be robbed of all their rights and the bulk of the refugees turned over to Francos promises not to treat them too rough. What is there to say or do in the face of such crimes against a whole people. The Negrin outfit is not much better. How could our naive and gallant Spanish comrades buck up, not only against overwhelmingly powerful superior physical force, but also the tricks, and canivance of the Hitlers, Mussolinis, Chamberlains and their own government. It is heart breaking and I feel utterly crushed. I do not even know why I am going to Canada. My purpose was to speak about Spain and raise funds. True, funds are more needed now than beofre. But what should I say about Spain? It is only that I must have a change from here or I would not sail. As it is I hope to get away April 8th.

Darling, if you knew how broken Sasha was physcially mentally and spiritually you would not say "if he wanted to get away from Emmy he would have done so." Certainly he cared a lot about her an and she made him a home, but also she poisoned his llife with her jealocies, her nagging, her making it impossible almost to have his own friends. For Sasha to tell you that he had no intellectual compainionship was merely to hide the fact that he suffered because he felt E. could not share his intellectual friends. She made him ashamed so that he prefwrred to see no one. Besides, it depended on Sansas moods whether he felt he had the deepest understanding from me, or that we were intellectually so different. His moods changed according to whether there was peace with E. or not. Sasha knew that he could come to me with his writings as well as his troubles, just as I knew that I could always come to him. Many of his letters I have express this confidence and this certainty, wonderful letters they are. But the moment there would be a struggle with E. he would grow bitter against me because she must have plagued him so long that he began to believe it himself that I had hurt her or the devil knows what.

Sashas diaries began in 1910 with years of intervals. He ~~stxx~~ started more regularly ~~inxxxxxxxxxx~~ in Russia. In fact the Russian diary is almost complete. Then he took it up again in 22 in Berlin which he kept up more or less regularly until he became so ill. His letters too, are intensely interesting and also show the child in him. For instance, in one letter to Michael Cohn, of all people, he wrote a "secretive" letter complaining that he had let me use all his data in my Disillusionment and he felt he had nothing left for his own Book on Russia. The nonsense of this is in the book itself

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The Emma Goldman Papers
[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 15, London [to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Emma Goldman.— 4 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
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For the Bolshevik Myth does not show if he had been "robbed" of his material. On the other hand it is true that the title was what I had chosen for mybook on Russia and which our darling man did not want me to use at all, ~~thanxx~~ It is really of no importance, any more than his resentment at first against the first part of Living My Life because he had then felt that I did not do justice to him. He actually has in his dieary, E. cannot write. I hope she will not think of writing a third volume!! Then when the book was done and Saxe and Stein tried to disparage it Sasha went into a lengthy reply that they did not know what they were talking about because L.M.L was a great work. I confess I was wounded to the quick when I first read it after Sashas end when I was alone in Bon Esprit. But since then I have come to consider this as the reflection of his moods which rose and fell according to the momentary peace or struggle he had with E.. Nothing on earth can change my devotion for Sasha or my regard for him as a rare personality.

Yes, my dearest I know how you loved Sasha, you were the only woman in his life ~~xxxxxxx~~ who was worth all the love he could give. How I fought with him in Russia to make him see your love and why you had been unbale to join him. He has this period in his diarie also. Sasha demanded All from those who loved him. He was himself terribly jealous, yet he could not bear E's idiotic distrust. Yes, for the present I still feel Sasha too deeply to write about him. I wish you and I could do it.

Indeed I was terribly distressed to learn of dear little Anna Barons death and from the horrors of cancer. She was such a devoted soul. I am so sorry.

I have not heard from Emmy for two months not even an acknowledgement of thousand francs I sent her. Yesterday I got a letter from a German friend of hers who claimes to have replaced her parents for her, he and his wife that E. had had four operations, and that now the last has to be eone when her large intestine will be taken out and something artificial substituted. That the operations have cost 20,000 francs and the surgeon is yet to be paid. I have no idea where she got the money. True Stein has sent her something, her sister is also supposed to have sent money. Still all that cannot make 20,000 francs. Perhapse these German friends are rich. I don't know. I only

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know the obsessed creature is being operated into the grave without having gained any relief. Her condition is absolutely mental. It is madness to keep operating on her when it is a matter of a sick mind. Only Sasha could keep her from it, it cost him no end of will power and it helped to wear him out. Now there is no holding her. As I said I hope her German friends are rich, for I am certainly not. I am waiting to hear what the Institute intends to pay for our material. If I get any money I will send E. some and feel I have carried the cross long enough.

Well, all this is of lesser importance to the tragedy of Spain, the terrible end of a sublime beginning and the fate of the hudreds of thousands in French concetration camps. Then the fate of those who have remained in Catalonia with tortures and death staring them in the face. I grow cold to the very marrow of my bone when I think of that.

When Barcelona fell I had no more strength to finish my report of my exprience in Spain but here is a copy as far as I got.

I am sorry Cora continues to suffer so much. Yes, your hand writing is quite clear to me, so you need never worry writing me by hand.

I hold you close to me darling Fizi, truest and best of friends. Greet your sister and Pauline and all the other friends

Warmly, E.

P.S. when I was in America C.V. Cook of Los Angles wrote me some fund should be started for my seventhiet birthday. I have heard nothing from him about that. I wonder whether you think it worth while to start such a fund and whether you would or could undertake it. I still have a few pounds from the sale of Bon Esprit and several per sonal friends as well as some of the comrades sent me enough for my trip to Canada and also for my keep of a few months. When that will be used up I will be pennyless nor will I know how to earn some money unless I could get to America which is a remote possibility. Tell me frankly what you think of a fund and would you undertake to start ~~on~~ it? I really know no one else whom I could write in the matter or who could undertake it. I do know that Jeanne Levey would, she has been marvelous in raising my fair to Canada.

E.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 15, Chicago [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Jeanne [Levey]. — 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24123

1535 Merchandise Mart,
Chicago, Illinois,
February 15, 1939.

My very dear Emma:

By this time you should have my letter containing the check which we sent to you about two weeks ago. It is perhaps because you were in Amsterdam that our letters crossed. I am very happy to learn that you have made the record of Sashe's papers. Please write me in detail dear how they are going to be recorded. This will be a nice compliment to both of you to have both your letters and articles in a permanent record.

Sweetheart I am not going to talk about the tragedy that has befallen Spain. Although it was inevitable, I was hysterical for days. I am trying not to dwell too much on this terrible thing. Yesterday Mrs. Olsy called me and asked to gather a number of clothes to send to the refugees in France. It seems that we should do this immediately because they are in such dire want.

Emma, dear, in reference to Ethel Mannon. Is she planning to come to Chicago as well as New York. I would like very much to get in touch with her, so I can get some definite information as to just how you are and what is going on in England.

My brother Will is here and has read the copy of the pamphlet you sent him in reference to Professor Pauli. What type of scientists do you mean and why are you limiting it to scientists. Have you any particular idea in mind. If you have, write me about it. Write me direct so I can get some information about it. Will lives in New York. He and his wife are willing to do what they can, but she is going to have a baby before very long and this may interfere with some activity.

Yes Emma I was very happy to learn that Fritzie is going ahead with her promise to me when I was in New York. She has gotten in touch with Rose Schneideman and Jo Coffin. Wrote you in my last letter that Jo Coffin is connected with the Government hiring office. I have a definite promise that she will do what she can to help you. Emma dear don't you think it would be a good idea to come in without any public lectures. Suppose you are not able to speak in public. A number of our friends will have you come to their homes and you can speak to us in private. I feel that if Mrs. Roosevelt could be reached as woman to woman you [illegible] put you into this country so you could see

Write me all the news and keep me informed as to just what isgoing on. Your letters are a real source of information and give me so much to talk about and think about. Continue to send me the enclosures and clippings as you have done in the past.

Have just had Rudolf here and we had a number of lectures for him.

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He stayed at our home andit was a real joy to have himee What a fund of knowledge what a fine mind he has. What a wealth of information he can convey. I was very grateful to have him around.

I hope darling we will soon have the pleasure of visiting with you. Jay and I are driving to New York sometime in May and perhaps if you are in Canada by that time we will have the pleasure f meeting you at some point. Why don't you make your plans accordingly because then we will be sure of seeing you. Please keep this im mind, dear.

Write me as soon as possible. Jay joins me in sending our sincere love to you.

Always,

Jeanne

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb. 15, Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / P[edro] H[errera]. — 2 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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[enclosure]
Translation of Letter from P.H. [1939]

Dear Emma,

On my return from Marseille and the South of France where I had to settle several things and to interview Germine Souze I found your letter of the 11 inst.

I understand your desire to know about the fate of our comrades. Luckily part of the Committee managed to evade the control and escape the concentration camps and Prats, Germinal and myself are in France now without having passed through them. Manola Excorze crossed the border a few days before without a hitch and until the necessary documents are found for him he is in hiding somewhere. We are all in the same position, without documents, because we did not have the precaution of safeguarding our persons when there was yet time. Vallejo I know has crossed the frontier alright, that he was in Perpignan and that he left a few days ago for another part of France which I do not know. Santillan, together with two members of the FAI Committee is in the Concentration camp of Saint Ciprien. We are doing all in our power to get them out. Comrade Sanz, Jover and Vivanco are in concentration camp in Bourg Madam and await the same solution as the rest of the comrades. Of Gonzalo de Repare- I can tell you that he left Barcelona, that he colaborated in the sheet Soli which was published in Gerona and that from there he was taken to Junqucre, in the frontier. I do not know if he is in Franco which is to be supposed as it is not feasible that he would go back from the frontier to fall in the hands of the fascists.

Conditions in the concentration camps are very bad, and still worse the conditions under which the comrades who were taken to them have to live. Everything possible is being done to emiliorate the plight by propogande among liberal minded people. Some results have been obtained already by the aid of "IA", and the National AID Committee, but this is not sufficient.

I ignore the details given you by Santillan regarding the defense of Barcelona, but I can tell you that Barcelona caould not be defended, not because it were impossible but because of unthinable position created to our Movement and to the anti-fascist masses in general by the catastrophic policy of the Government. The loss of Barcelona cannot be understood if studied alone. But it can be perfectly understood if going back a few months one examine the situation of the army and the civil population and their complete moral and physical bankruptcy brought by that disastrous policy. For us who knew that the army did not exist because it was disorganised and demoralilised by murder, graft and party politics. For us who knew that whatever morai there there had been has been consumed, particularly among the anarchist revolutionary elements. For us who lived in the midst of the decomposition everything is explainenand and the inexorable has happened. Besides Barcelona was completely abondoned by the Government. Not only leaving it without any means of defense but by the fad

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failure to establish the necessary lines of resistance that would have preserved it from attack of the enemy. Moreover, all troops and element of def nse ware removed, even searchlights and aircraft guns were taken away. The official bodies ministires, commisions andpublic order, recruting offices, army head quarters, etc. etc. ran away from Barcelona with all their staffs andfamilies, emplying the means of transport that were needed for the army, while the Government stated in public that it would remain in Barcelona and that it would defend it to the last. What sarcasm! These and many other things made it impossible to for a reaction to be effected in the people necessary for the defence of Barcelona, all due to the ferious policy of Negrin and the Communists. And Barcelona was lost, and after the loss of Barcelona, the rest of Catalonia, nearly without fighting and without employing the greater part of the material which was arriving in good quantities during the last days. It has been horrible and enormous is the responsibility of those who are to be blamed. There are symptoms that make one think in the probability that Catalonia and with it all anti-Fascist Spain have been sold by the Negrin Government. Nad now, what will those say who defended Negrin and his policy?

I am somehow ashamed at the staunchness of your spirit and faith in our people, but cannot do otherwise that tell you the truth about what I think of the resistance in the center of Spain. We do not see anym possibility end our great occupation in these moments is to be able to save the lives of the militants who are still in the part of Spain which will be very long before fall into the hands of the Fascists. I believe and I have faith in the courage desire for freedom of our comrades who are counted by the thousands in that part of Spain, but they have exhausted ever thing in the struggle and they can only be of any use in future once this is lost. I know how horrible it will be for you to know this, yet I cannot but tell you what I see and feel.

I do not think there is any need for you to come to Paris, it would only serve to hear from our lips what I already have told you in this letter. The importan thing now is to do everything so that international solidarity will help all the thousands of families who lost their homes and a great part of their illusions.. We want to mobilise all our friends and sympathiziers in order to find asylum for the greatest possible number of comrades who are in difficulties and cannot remain in France. It would be important to form some enterprise or colony for Spanish comrades, even in Palestine.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 16, London [to] Emilia Roca, [Perpignan? France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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London Feb.16th 39

My dear comrade Emmilio Roca.

I received your letter of the 11th of this month and also your telegram. For a moment I did not know what help I had promised you so I asked a Spanish comrade over the phone who translated the wire for me to drop you a line to say that I do not remeber yax my promise except that if there will be a res ponse to our appeal which we are sending out I will see that I get some money for you and the children. But as to being in a pos ition to help with the children,I cannot understand what induced Mawa to write you that because in my letter to him I stated dis tinctly that coula do nothing to help you to a colony like Mon Nou. In fact in my letter to you which I inclosed in my letter to Mawa I distinctly stated that you ought to be pleased that the children will be accepted in individual homes because in Capitalist countires it was impossible to establish free colonies. Has not Mawa sent you my letter?

I was deeply interested in knowing how you and the children escaped in time and that comrade PUIG us safe though being in the French concentration camps is no great improvement. It was certainly a miraculous escape how wonderful of the com rade who came with a Lorrie to take you to Puigzverda.

My dear deur comrade I can only repeat that it is <u>not</u> in my power to do anything for the colony,but if we get any money form our appeal for SIA I will try my best to send you some though it will not be much. I hope you understand it is not lack of desire to help you it is just utter impossibility as the British

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will not let the children in nor do we ever raise such sums as to maintain your children in France. the Colony in Masnou was helped by the America comrades through our paper published here by a young comrade who is the editor. He is now aiting to hear from SIA what has become of the children of Masnou and if they can be establish in France he will continue to help them. He could not also appeal for Mon NOu, and the money I have raised went entirley for the SIA colonies. Now it is no longer a question of only children but all refugees, men women and children.

However I repeat I will do what I an can in getting a small sum for you but that is all I can promise. I have written Mawa asking what he had done with the 13 parcels I sent for MON NOU which must have reached SIA in Barcelona around Christmas time a month before the terrible debacle. I wish you would ask him for an explanation.

Greet the children for me.

Fraternally.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 16 [London to Gerston] Agronsky, [London] / [Emma Goldman].– 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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Feb.16th 39

Dear Mr Agronsky.

Thanks for your letter. Here is the original of your nephew you were good enough to let me have. I will be very glad to meet him.I hope he will not object to my quoting his letter in the article I am preparing not only about the appalling treatment of the refugees but also about the hyprocracy of the National government in regard to its claims of humanitarian reasons for the Non-Intervention Pact and its utterly shameless intervention in re Minorak as well as its rushing to recognise the blood regime of Franco.

I hope your nephew will be here soon and that you will be good enough to arrange our meeting.

Sincerely

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 16, London [to] Mariano [R. Vázquez, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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London Feb.16th 39

Dear comrade Mariano.

I cannot tell you how glad I was to hear from you at last. I knew that you had escaped the hell of the concen tration camps,but I did not know where you are and what the plans of the CNT are as far as you are now in a position to make plans. You say nothing in your letter about your companion and your lovely daughter I met in the school.Are they safe,and do you know how many of the memevrs of the CNT-FAI committees have been able to get into France. I understand the old,deaf and crippled comrade Gonzalo Reparey had been completely forgotten and is already in the hands of Franco. I wonder whether this is true. My heart bleeds for those who could not get away,and for all of the refugees who are so abominablyx treated by the French authorities. I am preparing an article about this as well as the contemptable part played by Englandin helping Franco to minorca and now like a xxxx vulture falling over the agonised bodies of the Spanish people in rushing to recognise Franco, this after thrity months hypocrotal pretenses that the NON-INTERVENTION PACT was for "humaniterian xxx reasons". All capitalist countries are of course alike,but England is the most unscrupupous when it comes to serve her Imperialist interests.Unfortunately the British workers have drung that unscrup louesness from their mothers breast.

Dear comrade you have said nothing in your letter of the real froces that compelled you and the other comrades of the CNT-FAI to give up the defense of Barcelona. I wish you would write me the exact reasons as everybody inx in England and the States are completely at a loss to account for the surrender. If you do not want the reason published you have but to let me know.But for my own peace of mind I really ought to know. I fear that it was the Negrin Communist allies of yours who have played you false. Already when I was in Barcelona last I had a feeling that in the crucial moment you of the CNT will be betrayed and left to your own devices. You once told Martin that I was always suspicious or afraid of your allies. There was no need of either since it was too obvious that neither Negrin or his colleges would stand by the CNT in time of grave danger. I fear it was your own sterling honesy and your ehild like belief in the need of working with the govemn ment which brought about the final debacle. Please do not take offense.It is my deap interest and my abding faith in you xxxhi which makes me tell you francly that you were duped by the miser able Negrin and Communist gang who hated the CNT-FAI as much as the Fascists. However,if you can give me the reasons of the that led up to the fall of Barcelona you will help me greatl l and also the other comrades who have done whatever they could to hel your struggle since it began.

I see in the papers that one Lopez who belonged to the CNT is involved in the trials now going on in Barcelona.Can that possibly be our comrade? I ask because he is reported to have made alsorts of confessions as to his connection with the diplom atic parcel found with the American Cuncil. That would indeed be

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[illegible] and the thousands upon thousands of [illegible] will be exterminated.

Dear comrade of course I am going to Canada.But I could not sail until I knew what had become of you all,whether you are safe,what plans if any you have and how I can help. I have actually made reservations to sail April 8th.Until then I hope to know exactly just what you and the other comrades plan to do. I wish I could believe that South America will let you in. But is not nearly all of South America Fascist,except perhaps Chili? And Presidnet Cardemas who posed as Liberal when he came to Spain expressing fraternal sympathy with your struggle I understand he has already declared he will not permit the Anarchists into Mexico It is frightful the miserable part all the socalled democracies are playing.

I suppose any funds one might be able to raise now will have to be done for the refugees. Is there such a thing as a Refugee organisation of our comrades outside of SIA? Or is one to appeal in the name of the SIA? I must know that before I leave for Canada. Do you think I ought to come over to Paris and sail from a French porte. It will mean an extra expense of about 250 francs in the price of the ticket as compared with sailing from an English porte. If it is necessary that we talk over some matters before I sail I will come.So you must let me know soon.

Give my fraternal greetings to all the comrades to your companion and to your beautiful child.

Fraternally

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[Letter] 1939 Feb. 16 [London to] Mariano [R. Vázquez, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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16. 2.1939

Querido companero Mariano,

No puedo decirte mi alegria de haber recibido noticias tyas.Sabia que habias escapado el infierno de los campos de concentracion,pero no tenia ninguna idea sobre donde te encuentras,y que son los planos de la CNT,si planos podias hacer en esta situacion. Estoy contento de saber que tu companera y tu hija estan bien. Me duele el coraron para todos los companeros que no podian escapar y para todos que los autoridades franceses tratan tan malamente.Estoy preparando un articulo sobre esto y tambien sobre el parte de Inglaterra,ayudando Franco en la toma de Minorca, y ahora en correr,sobre los cuerpos en agonia del pueblo espanol,para reconocer a Franco,y esto despues de 30 meses de pretencias hypocriticas,diciendo que el pacto de non-intervencion era de razones humanitarias. Claro,que todos los paises capitalistas son iguales,pero Inglaterra es lo menos escrupuloso,cuando quieren servir a sus intereses imperialistas. Desafortunatamente, los trabajadores ingleses han bebido esa poca escrupulosidad con la leche de su madre.

Querido Companero,no me dices nada en tu carta sobre las razones porque tu y los otros companeros d la CNT-FAI han dejado la defensa de Barcelona.Queria que me dices las razones exactas,por que todos aqui y tambien en E.U.A.no se pueden explicar la perdida. Si no quieres que se publican las razones,solamente tienes que decirmelo.Pero tengo que saberlo para mi tranquilidad.Tengo miedo que han sido vuestros aliados Negrin-Comunistas que os han traicionado.Cuando estaba en Barcelona la ultima vez, sentia que en el momento crucial,vosotros de la CNT os encuentraras solos y traicionados. Una vez has dicho a Martin que yo siempre sospechaba d vuestras aliados.Pero era obvio que ni Negrin ni los otros de sus colegas se pondran al lado de la CNT en un momento de peligro Tengo miedo que vuestra honradez y vuestra confianza de nino en la necesidad de colaborar en el gobierno,ha causado el catastrofe final. No quiero ofenderte. Es mi interes profundo y mi confianza en ti,que me hace confesar que te han enganado la banda de negrin y de sus comunistas,que han odiado a la CNT y la FAI tanto como los fascistas lo odian. De toda manera si me puedes dar las razones que han guiado [illegible]

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manera,si me puedes dar las razones que han guiado a la toma d Barcelona por los facciosos,me ayudara mucho y tambien a los otros companeros que han aguado a vuestra lucha d sde sus primeros momentos.

16.2.1939

He visto en la prensa que un companero,llamado Lopez,esta ante los tribunales en Barcelona.Es posible que se trata de nuestro companero? Te lo pregunto porque se dice que ha confesionado en conection con la bolsa diplomatica,que hace poco se descubrio en manos del Consul Ingles. Eso sera una trahicion muy grande. Dime por favor si es el mismo companero.Me puedo figurar la miseria y los horores en Barcelona,la actividad de los reformistas miserables que quieren ganar los favores de Franco,y los miles y miles que se an exterminados.

Querido Companero,claro que me voy a Canada.Pero no podia salir sin saber que pasara con vosotros todos,si estais seguros y que planos habeis hecho y si puedo ayudar. He arreglado para salir el 8 de Abril.Hasta esta fecha espero que sabra que tu y los otros companeros vais a haser. Me gustaria creer que America del Sur os dejara entrar.Pero casi todo del America de Sur es facsista,quiza con la excepcion de Chile. Y el presidente Cardenas quien ha expresado su simpatia fraternal con la lucha de Espana,he oido que ya ha declarado que no dejara entrar a los anarquistas en Mexico. Es terrible la parte miserable jugado por las democracias asi-llamadas.

Supongo que los fondos que se coleccionan ahora deben colecionarse para los refugiados. Hay otro organizacion para refugiados de nuestros companeros aparte de SIA? Eso tengo que saber antes de salir para Canada. Te parece bien si vengo a Paris y salgo desde un puerto frances? Esto me costara frcs 250 mas para el billete.Pero si te parece necesario hablar sobre algunas cosas de importancia,vendre.Por eso tienes que decirme que piensas.

Mis saludos a todos los companeros,a tu companera y tu nina hermosa.

Fraternalmente

881128000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 16 [London to Herman] Scheerer, [Nice] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24111

16.2.1939

Werter Herr Scheerer,

Ich danke Ihnen fuer Ihr Schreiben xxx Ich war natuerlich ausserst unruhig, dass ich von Emmi keine Zeile bekommen habe, nicht einmal die Bestaetigung des Empfanges der 1000 frsc, die ich ihr geschickt habe. Und da Sie auch lange geschwiegen haben, so dachte ich, dass es der Emmi ausserst miserabel gehen muss. Wenn ich selber nicht in einer deprimierten Stimmung waere, haette ich wieder geschrieben, aber angesichts der Tragodie Spaniens, die tiefste Tragodie des Jahrhunderts, hatte ich nichts Erfreuliches mit zuteilen. Andrerseits wenn jemand schwer leidend ist, hat er wenig interesse fuer den Jammer anderer Menschen, in dem Falle Spaniens Hunderte, Tausende, Frauen, Maenner und Kinder, die alles verloren haben und die unter den graesslichsten Umstaenden im Konzentrationslager leben muessen.

Ich bin entsetzt zu hoeren, dass die ungluecklich Emmi 4 Operationen durchgemacht hat und dass sie vor einer fuenften steht. Ich kann mir denken wieviel sie gelitten hat und noch leiden wird, wie ich Ihnen schon im vorigen Briefe geschrieben habe, wuenschte ich nur, ich koennte Glauben haben in Operationen. Gerade Emmi's Fall beweist mir, desto mehr man an ihr herumschneidet desto mehr wird man weiter schneiden. Sie koennen mir glauben es ist nicht Grausamkeit meinerseits oder Unempfindlichkeit, es ist nur dass ich bis jetzt keine grossen Resultate von Operationen gesehen habe. Jedenfalls wuensche ich aus tiefstem Herzen, dass Emmi endlich einmal gesund wird.

Ich bin sehr erfreut zu hoeren dass Stein Emm Geld geschickt hat und dass auch ihre Schwester ihr etwas zukommen liess. Immerhin sind es keine 20 000 frcs. Ich wundere mich wer diese Summe aufschaffen wird.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 16 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].— 2 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

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POST CARD

Mrs. Colton

6, Snaith Av.

-oldors Green, N.W.11.

561

870925353

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 16 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].— 2 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

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Feb.16th 1939 16990

You sent copies of the appeal to scientists & I don't know any;its our current letter I want; I have asked Ralph to send some. I rec. £5 from Lilian Wolfe this morning in response to the appeal & have sent it to Ralph. E.G.

The Morrises cannot come this Sat. so I might ask a refugee woman andher husband I had promised Storm Jameson I would ask sometime. I will ask the M's again some other time. I have to go into town myself in the ev. so we can go in together.Hope the seats for tomorrow night have arrived safely ?

Haste. Love.

Yes, I have sent copies of the appeal to people that received letter before.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 16, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, London / John Andersson.— 1 p.; 31 × 25 cm.

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ASSOCIATIONS [illegible]

[illegible] Box 413,
[illegible]

Stockholm, den 16. Feb[illegible]

Genossin Emma Goldman, LONDON.

Wir haben Dein Schreiben vom 13.dies Mts empfangen, be[illegible] festes. Ich gab telegraphisch Erlaubnis die Änderungen vorzu[illegible] dass dieselben nicht allzu gross wurden, jedenfalls nicht [illegible]

Ich fürchte wie Du dass alles in Spanien für diesmal ve[illegible] besonders dadurch dass England und Frankreich nun die Maske abg[illegible] ihr wahren Charakter der Öffentlichkeit zeigen. Diese Sache ist [illegible] Wir wissen aber auch, dass die Genossen in der CNT und der FAI im [illegible] entschieden erklärt haben dass der Kampf fortgesetzt werden soll. Di[illegible] Genossen hatten in der vorigen Woche der Genossen Val nach Paris ge[illegible] mit den dortigen Mitgliedern des Nationalkommittees zu verhandeln. Bei [illegible] Gelegenheit wurde bestimmt erklärt, dass der Kampf fortgesetzt werden [illegible] Aussichten zum Sieg bestehen oder nicht, ist eine andere Sache. Es sind [illegible] Genossen selber, die zu entscheiden haben, ob der Kampf fortgesetzt wer[illegible] oder nicht.

Solange der Kampf fortgesetzt wird, muss er mit jeder Ki[illegible] stützt werden. Unsere Forderung für heute von Asylrecht muss de[illegible] gelten, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Fall Kataloniens über die [illegible]

Auf jeden Fall müssen wir alle Kräfte spannen [illegible]

Schreib einen kurzen Bericht zwecks Veröffentlichung [illegible] Kurzer des Pressebüros, über die Verbreitung des IAA-[illegible] selbe von den Arbeitern empfangen wurde!

Gruss

John

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 17, London [to] Lillian [Mendelsohn, New York] / Emma Goldman.— 5 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

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(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

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Hon. Treasurer

Emma Goldman
Hon. Secretary

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

Telephone: GERrard 2636

17th February, 1939.

My dear Lillian,

If my handwriting were as clear as yours I should probably never use a machine. I have a disgusting complex on the typewriter. I strike wrong letters no matter how careful I am, but I could not possibly impose my scribble on my friends.

I was very glad to get your interesting letter and the news that you are on the way to add one more citizen to the world. I only wish that it were a different world and not so bleak and not so permeated with hate and suffering. However, I know that you and William as far as it is in your power will create beauty for the newcomer and give it all the love and warmth you have it in you to give. I wish for you an easy childbirth without much pain and a quick delivery.

Almost immediately after I sent you the S.I.A. Bulletins, and the letters addressed to scientists, I wrote you not to proceed with the work. After the fall of Barcelona and in ignorance of what had become of that marvellous maternity hospital over which Professor Pauli presided, I did not consider it worth while to send out the appeal. At the present moment I am not in condition to do much writing. The events in Catalonia and Barcelona have been too much even for my iron nerves. I feel too crushed to be able to concentrate on worth while writing, but I may before long pull myself together and then I will send you an appeal which ~~xxxxxx~~ might be printed in America and sent out together with the Bulletin. For the present Ethel Mannin and I have got out an appeal for immediate help to those who have already contributed. Unfortunately we do not have many friends we can reach, so what will come in in response will probably prove a grain of dust. I have also received an appeal from the International Working Men's Association from Sweden which we have translated and are printing in many copies for distribution. I will send you a few copies in my next letter.

I already had an answer from Angelica to the letter which you were good enough to give her, and I have just written her a reply. What I have written regarding Spain may also furnish you with the necessary explanation of the collapse of Catalonia and the fall

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of Barcelona. Angelica writes that she foresaw the tragedy of Spain. My reply is as follows:

"This can be due only to two factors, first your general hopelessness about world affairs and secondly because you have not been in Spain and seen with your own eyes the spirit of the people and the marvellous constructive achievements of the workers and peasants. Unfortunately the eveil hour began when Soviet Russia, after three and a half months, the most critical months indeed, finally decided to help Spain with arms. It was indeed an evil hour, it was the beginning of the end. From the moment Russian arms and Stalin's satraps arrived, the process of broing from within began, until Stalin's power spread like a contagious disease over revolutionary Spain infecting everybody, even some of my own comrades.

"You and I know what Stalin's disctatorship has done in Russia. I can tell you it is as nothing compared with what it has done in Spain. During my last visit I succeeded in sending out documentary evidenceof the crimes committed by the Spanish Russian Cheka, the number of men in the army killed, the frightful destruction of the collectivesand the demoralisation, the insidious propaganda from Russia succeeded in spreading. All this reached the pinnacle in the May events, but even as late as May, 1937, it was still time to check the frightfulness of Stalin's agents. Alas, the leading men in the C.N.T. and some of my F.A.I. comrades were naive enough to believe that the Communists as a party could not possibly be responsible for the frightfulness created by them. Then, too, they were the first and the last to make concession after concession so as to keep the anti-Fascist front intact. They are now paying dearly for it, paying in blood, ideals and in life. The most heartbreaking thing about the collapse of everything is the fact that the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. had built up a powerful movement over a period of many years, a movement for which they had been hounded and persecuted, imprisoned and checked a thousand times. Then to come into its own on the glorious 19th of July, to see the first beginning of the dream realised, to have every opportunity and every chance which they had in the palm of their hands torn from them and gradually robbed of strength and fervour - that is the tragedy of tragedies.

As to the horrible condition of the refugees, for myself I should have preferred death at Franco's hand rather than to be exposed to the horrors of tramping the road from Barcelona to the French border, cold, starved and under constant bombardment, and then to be placed in a perfect hellhole of concentration camps and treated like criminals - that is the hardest thing to bear for me, and I know for many of the comrades the insult and the humiliation they are subjected to must be greater agony than even the hunger and the cold.

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The Emma Goldman Papers
[Letter] 1939 Feb. 17, London [to] Lillian [Mendelsohn, New York] / Emma Goldman.— 5 p.; 28 × 22 cm.
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"In point of truth, the Spanish people were betrayed by the entire international proletariat - yes, also by the so-called Democratic Governments, but then I for one never expected anything better from any Government, whatever its name. But the hardest thing to face was the indifference and inertia of the workers in every country."

This then was the state of affairs which began almost immediately with the arrival of Russian arms in return fro heavy payment in gold, and it was this which undermined the morale of the people who knew about the pernicious activities of the Communists in Spain. Nor was it only in Spain. Time and again the Communists in this country vilified our comrades of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. by spreading the rumour that Catalonia sabotaged the Aragon front and Madrid. In point of truth it was Barcelona that supplied arms to these fronts and to every other front, never thinking of the possibility of the moment when arms would be necessary to defend this part of Spain, and not only arms but also men and provisions. Then came the triumphant march of Franco through Catalonia and the need of defence all along the line as well as Barcelona. For your information I wish to say that as late as January 25th at 9.30 in the evening our people still were determined to defend Barcelona, but it dawned on them with overwhelming force that their arms were not adequate. In addition was a civil population undernourished for a year, without bread the last four days, without water or light the last 48 hours, and all through the agony ten or twelve bombardments a day. Our people felt that to continue this uneven battle would only mean to add the agony of the people of Barcelona and would also not be a guarantee that the morale of the civil population could be depended upon. It was then that they decided to evacuate. Our comrade Mariano Vazquez, the general secretary of the C.N.T., and several other comrades, boradcasted for the last time to the people of Barcelona suggesting that they should leave. Indeed so long did he continue to save everybody who wanted to get out that it became almost too late for him and his family to leave. This, my dear, is all I can tell you about the collapse of a great begin ing, the greatest in history, and of a struggle that does not know its equal in many centuries.

As to what will become of central and southern Spain, that is difficult to say at this writing. I am certain that the people there are determined to fight on to the uttermost, but I have no faith whatever in the Negrin Government, not that I have faith in any Government, but Negrin has proven weak, ineffectual and ready to sell out. For that, too, I have documentary proofs. Nothing is so ridiculous to me than to read what Negrin or anyone else of the Government say about "we will fight to the end" when the people do the fighting and pay the price. I wish I could give you more detailed description. Unfortunately the material I have cannot be disclosed until our comrades themselves have settled whether to go on or surrender their achievement. For the present their plight is heartbreadking. Tens of

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The Emma Goldman Papers
[Letter] 1939 Feb. 17, London [to] Lillian [Mendelsohn, New York] / Emma Goldman.– 5 p.; 28 × 22 cm.
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thousands of refugees, while granted "asylum" by the French Authorities, are being kept as prisoners under the most appalling conditions. What will become of them when England and France recognise Franco's rule I cannot contemplate, and what country will let them in if they should want to settle anywhere. Already some of the French papers write "that the Anarchists and undesirables will have to be disposed of". The same writers are good enough to say that for the rest of the refugees they should be put in the French Army "surely they will want to show their gratitude for the hospitality given them by our Government". It is all so tragic and one is so terribly helpless to do anything really vital.

I was surprised to learn that Lore was once an Anarchist. It must have been in his infancy because all through the years I have nown him and of him he was first a social democrat working on the social democratic paper, The New York Volks Zeitung. Then he became an ardent Bolshevik, so much so that when my articles against Soviet Russia appeared in the New York World, he was in the chorus that cried "Crucify". He attacked me, suggesting that I had sold myself to the capitalist and counter-revolutionary class. In 1937 he was in London and he called me on the phone to ask whether he could see me. As I was never able to harbour a grievance very long, I naturally consented. He came to assure me that he had deeply deplored his attitude towards me, that he now realised I was right in 1922 and that he no longer believed in the State, but I suppose it is true that the ~~kxxxxxx~~ lion changes his skin but not his nature, so I can see that Lore again believes very much in the State if he can be sympathetic to Daladier because of what he learned from Bullitt and Kennedy. I do not know what it can possibly be that should induce anyone who is clear-headed about the function of the State, to believe in Daladier. He is not only a rank reactionary, but the coward to boot. It was he who was responsible for the wanton slaughter of the men during the demonstration in 1936 and it is he who is entirely the tool of the large industrialists in France, particularly the Comite des Forges and all the munition manufacturers. True, he fears nothing so much as to hurt the feelings of Mr. Chamberlain and the National Government, but that is not the only reason for having broken the general strike and for being determined to serve only his master class. While I should never charge Bullitt with being a coward I do charge him with being a careerist. True, he was one in sympathy with the Russian Revolution and for a long time after served Stalin as he served Lenin before, but the moment he saw the greater advantages of serving the United States he acquiesced without much compunction. You can therefore see that there is no reliance on Bullitt's having changed not only his skin but also his character. As for Kennedy I do not know him and therefore do not feel justified in writing about him. I do know, hoever, that he is an official and undoubtedly carries out the orders of the State Department. How then can any clear-headed man, which Lore is supposed to be, believe anything he gets from those quarters.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Do not imagine that I have any ill-feeling against Lore, not in the least, but I have so little faith in journalists and he is primarily that, I always treat everything they tell me with more than one grain of doubt.

As regards Roosevelt I think the man began with good intentions, but soon proved that he lacks the stamina to hold out against Wall Street and against the military clique who want war for the sake of war. That of course also includes the Duponts, the Westinghouse and all the other merchants of death. Not for a moment do I believe in Roosevelt's real desire to avert war. On the contrary his latest stunt, even if he were not properly quoted, that the American frontiers in France proves that he is in no way different from the Chamberlain's, Daladiers and the dictators of the Fascist countries. They are all obsessed by competing with each other in unheardof rearmaments, although they must be conscious that this is the very thing which will unavoidably lead to a new world conflagration. On the other hand are the isolationists. They also know where their bread is buttered. They know that to strengthen American imperialism they must keep America out of any European entanglement, for it will be easier to gather the spoils while Europe is wading in blood. Anyway I cannot enthuse over what these politicans, statesmen and journalists have to say. My greater concern is what the people themselves will do. I wish I felt sure that in the coming war the peoples of Germany, Italy and now also Spain would rise to revolutionary heights and throw off the burden they are carrying and the leeches that are sapping their blood, but I have not even that hope. On the contrary I feel certain that no t only the common man who hs no social consciousness at all, but all socialists, communists and even anarchists, not to speak of the Jews, will rush to the colours of their country the moment the slogan will be Democracy against Fascism. These people never learn anything. They certainly have not learned from the last slogan, the War to end War, the War to Save Democracy. Not, too, they will be deceived by it, forgetting that war has never settled anything. It is only if the people within a country rise to their stature and break their chains that war can at all be justified, but never an imperialist war, - of that I am certain, and I am definitely decided to stand out against it no matter what the consequences.

I am now as certain as I can be at the present moment of sailing for Canada the 8th of April. That will just be when your baby will be born, so I am not expecting you till lter in the summer, but I do hope that you and Will will come. Give him my best regards.

Affectionately,

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 17, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Emma Goldman
Hon. Secretary

Telephone: GERrard 2636

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

Feb 17th 39

Dear H.W. I am writing in great haste. Have just received a letter from an American chap born in Rochester New York, in "my" town and whose father was an American citizen. He was in Spain and fought against Fascism. He has succeeded in getting out and is now in Marseille. He has already been at the American Consul who took his pedigree and birth certificate which he has sent on to Washington. The Consul told him if he knows anybody in the States who might be able to approach the State Dept in his behalf it would help considerably. The chaps name is Martin Gudell he was born in Rochester March 16.1906. His father was a citizen. Martin Gudell left America to go to Spain without a passport. The man is absolutely reliable he fought in Spain and now he wants to return to America. Can you do anything in the matter. Please do it for my sake. Martin Gudell deserves what help he can get to enable him to return home. If you know anything in the State Dept will you push matters. The A. Consul in Marseille has sent off all his papers including his birth certificate and M.G has been told it will take three weeks, so he will be waiting in Marseille.

I inclose a letter or copy to friends in New York I have written. You will know my state of mind and the reasons for the collapse of Barcelona. It is only for you dear H.W. not for publication. Why do you not look up these friends of mine. Their name is Wm.Arthur Nedelsohn and their address 545 West End Ave. N.Y.City

Please let me know if you can do something to push matters at the State Dept for my young American friend.

Affectionately

Emma Goldman

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[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 17 [London to] Louis [Frank, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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Feb.17th 39

Dear Louis. I have this minute received the inclosed letter to me f om Martin and one to you. As I want to catch tomorrow sailing which means to mail this letter before I go out for the evening I cannot write you much,except to ask you if you have some influent ial people who could help Martin to a passport. Since his father was a citizen and he was one and has his birth certificate it ought not to be difficult for Martin to get his papers. But if you know any one who might help with the State Deprt it would be fine.

As for the Spanish tragedy I am too much in the throes of its horrors to write you more than I have written friends of mine in New York. I inclose a copy. By the way,you may like to meet them their name is Mrs Lillina and W.Arthur Mendelsohn, their address 545 West End Ave. Do get in touch with them. And write me by ret urn mail if you can do anything for Martin.

Affectionately.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 17 [London to] Angelica [Balabanoff, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. – 4 p. ; 29 × 23 cm.

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17th February, 1939.

Dearest Angelica,

I was very glad to hear from you again after such a long period of silence. I know how you felt about Spain, but I was surprised to read in your letter that you never had any great hopes for the victory of the Spanish Revolution. This can be due only to two factors, first your general hopelessness about world affairs and secondly because you have not been in Spain and seen with your own eyes the spirit of the people and the marvellous constructive achievements of the workers and peasants. Unfortunately the evil hour began when Soviet Russia, after three and a half months, the most critical months indeed, finally decided to help Spain with arms. It was indeed an evil hour, it was the beginning of the end. From the moment Russian arms and Stalin's satraps arrived, the process of boring from within began, until Stalin's power spread like a contagious disease over revolutionary Spain infecting everybody, even some of my own comrades.

You and I know what Stalin's dictatorship has done in Russia. I can tell you it is as nothing compared with what it has done in Spain. During my last visit I succeeded in sending out documentary evidence of the crimes committed by the Spanish Russian Cheka, the number of men in the army killed, the frightful destruction of the collectives and the demoralisation, the insidious propaganda from Russia succeeded in spreading. All this reached the pinnacle in the May events, but even as late as May, 1937, it was still time to check the frightfulness of Stalin's agents. Alas, the leading men in the C.N.T. and some of my F.A.I. comrades were naive enough to believe that the Communists as a party could not possibly be responsible for the frightfulness created by them. Then, too, they were the first and the last to make concession after concession so as to keep the anti-Fascist front intact. They are now paying dearly for it, paying in blood, ideals and in life. The most heartbreaking thing about the collapse of everything is the fact that the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. had built up a powerful movement over a period of many years, a movement to which they had been hounded and persecuted, imprisoned and shot a thousand times. Then to come into its own on the glorious 19th of July, to see the first beginnings of the dream realised, to have

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As to the horrible condition of the refugees, for myself I should have preferred death at Franco's hand rather than to be exposed to the horrors of tramping the road from Barcelona to the French border, cold, starved and under constant bombardment, and to be placed in a perfect hellhole of concentration camps and treated like criminals - that is the hardest thing to bear for me, and I for many of the comrades the insult and the humiliation to which they are being subjected must be greater agony than even the hunger and cold.

In point of truth, dear Angelica, the Spanish people were betrayed by the entire international proletariat - yes, also by the so-called Democratic Governments, but then I for one never expected anything better from any Government, whatever its name. But the hardest thing to face was the indifference and inertia of the workers in every country.

The voluntary death of Sasha may be the only solution we have, but also it is only an escape from one's own misery. It does not solve the world problem, nor does it change anything simply because one takes oneself out of all the bitter disappointment one meets on every step. It isn't that I cling to life. In fact I always said that one revolutionary debacle was enough in a lifetime to face. In addition I feel the Spanish collapse more than I did the Russian because of the high idealism, the integrity, the fortitude and the superhuman courage of the Spanish people. As I feel now, it would take me little to follow the way Sasha went, did I not cling with every fibre of my being to the hope that sooner or later the Spanish workers and peasants will rise again and the work they have done in the last two and a half years will be resurrected in a stronger and a more powerful form. This is binding me to life with a thousand ties.

Dearest Angelica, I was very glad to get your letter and to get your side of the miserable transaction G.S. has imposed on you - not that I needed your letter to convince me that you are entirely incapable of any shady deal. It is true I warned you against G.S. not so much against the man as against his trade. I have yet to meet a journalist who is not unscrupulous when it comes to using other people's works and doctor them as their own. No more than I had any confidence in him when I told you to look out, do I have nor did I believe his xxxxx explanation of the trouble. The only thing that surprised me was the fact that you consented to take the case to court. You say that such people as G.S. can only be taught a lesson by a tribunal. I cannot share your view in this matter. People capable of misusing the intellectual efforts of others shrink from having to pay damages decided by a court. On the other it only makes them feel more important and use their court appearance to blacken the character of the one who charged them and also to satisfy their desire for publicity.

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881027163

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 17 [London to] Angelica [Balabanoff, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 29 × 23 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

You are quite right, my dear, when you say that compared with the condition of the refugees or the life you led in France and are probably still leading, G.S. must be a millionaire, but I happen to know that his books are not such goldmines as you and others may imagine. However, that was no reason for him not to be decent about the whole matter and at least make good the grievance you have against him by settling the finance question out of court. I suspected that G.S. was tainted with a malady that comes from Moscow, but I did not realise that he had become such a vassal to Stalin and Stalin's master, but what will you - the air is surchagred with the ~~xxxxxx~~ Stalinist poison, very few can escape it. You understand, don't you, dearest Angelica, that I never for one moment had any doubts about your integrity, but I did want to know your side, and to be able to put a stop to the assurance of G.S. that he is not at fault in the wretched transaction. For me the matter is closed, as I shall certainly tell him a piece of my mind when I hear from him next. As to letting him see your letter, that of course is out of the question. You can rest quite at ease on this score.

I am glad to know that my dear friends have been of help to you, especially Jeanne Levey. Yes, she is a marvellous organiser. I only wish I had her help. I think she would even make things move in this immovable country. Kay too is a splendid woman and a most devoted friend. Teddy Ballantine is keeping in touch with me about the slow but evidently sure progress Stella is making. Her misfortune has added a great deal to my suffering over the Spanish tragedy, but I have come to think that individual suffering is in no way to be compared or outstanding with the over holming suffering of a whole people. Above everything is the spiritual suffering and the loss of faith that my Spanish comrades and the Spanish people at large must be going through.

I have delayed sailing for Canada. I could not go away until I had ascertained what had become of many of my comrades. I knew quite a number personally and intimately and the fact that I have but recently been in Spain in close contact with them, makes my agony even harder to bear. However, it is now fairly definite that I will sail April 8th. At this moment I do not even know why I am sailing. ~~xxxx~~ can be said now about Spain. But there are yet tens of thousands of refugees who need help, who need to be transferred to some country that will be hospitable enough to take them, ~~xxx~~ that will require an enormous amount of money. I am clinging to the hope that I amy be able to raise part of it in Canada. I cannot do very much here, so I will sail. I am following the American political situation. I see the growth and spread of reaction. Therefore I have no hopes that I will be readmitted. I will face that too with many other things. In the deepest despair I have always remembered the passage in Peter Kropotkin's Russian Literature, the exiled revolutionist and his wife going by etappe to Siberia. The woman falls by the wayside out of fatigue and exhaustion, "How long," she asks, "How long will this go

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[Letter] 1939 Feb. 17 [London to] Angelica [Balabanoff, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. – 4 p. ; 29 × 23 cm.
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on?" "To the end of the journey," he replied, "the end of the [illegible] which is life itself". So I suppose I too will go on to the end [illegible] journey.

Dear Angelica, forgive me if I have hurt you in any way with my letter. I never was one to do that, not with you anyway.

With love,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 18 [London to] John Andersson, [Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].– 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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24202

Feb.19th 39

Liber Genosse John Andersson.

Ich habe dein Telegram und Brief vom 16ten d.m. erhalten Danke fur beide. Ich werde dieses Schreiben erst morgen abschicken per Luftpost denn ich will gelich einige Examplare des Manifestes mitbeilegen. Du wirst dann sehen, dass ich sie erlich nichts "sach liches geandert worden ist. Man kann eben eine wortliche Ubersetzung ins Englische unmoglich fur ein hiesses Publikum gebrauchen denn die Deutsche Sprache ist dazu vile zu kompliziert.Na Du und die andere Genossen vom Sekretariat werdet ja sehen.

Ich habe vorluefig nur 15,000 Examplare bestellt den der Preis fur 1000 ist 10 Shilling und 6d,aber ich habe dafur gesorgt dass der Satz stheher bleibt. Von den 15,000 werden wir fix 5000 per Post versenden an Gewarkschaftszweige.Es hat gar keinen Zweck an die hiesige Zentralen etwas zu senden denn die Herrn an der Sptize lassen einfach nichts weiter kommen was ihnen nicht passt. Den ubrigen Teil werden wir bei gorsee Versamlungen verteilen,so fint findet heute eine gorsee Demonstration der Jugend statt,leider konn ten wir das Manifest nicht zeitlich genug bekommen um es heute zu vetteilen,aber nachsten Sontag giebt es wieder eine Demonstarion auf Traflger Square und uberhaupt hat man hier in einemfort Versamm lungen.Nur wir konnen keine haben.Wir haben weder die Mittel noch die Leute,und dass nach 30 Monate Sklavenarbeit um die Jungend und auch andere Arbeiter heranzu ziehen. Es ist auch kein Wunder dass die angeschtrengte Tatigkeit die ich hier entafltet habe mit blut wenig erreicht hat denn es giebt hier eine Verschworung des Schwei gens gegenuber die CNT-FAI in alle Zeitungen.So hat kein einziges Blatt seit des Debaklos von Katalonai und Barcelona auch nur mit einem Wort unsere Kamaraden erwahnt oder was aus ihnen geworden ist. Die Helden dieser Zeitungger naturlich ganz und gar unter dem Ein fluss der Kommunisten,sind Lister ,Modesto und die andern die so viel zu dem Fiasko beigetragen haben. Immerhin werden wir Das Manifest so gut und so viel wie moglich verbreiten,auch welche nach Glasgow und andere Provinzstadte werden gesandt werden. Es wird wie ich schon sagte das erste Mal sein dass Englische Arbeiter von der Exis tenz der I.A.A erfahren werden. Wenn ich nicht wuste wie arm unsere Internationale ist wurde ich vorschlagen sehroft die Manufeste die die I.A.A. herausgiebt hier zu verbreiten und zwar sehr regalmssig. Vielleicht konnte man auf diese Weise Interesse fur die I.A.A wecken.

Im bezug auf die Addresse die man fur London angeben musste, Du wirst sehen dass ich angegegebn habe Refugee Fund of the I...

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 18 [London to] John Andersson, [Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].– 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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und die Namen von Genosse Ralph Barr und meinen ~~xxxx~~ hizufugte. Genosse Barr ist ein alter,uberzeugungstreuer Kamarade fur den ich auch von der CNT in Barcelona ein Mandat bekommen habe.Und ~~xxxx~~ deswegen weill ich ja bestimmt nach Kanada fahren werde. Ich ~~bekam~~ von Vazquez ein Schreiben in dem er mir sehr zuredet ich soll bestimmt nach Kanada fahren. Nicht dass ich mir allzugrosses ~~versprechen~~ aber da ich dort besser bekannt bin wie hier so werde ich sicherlich nicht weniger als hier erreichen und vielleicht mehr. Nun, ~~wenn~~ ich ~~xxxxxx~~ abreise so wird Genosse Barr fur Spanien und fur die I.A.A. weiter wirken mussen.Fur die CNT wird er in sofern nicht viel leisten konnen weil wir keine Mittel mehr dazu haben. Aber er konnte eventuell,fals Ihr einverstandenseit fur die Verbreitung Euerer Manifeste arbeiten. Fals Ihr diese beschliesst wird es notwendig sein dem Genossen Barr ein Bevolmachtigung zu schicken. Da ich gerade auf dem Punkt mochte ich Dich aufmersam machen dass die Bevollmachtigung die Du mir schicktest Gelder fur die politsche Fluchtlinge zu sammeln jezt anders vormuliert werden solte. Ich lege eine Kopie bei fals Ihr einverstanden seit konntest Du sie auf das Papier der I.A.A. ubertragen und mir zurucksenden. Es ist diese in sofern notwednig da ja jezt das Mandat der CNT-FAI dis ich in Barcelona von V.und Herrera bekommen habe nicht mehr zu grbrauchen ist.Somit musstexx mein Appel in Kanada erstlich fur die SIA,und zweitens fur die I.A.A.sein die als Internationale Korperaschaft die Sammlungen zur Stutze des weitern Kampfes und der Fluchtlinge der CNT-FAI Mitglieder verwalten wird. Oder habt Ihr andere Absicht Teile mir bitte mit. Ich glaube kaum dass wir hier Beitrage fur Euch bekommen werden,aber jedes penny dass zu uns gelangen wird wird an Euch expediert werden mit Namen und Addresse des Senders.

Ich danke Dir dass Du mir hast wissen lassen dass [illegible] in Paris ~~xxxx~~ war. Ich habe ihn in 37 zusammen mit Souchy [illegible] ein prachtiger Mensch. Wenn es wirklich wahr ist dass die [illegible] aus Katalohien eingewilligt habe den Kapf weiter zu fuhren [illegible] sie doch alle Hebel in Bewegung setzn nach dem Zentrum zu gel[illegible] Nach Vazquez Brief zu urteilen und auch nach dem was Herrera [illegible] geschrieben hat scheinen die Genossen ganz und gar darauf ein[illegible] zu sein in Mexico ein Kolonie fur die Fluchtlinge zu grunden. [illegible] Gewiss die Not, das Elend und die Lieden der Spanischer Fluch[illegible] sind geradezu ungeheuer,aber wenn sie erst nach Mexico oder i[illegible] ein anderes Land verstreut werden dann werden sie fur den Kap[illegible] Spanien total verlohren sein. Wo also wollen die Madrider [illegible] und Waffen zum weitern Kampf bekommen? Ich wunschte ich hatte [illegible] Glauben an den Kampf aber Du hast natural ich recht dass wir mit [illegible] helfen mussen so lange die Genossen den Kapf weiter fuhren w[illegible] Ich fur meine Person bin auch dafur kampredn zu sterben als [illegible] so schuadderhafte Niederlage wie in Barcelona. Nicht dass ich [illegible] Spanische Kamaraden anklage , es ist nur meine eigene Emp[illegible]

Ich wurde gerne fur das I.A.A Bulletin [illegible] schreiben,aber so schnell durfen wir nicht [illegible] die Regierung der hiesigen Arbeiter auf [illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 19, London [to] Lilian [Wolfe, Stroud, England] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.

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SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

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Feb.19th 39

My dear Lilian. I have been so much under the pall of the collapse of Catalonia and Barcelona and the tragic xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx fate of our comrades I have not been able.to think of anybody or anything much less to write much except.to try and find out what had become of my own personal friends among the refugee comrades. Yes, I did think of two,Tom and Sasha. I hope you will not consider me callous when I say I was glad they did not live to see the horribe end of so great a beginning. It is enough that I am dragging on though every hour seem purgatory to me.

My dear, Arthur Müller-Lehning wrote me not to send any more material to the Institute for the present. There is great apprehension in Holland about the possible invasion by Germany. Actually,the most valuable material,ours included,has already been shipped to a safe place in this country as far as any part of the world can be considered safe. As I mean to sail for Canada,and London is the most unsafe place in this country I do not know xxxxxx with whom to leave my Spanish correspondence which is of the utmost historic value. It occurred to me that you might be willing to take it.After all Whiteway is more secure from bormbrdments than London.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 19, London [to] Lilian [Wolfe, Stroud, England] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.
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Let me know please if you would keep the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ letters for me. I also have two caisse of printed Spanish material. That and the letters were to go to the Institute, but M.L. writes this would only have to be returned to England for safe keeping so it is best not to send it to Holland. I am going to try to find someone out of London who would guard the caises for me. But the correspondence is another matter. I hope to hear from you about this soon although I am not likely to leave for Canada until the latter part of March.

I hope you are well and that Tom and his girl are feeling fit. Remember me to them. By the way has Tom received the copy of Bermans A.B.C. of Anarchist Communism from Mr Donald Craig? he told me he mailed it.

It is sweet of you my dear to contribute to our ~~xxxx~~ appeal for SIA.

With love. Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1939 Feb. 19, London [to] Lilian Wolfe, Stroud [England] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 11 × 13 cm.

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Miss Lilian Wolfe

Whiteway Colony, Stroud .

Glos.

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900615069

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1939 Feb. 19, London [to] Lilian Wolfe, Stroud [England] / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 11 × 13 cm.

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E.G.Colton
6,Sneath Avenue
London N.W.11

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 19 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Paris?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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feb.19th 39

Mein lieber Martin. Ich kannDir nicht sagen wie erfreut ich war Dein Schreiben aus Marseilles zu erhalten. Ich habe auch die paar Zeilen aus Perpignan erhalten in denen Du mir sagtest ich sölte Dir nach Paris an das Bueu D'Information und de presse schreiben solte was ich auch tat. Dann bekam ich ein Schreiben von AY dass man Dich nach Montpilliere befordert hat. Dann Dein Brief dass Du endlich in M. bist und schon beim Amerikanischen Konsul warst und dass man schon nach Washington um ein Pass fur Dich geschickt hat. Naturlich sandte ich soffort Deiaen Brief an mich und die Zeilen an Frank soffort nach New York,ebenfals ein Schreiben an einen Freund der Advokat ist und allerhand Verbindungen hat er moge auch helfen. Ubrigens kann ich mir nicht vorstellen dass Du irgend welche Schwirigkeiten haben wilst.Den schliesslich bist Du doch in Amerika geboreh,komisch dass es in Rochester war,meine Stadt so zu sagen. Und da Dein Vater noch dazu Burger war so wird man Dir gewiss einen Pass ausstellen. Ubrigens hie ist die Addresse von Frank,68 West 10th Street N,Y.City

Wie ich schon sagte ich bin uberglucklich dass Du mein treuer Freund aus dem Hollenlager der Kamps wekgekommen bist.Und ich wunsche naturlich aus tiefstem Herzen dass es Dir gelingt nach A. zu kommen.Zur selben Zeit bin ich tief traurig dass Du und die andere Kamaraden Spanien abb verloren halt denn sinst wurdet Ihr ja nach dem Zentrum kommen wollen. Andererseits scheinen unsere Genossen im Zentrum und Suden weiter zu kampfen. Kennst Du Val? Ich habe ihn in 37 in Madrid getroffen. Er war im Kriegs Deprt.Ein prachtiger Mensch. Ich erfur gestern von John Andersson Sotkcholm dass Val in Paris war jedenfals um die Genossen zu veranlassen weiter zu kämpfen. Ist es moglich dass die alle Hoffnung verloren haben? Wenn Du etwas naheres weisst schreibe mir.

Was ist aus Simon und Deine Sekretarin geworden? Ich hore dass Santillan und einige andere Kamaraden entlich in dem grauen haften Lagerxxxxx Cyrion gefunden worden sind.Hoffentlich sibd sie auch schon frei. Germinal Soussa soll schwer krank sein,man weis nicht ob er genesen wird. Von Germinal Esgléas habe ich bis jezt nichts erfaren konnen. Oh, es ist schauderhaft was aus dem 19ten July und seine gorsse Hoffnungen geworden ist und von alle heorische Kamfer. Ich kann es kaum fassen.

Ich hoffe Du gehst zu Camara und der Brief wird Dich erreichen,denn Du hast keine Addresse angegeben. Ein Brief fur Dich liegt auf dem Parisar Bureau . Es ist jezt fast sicher dass ich den 8ten April nach Kanada rebsen werden sommit konnte es sein dass wir uns dort wieder treffen werden,ein Sturz in die Tiefe von der revolutinaren Hohe. Schreibe mir recht bald wieder.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 19, Chicago [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Jeanne [Levey]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24088

Parkway Hotel

Facing Beautiful Lincoln Park

Phone Diversey 5000

2100 Lincoln Park West
Chicago - Illinois

Feb. 19, 39

Emma dear,

I have your letter about Feb. 6th and am hastening a reply because I am very disturbed about you, I was almost afraid to go open your letter because I know how you feel about the Spanish situation, we are collecting clothes here, Anna Ray just called me about it.

The situation seems hopeless in view of European affairs, it is such a crazy muddled world, one wonders what the next day will bring!

About my traveling with you for a month, I would love it! but April is very late for a lecture tour, if you plan on being in Canada until early fall I would try to make my plans to be with you a while, at any rate I will meet you in Canada at some place in May.

I am trying to get Eugene Lyons to help me get an agency to book Rudolf, not a proposition like you had but a flat sum for each lecture, with a definite number of dates.

Would you be interested in a proposition of that kind? say for Canada: Will

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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you let me try to work out some thing for your one way or another, either we can work with some Womens organizations or other groups.

We could dispose of a good number of your booklets as well. Write me what you think of the idea.

About Stella it is such a tragedy but she may snap out of it without difficulty, those cases are not unusual and the patient very often recovers completely.

When is Esther Mahlin going to be in this country: I hope she comes to Chicago. I would like to hear what she has to say, is it a lecture tour? or what is the purpose of the trip?

Do you know that Eugene Jones took the American Mercury, he will edit the magzine, I hope he will do a good job of it. What do you think of him. Is he an opportunist, I know his book is worth while but it seems to me he is floundering now, his ego is inflated a little I believe, now about writting an article about Pa... and sending it to him?

Do not mention this to any one about him I may be doing him an injustice, and I would feel badly about it, his magzine and time will tell.

Emma dear send my mail to my home address the above hotel, I get it faster and I can answer from home. and send any enclosures direct to me, when you send them to Williams they do not send them right on, and I am always eager to get all your correspondence as soon as possible.

Write me if you can just when you expect to be in Canada so I can plan my trip to meet you.

Jay has been away so much here of late, business is so bad, he must keep on traveling, but he has promised me he will go to Canada with me to see you.

We have had a bad flu epidemic thru these last weeks and many of our freinds have been and are stillsick Yelenskys dinner was canceled because so many were unable to attend, the future date is indefinite.

Let me hear from you real soon, I hope you will manage to keep well in these trying times.

Jay joins me in sending you our sincere love and good wishes for a better era, real soon:

Your Jeanne.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 19 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [and] Dora [Rüdiger]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 21 cm.

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Am 19. Februar 1939 24244

Meine liebe Emma,

bitte sei mir nicht bose für mein langes Schweigen. Ich habe Dir oft schreiben wollen, aber es mangels an Zeit oder Konzentrationsmöglichkeit immer wieder unterlassen, und schreibe auch jetzt nur kurz, nur einen Gruss und ein Lebenszeichen.

Hier auch der Brief von Augustin S. wieder, da ich mit viel Interesse las. Aber leider kann ich jetzt nicht an die Uebersetzungen des Restes des spanischen Materials gehen. Unmöglich.

Die Sache ist nämlich die, dass ichvor lauter Beschäftigung mit Polizei, SIA, Komitees usw., in eigenen und fremden Sachen, überhaupt nicht zur Besinnung komme. Du glaubst nicht, welche irrsinnigen, gemeinen Schwierigkeiten die Behörden hier den Flüchtlingen machen! Jeder sieht ja nur einen kleinen Ausschnitt und einige wenige Fälle, die aber genügen einen Menschen zu beschäftigen und ihn verrückt zu machen.

Dazu kommt ja unser eigener „Fall". Auch der ist ungelöst. Die Frist läuft nun am 28. ab, und wir haben noch kein Reisepapier. Der bei der französischen Behörde beantragte Titre d'identité et de voyage stosst auf ungeheure bürokratische Schwierigkeiten. Die Schweden haben uns ja schon Aufenthalt bewilligt, lassen uns aber ohne einen solchen Titre nicht herein!

Ich habe inzwischen eine Liste aller spanischen Genossen gesehen, die entweder in Lagern oder frei, was so frei heisst unter diesen Bedingungen, in Frankreich sind. So weit ich erinnere, habe ich darunter keinen der bekannten Namen vermisst. Aber jeder dieser Namen bedeutet nun eine neue Tragödie! Auch unsere deutschen Genossen sind alle heraus; soeben ein Telegramm von Michel aus Toulouse, in dem er seine Ankunft in Paris für morgen früh anmeldet. Was aus ihm dann hier werden soll...

Natürlich kommt dann ab morgen seine Sache zu den übrigen, und Du kannst Dir denken, wie es dann mit der Zeit bestellt ist. Darum bitte ich Dich, liebe Emma, für einige Tage noch mit diesem Gruss fürlieb zu nehmen, und Ende der Woche schreibe ich Dir mehr. Im Moment sind wir natürlich trotz allem recht froh, morgen unseren alten Michel wieder zu sehen zu bekommen. Ich werde auch Rudolf das mitteilen, schreibst Du aber schon in dieser Woche, dann teil ihm das nur auch schon mit, die beiden werden sich riesig freuen, denn sie hatten Michel immer sehr lieb.

881027184

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 19 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [and] Dora [Rüdiger]. – 2 p. ; 25 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Vor einigen Tagen haben wir auch einen handgeschriebenen Brief von Milli bekommen, englisch, sehr lieb, es war süss wie sie uns hätten, wir waren darüber sehr glücklich.

Für heute nun weiter nichts als einen recht herzlichen Gruss!

Helmut + Dora

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 Feb. 19, Paris to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Helmut and Dora Rüdiger]. — 12 p.; 25 × 21 cm.

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Kurzer Bericht über den Kongress der IAA 1938

Der Kongress sollte am 24. Oktober beginnen, jedoch waren die Spanier nicht erschienen. Er begann am 29., noch ohne sie, und dauerte acht Tage. Die Spanier erschienen am 30. mittags, Vazquez einige Stunden später. fünf Tage

Vertreten waren Spanien, Polen, Schweden, Holland, Portugal, Italien und Frankreich. Keine der drei lateinamerikanischen Sektionen. FORA und FORU hatten ihr Nichterscheinen mit Passschwierigkeiten entschuldigt.

Für DAS meldete ich mich verabredungsgemäss als Beobachter und übergab dem Kongress das bekannte Schreiben, worin unser Verzicht ausgesprochen wurde, auf diesem Kongress als Sektion zu erscheinen. Das Schreiben wurde verlesen. Belgien teilte mit, dass es nicht delegieren könne, ohne Angabe von Gründen.

Die Diskussion zum Sekretariatsbericht war kurz. Mascarell wies auf die Isoliertheit des Sekretariats hin, das fast keine Berichte und Korrespondenz erhielt. Zu dem Zwischenfall vom 24. September wurde erklärt, dass er erst unter Verschiedenes behandelt werde. Hierauf erfolgte einstimmige Annahme des Berichtes, unmittelbar darauf auch des Kassenberichtes.

Infolge des Vorliegens der schriftlichen Länderberichte gaben mündliche Informationen nur Portugal und Polen. Nach Aufforderung berichtete auch Italien. In P. und I. arbeiten unsere Bewegungen trotz der Diktatur, P. hatte sogar einen direkten Delegierten entsandt. Polen berichtete von der Arbeit zur Eroberung der bekannten Gewerkschaftsrichtung. Die AFP ist eine Militantenorganisation, deren Mitglieder in anderen Organisationen arbeiten.

Die Debatte über die Prinzipienerklärung eröffnete Besnard mit einer langen Rede im Sinne des französischen Vorschlages zu Punkt 7, siehe Internationale. Ihm folgte de Jong, der erklärte die CNT habe den verständlichen Wunsch, eine Prinzipienerklärung in Uebereinstimmung mit ihrer neuen Praxis zu sehen, aber die spanische Erfahrung müsse abgeschlossen sein, ehe man die Prinzipienerklärung neu überprüfen könne. Die CNT könne von der IAA Solidarität und "souplesse" verlangen, diese habe die IAA bewiesen; eine Prinzipienänderung könne jetzt nicht diskutiert werden. Falls die CNT definitiv bei ihrer jetzigen Taktik bleibe, werde sie sich von der IAA trennen. Mascarell erhielt das Recht, im Namen der CNT einige Ausführungen zu machen und tat es. Die CNT sei nicht gegen die Prinzipien, sie sei aber für den antifaschistischen Krieg und werde später bemerken, dass sie noch ganz auf ihrem eigenen Wege sei usw. man

Hier meldete sich plötzlich Toublet zum Wort, Sekretär der CGTSR und Anführer des Ueberfalls vom 24. September. Man hatte geglaubt er sei nur als Gast im Saale. Das Sekretariat verlangte Entzug des Wortes, da T. nicht Delegierter sein könne. Nun stellte sich eine grosse Meinungsverschiedenheit heraus zwischen Besnard einerseits und uns anderen Sekretären andererseits. Das Sekretariat hatte kurz vor dem Kongress der CGTSR, um den Kongress zu retten, das Anerbieten gemacht, die Diskussion des Ueberfalls auf Punkt Verschiedenes zu verschieben, falls die CGTSR keinen Teilnehmer an dem Ueberfall zum Delegierten ernenne. Besnard hatte dem Sekretariat mitgeteilt, die CGTSR nehme diesen Pakt an. Jetzt erklärten plötzlich T. und Doussot, sie seien Delegierte, und Besnard behauptete, man habe von diesen beiden Anführern des Ueberfalls nur verlangt, den "Eröffnungszeremonien" des Kongresses fernzubleiben (!). Da T. und D. nicht auf ihr Mandat verzichten wollten, musste der Kongress nun in die Behandlung des Zwischenfalls eintreten, was zwei Tage dauerte. Es sprachen nach mir Schweden, Por-

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in diesem Augenblick trafen die Spanier ein. Spanien (Prieto und Esgleas, als Vertreter zweier Tendenzen) forderten sofortigen Ausschluss und verlangten dass T. auch nicht das Wort zur Verteidigung gegeben werde; ferner, dass von der CGTSR Ausschluss der Beiden verlangt und ihr widrigenfalls Ausschluss der Gesamtorganisation aus der IAA angekündigt werde. Mindestens verlangte die CNT einen Beschluss wonach T. und D. nicht Delegierte seien, bevor man sie höre. Die Sitzung wurde unterbrochen, die französische Delegation hielt eine Beratung ab und verkündete, dass sie die beiden Delegierten nicht freiwillig zurückziehe. Daraufhin verliess Spanien den Kongress und blieb ihm zwei Tage fern.

Am Montag ging der Kongress weiter, und ausser Spanien hatten sich auch die Sekretare Mascarell und Neves zurückgezogen. Ich leitete die Diskussion mit einer Erklärung ein, dass ich mich zwar mit den Delegierten der CNT und den abwesenden Sekretären solidarisierte, aber an der Sicherstellung des Kongresses mitarbeiten wolle, zumal feststehe, dass T. und D. von allen Delegierten verurteilt würden. Ich bat, den ideologischen Teil der Debatte auszuschalten, da er in der Prinzipiendiskussion an der Reihe sei, und nur die Frage zu beantworten, ob das Sekretariat gegenüber der CGTSR am 24. organisatorisch richtig gehandelt habe, und dann über T. und D. als Personen zu beschliessen. Die Entscheidung sei: für T. und D. oder für die CNT.

Hierauf sprach Toublet, der die Berechtigung der von der CGT R gepianten und von uns nicht finanzierten Propaganda hervorhob, uns des Verrates anklagte und behauptete, zu der Schlägerei sei es nur gekommen, weil wir die eindringende Horde beschimpft hätten und dafür bestraft (corrigés) werden mussten.(!) Als alleingelassener Sekretär gab ich darauf eine Erwiderung an den Kongress und stellte die Ereignisse und unsere organisatorische Auffassung dar.

De Jong sagte, ich wolle den Kongress unter eine Pression stellen; er verurteile den Ueberfall und die Verantwortlichen, doch müsse der ideologische Hintergrund behandelt werden. Besnard hielt eine grosse Rede im Sinne seiner Auffassungen von Demokratie und Faschismus usw. und versuchte seine Mitsekretare zuletzt auch herabzusetzen. Nach ihm sprachen alle anderen Delegationen, die sich im Sinne Schwedens gegen die CGTSR wandten: diese habe die IAA nicht als ihr Eigentum zu betrachten, das Sekretariat habe organisatorisch verantwortungsvoll gehandelt. Nur Holland und Italien anders; de Jong wollte seine Verurteilung der T. und D. scharf geschieden wissen von der ideologischen Frage. Besnard versuchte zuletzt noch die Anwesenheit der Beiden als Delegierte zu retten durch Begraben des Falles in einer Kommission, doch schritt der Kongress zur öffentlichen Abstimmung über die Frage, ob T. und D. als Delegierte anzuerkennen seien. Schweden, Polen, Holland und Portugal stimmten für Ausweisung, Italien und Frankreich dagegen (der Kongress besass die Toleranz, die Angeklagten mit abstimmen zu lassen). Doussot versuchte eine freche Erklärung abzugeben, die aber auf Antrag Polen als nicht zur Kenntnis genommen erklärt wurde. Die französische Delegation erklärte in der nächsten Sitzung, dass sie nur noch als Beobachter bleibe; dies sei Beschluss der Mehrheit der Delegation (denn ein Teil der Franzosen waren selbst für Zurückziehung der beiden Angeschuldigten!).

Hierauf wurde die Delegation Spaniens und die beiden Sekretäre zurückgerufen und fortgefahren. Polen (ein bekannter oberschlesischer FAUD-Militant) machte längere Ausführungen, die grösstes Interesse erregten (Empörung bei Besnard, Begeisterung bei den Spaniern). Die Rede begann mit der Auseinandersetzung des Unterschiedes zwischen Prinzip und Taktik. Dann forderte der Delegierte eine differenziertere Anwendung unserer Staatsgegnerschaft, am Beispiel Polen darstellend. Hierauf griff er Punkt 7 der Prinzipienerklärung an und berichtete, dass Polen der Meinung sei, die Genossen müssten

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sogar Officiersausbildung erstreben. (Dargestellt am Beispiel Spaniens und Polens.) Dann plädierte er, an Hand der gleichen Beispiele und einer Untersuchung der mitteleuropäischen Verhältnisse, für Anerkennung der nationalen Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen in einem gewissen Rahmen und grenzte diese gegen den Imperialismus ab. Hierauf erörterte er den Unterschied zwischen Faschismus und Demokratie - gegen demokratische Illusionen, aber für demokratische Rechte und antifaschistische Frontbildung bis zur äussersten Konsequenz. Redner war Anhänger der bewaffneten Verteidigung der CSR (wie sie die Spanier erwartet hatten).

Nach Erscheinen Vazquez wurde die Prinzipiendiskussion unterbrochen und Spanien nachträglich das Wort erteilt zum Punkt Länderberichte. Er gab einen rein chronologischen Bericht und bat nachher um Anfragen. Aus dem langen Bericht erwähne ich nur die Schilderung des Falles von Terruel und des grossen Zusammenbruches, der ein moralischer war und ein blosser Spaziergang des Feindes war, der jeden Tag so viel Gelände besetzte wieder wollte, während die Unsrigen das entsprechende Stück zurückliefen". Dies führte jedoch zu einer ungeheuren moralischen Reaktion, die im Paktabschluss CNT-UGT, dem neuen, mehr symbolischer, Regierungseintritt der CNT und dem Eintritt der CNT, UGT und FAI in die Volksfront führte. Das Wiedererstarken des Kampfwillens war phantastisch, und die Abschneidung Kataloniens, nicht mehr zu vermeiden in jenem Augenblick, wurde schon ganz gefasst und ohne neue Entmutigung aufgenommen. Die CNT habe seitdem militärisch Terrain erobert, sie besitze heute fünf Armeekorpskommandanten usw. Die Kollektiven seien gefestigt. Der ganze Sinn der CNT-Politik sei aushalten und nichts mehr, es müsse ausgehalten werden bis äussere Ereignisse eine Schwächung des Francospanien herbeiführten, dessen innere Lage katastrophal sei. Die CNT sei für unbedingte Fortsetzung des Krieges, wenn er heute noch geführt werde, sei das nur ihr zu verdanken. Alle Politiker arbeiten für die Mediation, aber keiner wagt es zu sagen. Die Mediation ist möglich, aber sie bedeutet die Ausrottung der CNT. Das wäre die einzige Bedingung für sie. Irgendwelche Politiker, die bei der Mediation schlecht führen, könnten emigrieren und später wiederkommen, die CNT nicht, sie kämpfe um Leben oder Tod. Sie sei vorbereitet im Ernstfalle allein einen grossen Kampf zu entfesseln um ihre Sache. Redner schilderte die Gefahr des Hungers und die Bedeutung der wenn auch gefährdeten Ebroofensive für die Rettung Valencias. Die politische Lage sei immer schwierig und schwankend, es gelte nicht den Kopf zu verlieren. Im Grunde seien alle gegen die CNT, selbst die UGT trotz Pakt. Aber die Massen der UGT sind ein Gegengewicht gegen die Führer. Der Hauptfeind sei die KP. Trotzdem müsse die Zusammenarbeit weitergeführt werden. Die KP treffe mit der CNT nur darin zusammen, dass auch sie gegen alle anderen für den Krieg sei, aber nur weil Russland noch Interesse daran habe, sowohl diplomatisch wie auch um das zusammengebrochene Prestige der III. Internationale vor dem Proletariat mit der Lüge zu retten, Spanien sei die Position dieser Internationale, werde von ihr gehalten - in Wirklichkeit seien gerade die Länder der starken Bewegungen dieser Internationale dem Faschismus in die Hände gefallen. Trotzdem sei die Position im Krieg identisch mit der der CNT, was die CNT zu einer gewissen Taktik zwinge. Natürlich könne die Partei jeden Moment ihre Meinung Anderen, da sie ja nur kommandiert sei; und die Uebereinstimmung zwischen CNT und KP im erwähnten Punkt sei nur in der Praxis des betr. Falles; nicht in den Motiven. Dies einige Punkte der Rede von Vazquez, die wichtigsten m.E. unter vielen anderen. Die CNT stehe positiv zur LdN; diese habe getan was sie gekonnt im Sinne des ausserordentlichen Kongresses, doch seien ihr Grenzen gesetzt. Die Militanten der CNT seien noch immer Optimisten.

Vazquez schliesst mit einem Appell an "die freiheitliche Familie"; wir seien wenige und müssten einig bleiben. Die spanische Bewegung ihrerseits sei dazu fest entschlossen, wie ihr letztes Plenum bewiesen, wo man 10

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[illegible] Die [illegible] zu werden, [illegible] spanische Krieg sei der [illegible] sal des europäis[illegible] reich.

[illegible] mußten diplomiert und [illegible] Lenigen für [illegible] verantwortlich [illegible] Tradition treu zu bleiben. Der [illegible] Proletariate, und die Schick- [illegible] ab, insbesondere Frank-

Nach Einrei hung [illegible] Vazquez nocheinmal das Wort: er wolle nicht übertreiben und sage deshalb: 80% der spanischen Wirtschaft sind kollektivisiert und in den Händen der Arbeiter. Die Anerkennung des Privateigentums (13 Punkte) hat nur eine theoretische und diplomatische Bedeutung. Von der kollektivisierten Wirtschaft wiederum sind etwa 25 bis 30% vom Staate "interveniert", d.h. bei voller Aufrechterhaltung der kollektiven Produktion sind Staatsvertreter beteiligt an der Verwaltung. Das sind die kriegswichtigen Betriebe. Der Privateigentums-Sektor der Gesamtwirtschaft ist auf 7 bis 8% zu schätzen. Grosseigentum existiert nicht, es handelt sich hier um respektiertes Kleinbürgertum. 13 bis 14% der Wirtschaft sind direkt staatlich, aber haben auch Arbeiterkontrolle. Das Ziel des Staates ist die Aufsaugung der Gesamtwirtschaft, das Ziel der CNT die Gesamtwirtschaft in den Händen der Arbeiterorganisationen. Der Staat ist aber weit von seinem Ziele entfernt, und wird es nicht erreichen. Besonders interessant sei der Agrarkollektivismus. Die Kollektiven erhalten von einer staatlichen Kasse Kredite, unbeschadet ihrer Selbständigkeit, u. sie verkaufen die Ernte an den Staat. Das kollektive System selbst ist seit dem grossen ökonomischen Plenum der CNT innerlich sehr vervollkommnet, alle Anfangskrankheiten sind überwunden. Eine Gefahr bedeuten die Agrarkollektiven wo keine CNT besteht, man versucht sie in das System der CNT einzubeziehen; in den Kollektiven CNT-UGT sind meist die CNTleute die wirklichen Führer. Die CNT erstrebt einen Obersten Wirtschaftsrat auf syndikaler Basis CNT-UGT mit Staatsintervention (der realen Struktur entsprechend), und ebensolche oberste Räte für die Industrien. Man solle der CNT vertrauen dass sie dabei ihr eigenes Endziel im Auge habe. – Hierauf gibt Redner eine Darstellung der Frage der ausländischen Freiwilligen usw. Ziel sei Bekämpfung des Arguments dass in Spanien Russland gegen Deutschland und Frankreich kämpfe. Falls für einen Teil der Demobilisierten unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten bei der Auffindung eines Asyllandes entstünden, hoffe man auf einen grosszügigen Akt der mexikanischen Regierung. – Im Kampfe gegen die Kommunisten müsse man die innerspanischen taktischen Notwendigkeiten berücksichtigen. Man solle der CNT glauben dass sie dabei alles tue um die KP zu schädigen, aber man solle die CNT nicht durch unopportune Handlungen schädigen. – Die Regierungsteilnahme der CNT sei ein Plenumsbeschluss und immer wieder von Plenums sanktioniert, keine Sache von Dirigenten. Wäre die CNT nicht im März eingetreten, hätte sie die moralische Niederaufrichtung des Volkes verhindert. Um diese Gefahr zu vermeiden, hätte die CNT sogar ein Ministerium ohne Portefeuille angenommen.– Der POUM war unser bösartigster Feind, [illegible] unmittelbar nach dem 19. Juli. Später wurde er zum Verfol[illegible] Kommunisten, und wir treten für ihn ein, verteidigen sein Recht als antifaschistische Organisation usw; wehren uns gegen Kommunistenhetze usw. Im Falle der von den Kommunisten als Verräter ausgeschriebenen Generäle Ascensio usw. erfolgten glatte Freisprüche, also Verurteilungen der kommunistischen Hetze. Im POUM-Prozess habe man den Angeklagten alle Garantien eingeräumt (was mir Emma bestätigte; nur Freiheit hatten die Angeklagten sicher in keinem Prozess der Welt gehabt, sagte sie); die POUMleute haben den Prozess zu einer grosszügigen Reklame für die Galerie benutzt, was die CNT wenn sie früher vor den Gerichten gestanden nie getan; ihre Taktik sei stets gewesen: "Wir sind es nicht gewesen!", denn die CNT habe gekämpft, nicht Reklame für die Galerie ge-

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[illegible] auf eine künftige Rolle [illegible] als [illegible] verursacht sei, sei weiter nicht [illegible] dass Spanien noch bürgerliche Tendenzen habe [illegible] suche Spanien ueberlassen es sei eine Sache der [illegible] ganze Propaganda über Kommunistenherrschaft in Spanien und [illegible] von Revolutionären schädige nur die Politik [illegible] faschistische Spanien im Auslande.

Hieran anschliessend eine lange Diskussion, denn niemand verstand diese Ausführungen. Ich führte aus, dass die Stellung der CNT zum POUM verständlich sei, doch müssten wir im Auslande andere Argumente anwenden usw. Die Spanier schienen nicht dieser Meinung. Polen, Holland, Schweden sprachen; Vazquez antwortete mehrmals, es kam zu keiner befriedigenden Lösung. Die Diskussion wird ziemlich erregt, da niemand verstehen kann, dass dies "eine Sache der spanischen Regierung" sei, und dass wir uns nicht darum zu kümmern hätten.

Am Donnerstag geht die Debatte über die Prinzipienerklärung weiter. Es wird eine Kommission gebildet, die redaktionelle Arbeit leisten soll, bestehend aus Spanien (Esgleas), Schweden (Nedin) und Portugal, und ich als Dolmetscher. Zuvor wird jeder Delegation eine kurze Redezeit eingeräumt. Holland meint ein Vorschlag zur Aenderung der Prinzipien liege nicht vor. Die spanischen Erfahrungen seien sehr wichtig, doch noch nicht abgeschlossen. Erst müsse die CNT einmal einen Landeskongress haben, nachdem Kriege. Die Kommission habe keinen Zweck. Nur die Frage des Krieges sei an der Tagesordnung, und die Diskussion über Punkt 7 der PE. Vazques führtaus,die CNT wolle keine Aenderung der Prinzipien sondern nur eine zweckmässige Aenderung des Textes der Prinzipienerklärung. Diese müsse reduziert werden auf einen kurzen Ausdruck der Prinzipien selbst und eine Darstellung der Kampfmittel und Ziele, wobei den Sektionen eine gewisse Freiheit eingeräumt werden müsse. Alle Literatur müsse gestrichen werden, ausserdem seien die Begründungen von 1922 usw. Die Erklärung müsse allgemeiner sein, man brauche nicht von einzelnen Ländern zu sprechen, die Aenderung sei nicht im Interesse der CNT, sondern der IAA nötig. Schweden fragt ob die Meinung der CNT sich nur auf die Introduktion beziehe oder auch auf die 10 Punkte. Vazquez sagt, speziell auf die Introduktion. Schweden erklärt sich an einer Aenderung interessiert und verweist auf die Londoner Erklärung von 1913, welche bündiger gewesen sei. In Schweden habe man diese als Introduktion. De Jong behauptet man habe kein Recht und kein Mandat zu dieser Diskussion, sie sei nicht vorbereitet. Er nehme nicht an ihr teil. Polen sagt, eine textliche Aenderung sei vielleicht erst nach einem Ausreifungsprozess in der Gesamtbewegung möglich. Aenderung sei notwendig, müsse jedoch organisch entwickelt werden. Die Kommission solle schon Vorschläge machen, man werde dann sehen. Nicht nur der jetzige Text sondern auch verschiedene der 10 Punkte an sich seien nicht mehr aufrechtzuerhalten.Die Form der PE müsse entwicklungsfähig sein. De Jong greift mehrmals in seinem Sinne ein. Vazquez bedauert das, denn auf dem ausserordentlichen Kongress habe man ausdrücklich gesagt, der ordentliche sei in diesen Fragen zuständig, inzwischen habe man alle Ideen ausreichend diskutiert. Man komme doch nicht auf einen Kongress um sich mal wiederzusehen. Die CNT wolle nicht ihre Interessen vordrängen, es handle sich durchaus um eine Aufgabe im Interesse der internationalen Bewegung als Gesamterscheinung. Die Tagesordnung berechtigt zu einer Beschlussfassung. Die CNT könne zwar jetzt keinen Kongress abhalten, aber man solle ihr glauben, dasselle ihre Probleme wenn auch mit neuen Prozeduren laufend von der Basis aufwärts diskutiert werden, die Militantenschaft der Bewegung bereit permanent. Niemand darf die CNT anzweifeln als föderalistische Organisation.

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Was die CNT vorschlage sei nur eine "ampliacion" der Prinzipien, keine Aenderung. Die CNT habe jedenfalls ein festes Mandat gegeben, denn die Tagesordnung des Kongresses enthalte die Aufforderung diese Probleme zu diskutieren. Mascarell weist auf die ordnungsgemäss erfolgte Einberufung des Kongresses hin.

Hier habe ich einer Sitzung nur mit Unterbrechungen angewohnt, da ich mich mit der Kommission zurückgezogen habe. Es wurde von der Statutenänderung zu diskutieren begonnen und -resultatlos - noch einmal von der POUMsache angefangen. Desgleichen wurde die Solidaritätsfrage zu diskutieren begonnen, wozu ich einleitende Ausführungen machte; dann musste ich wieder zur Kommission. Als ich erneut für eine Weile in die Sitzung des Kongresses zurückkehrte, kam es zu einem Zwischenfall wegen des deutschen Genossen AL, der sich unter die Gäste gesetzt hatte. Polen erklärte, es sei eine illegale Organisation; wenn der Kongress öffentlich sei, könne es an ihm nicht teilnehmen, es keine Kontrolle der Gäste vorhanden. Der polnische Delegierte verliess den Saal. Ich gab eine Erklärung über die anwesenden Deutschen ab, die alle seit langen Jahren FAUDmitglieder und DASmitglieder waren; Nichtmitgliedschaft in der CGTSR könne nicht massgebend sein, da es in Frankreich viele Spanier und andere gäbe, die nicht in der CGTSR seien, aber dochals Genossen angesehen werden müssten; einige solche seien sogar im Saale. Die CGTSR Delegation erklärte jedoch, AL sei aus der CGTSR ausgeschlossen (bekanntlich weil er Verwendung von Solidaritätsgeldern zur Bezahlung von Angestelltengehältern -Doussot - kritisiert hat); der Kongress erklärte, dass für jeden Gast die Garantie einer Delegation da sein müsse; diese übernahm niemand für AL, obwohl ich erklärte, dass ich für ihn garantierte. AL ging dann, ohne sich besonders geschickt aus der Affäre zu ziehen.

Später ging die Diskussion über die Statuten weiter. An ihr nahmen alle Delegationen wiederholt teil, und ich will nur einige Punkte des Resultates festhalten: Auf den Kongressen wird proportionales Stimmrecht eingeführt. Jedes Jahr ist ein Kongress. Ein Sekretär darf sein Amt nur zwei Jahre innehaben (gegen die SAC). Das Sekretariat besteht aus mindestens drei Genossen. Höchstens drei dürfen bezahlt sein. Der Generalsekretär wird aufdem Kongress gewählt, die beidenanderen entsenden die dazu bestimmten Sektionen. Illegale Sektionen werden nur anerkannt wenn der Nachweis der Existenz im Lande selbst vorliegt. Emigrantengruppen nur wenn sie nachweisbar ihr Land vertreten; Emigranten einer Zentrale müssen (nicht dürfen, wie im Vorschlag SACs) sich zu Gruppen zusammenschliessen und im Kontakt mit den Landessektionen und dem Sekretariat der IAA arbeiten (letztere fünf Worte von Andersson auf mein Anraten hinzugefügt) usw.

Einiges aus der Diskussion zum schwedischen Antrag über Emigranten etc. De Jong fragte ob das bedeute, dass die Emigranten die Genehmigung zur Arbeit brauchten; dies wurde verneint. Die Organisationen dürften nicht in eine zentralistische Abhängigkeit gebracht werden. Prieto einverstanden mit dem Vorschlag der SAC; Italien könne nicht anerkannt werden. Besnard ist entgegengesetzter Meinung in Bezug auf Italien. Andersson führte aus, er habe vor allem an DAS gedacht; die Genossen hätten keine Beziehung mit Deutschland; die schwedische vielmehr Stockholmer DAS bestehe aus zwei Mann, die aber jetzt wohl auch auseinanderseien; diese kleinen Gruppen seien nicht arbeitsfähig, sie könnten es werden wenn alle zusammenhalten und zusammenarbeiten mit der landessektion. (Ich bemerke ausdrücklich dass die Ausführungen A.s nicht feindselig gegen die DAS gerichtet waren; auch hat sie niemand so verstanden.) Ich habe folgendes ausgeführt: Italiens Anwesenheit könne nicht bestritten werden, die USI arbeite nachweisbar in ihrem Lande. In dem Statut müsse die Pflicht zum Zusammenschluss der

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Réfugiés betont werden anstelle des Rechts. Sie müssten im Interesse ihrer alten Landesorganisation weiterarbeiten, auch im Kontakt mit dem Sekretariat. Ich schilderte noch die Verhältnisse mit Deutschland – letzter offizieller Kontakt durch RB Anfang 1937. Wir seien auf diesem Kongress aus diesem Grunde nicht als Sektion aufgetreten, wollten jedoch Arbeit leisten und hofften dass das neue Statut dazu Möglichkeiten schäffe usw. Ich verwies noch einmal auf den Gedankengang der schriftlichen Erklärung. Die geänderte Proposition Schweden wurde hierauf einstimmig angenommen (also auch von Italien). Auch Prieto hatte noch das Recht auf Selbständigkeit für die in Emigration existierenden Gruppierungen betont, dies bestreite niemand.

Hierauf geht die Diskussion über die Prinzipien weiter. Prieto erklärte dass die Taktik weiter gefasst werden müsse; Beispiele für diese Notwendigkeit seien nicht nur die CNT, sondern auch die CGT von Portugal und die CGT von Chile mit ihrer Stellung in der letzten Wahlkampagne, die CNTstehe mit ihrer Hältung vom Februar 1936 nicht allein. De Jong habe Unrecht, man müsse hier eine Entscheidung treffen. Schweden meinte man müsse in der Prinzipienerklärung Moskau als Ursprung der Diktaturideen nennen, die CNT versuchte an vielen Beispielen zu zeigen, dass das weder nötig noch richtig sei. Polen war für scharfe Abgrenzung gegen Moskau, doch sei das keine Frage der Form und der Worte. Ausserdem sei auch die gekürzte Introduktion nicht gut; denn die ehemalige sei Analyse eines historischen Moments gewesen, und ein solches Werk könne man nicht kürzen, man könne es nur in neuen Worten dem neuen Augenblick angepasst nocheinmal sagen. Prieto meinte man solle die Prinzipien allgemein halten ohne Nennung einzelner Parteien um nicht taktische Möglichkeiten und Notwendigkeiten zu verbauen; Moskau brauche nicht genannt zu werden; ebenso sei eine besondere Nennung der Diktatur des Proletariats nicht mehr nötig; diese sei schon bei der Verwerfung aller Formen des Staates mit verworfen. Polen erklärt für Aenderung der PE zu sein, die Kommissionsarbeit ginge aber nicht weit genug, sei STückwerk; Polen werde sich trotz Parteinahme für die Aenderung der Stimme enthalten.

Der Kommisionsvorschlag wurde hierauf angenommen mit 3 Stimmen bei 2 Enthaltungen und einer Gegenstimme. Ebenso wird später angenommen die von der Kommission vorgeschlagene Änderung des Punktes 7 und der Zusatzpassus über taktische Autonomie.

Die Aenderungen können wie folgt kurz charakterisiertwerden: aus der Einleitung sind alle Begründungen gestrichen die an 1922 gebunden waren und die Nachkriegslage kennzeichneten. Desgleichen die Erwähnung Moskaus und der sog. Diktatur des Proletariats. Dafür ist die antidiktatorische Linie durch einige andere Sätze allgemein ausgedrückt worden, ebenso die Verurteilung des Reformismus und des Einbaus der Arbeiterbewegung in den Bürgerlichen Staat. Der Punkt 7 ist neu redigiert, er beginnt mit dem Bekenntnis gegen Militarismus und Krieg und enthält dann die Forderung der Arbeiter-milizen für den Fall der Revolution; die Forderung der industriellen Produktionsverweigerung und der individuellen Dienstverweigerung sind ersetzt durch die Forderung von Boykott und Embargo auf kriegswichtige Rohstoffe – ausser in dem Falle dass ein Land sich verteidige im Interesse einer Revolution sozialen Charakters; einem solchen Lande müsse geholfen werden; ausserdem wird der Generalstreik gegen den Krieg genannt. Am Ende der 10 Punkte ist die Forderung taktischer Freiheit festgehalten: die Mittel könnten sich ändern, Geist und Ziel müssten die gleichen bleiben; ausserdem sei Aufgabe der IAA die Diskussion, der Erfahrungsaustausch und die Anpassung der Taktik aller Sektionen aneinander.

Hierauf wird ein besonderer Tagesordnungspunkt eingelegt: Stellung des IAA Sekretariats zur internationalen Lage am 24. September.

De Jong: er protestiere dagegen dass zwei der Sekretäre die Sitzungen verlassen hätten bei der Diskussion des Zwischenfalls vom 24. [illegible]

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sei im Unrecht gewesen der CGTSR am 24. September die geforderten Mittel zur Antikriegspropaganda zu verweigern; das Sekretariat habe dazu keineswegs andere Sektionen zu befragen brauchen; die Notwendigkeit der Arbeit gegen den Krieg sei in der PE festgelegt und diese sei die Richtschnur. Er sei erstaunt, dass die CNT die Haltung der CGTSR im September als konterrevolutionär und identisch mit der Position des Faschismus bezeichnet habe (dies erklärt die CNT in einem Brief an die CGTSR dessen Inhalt auf dem Kongress bekanntgegeben wurde). Er verstehe dass gewisse Genossen im Sekretariat mit einer gewissen Angst die Machtsteigerung des Nationalsozialismus sehen und diese für die Hauptgefahr erklären. Die Gefahr sei gross, könne aber nicht zum Eintreten für den antifaschistischen Krieg führen. Ein antifaschistischer Krieg könne nur möglich sein nach der Sozialen Revolution zur Verteidigung dieser Revolution, nicht zwischen Staaten. Es gibt faschistische Staaten und noch nicht faschistische, das ist alles. Jeder Krieg zwischen ihnen ist imperialistisch. Wenn die Demokratien wirklich antifaschistisch seien, müssten sie die innere Freiheit heute vergrössern, doch sie tun das Gegenteil. Denn der Faschismus ist eine notwendige Stufe des Kapitalismus. Alle demokratischen Rechte müssten von den Arbeitern Zoll um Zoll verteidigt werden, aber nicht durch Teilnahme an einem Kriege. Entlarvend für die Demokratien sei ihre Haltung gegenüber den antifaschistischen Emigranten. Ebenso ihre Haltung zu Spanien. Das demokratische Nordamerika liefere die Waffen für Japan da ja gar kein erklärter Krieg stattfinde; China werde von Deutschland bewaffnet, und Japan protestiere dagegen nicht, sondern nur deshalb weil diese deutschen Waffen durch französisches Kolonialgebiet nach China gelangen. Die Auffassungen der drei Sekretäre sowie der Delegationen der CNT und Portugals bringen uns auf Seiten des Kapitalismus Frankreich England Holland USA usw. England will Hitler, Mussolini und selbst Stalin an der Macht halten, und einen Block Europa-USA. Dies ist seinen Interessen gegenwärtig am günstigsten. Der Brief des Sekretariats vom 24., gerichtet an die CGTSR, ist nicht zu verantworten, diese Haltung des Sekretariats muss die Verurteilung des Kongresses finden.

In dieser Diskussion sprachen für das Sekretariat Prieto, Schweden, Polen, Mascarell und ich. Ich habe genaue Notizen nur über de Jong und von meinem Referat, und ich gebe diese beiden wieder um beide Seiten zu kennzeichnen. Prieto sprach u/ a. von der Notwendigkeit der Militarisierung in Spanien, antwortete ausführlich und sachlich auf de Jong und verurteilte die Position der CGTSR. Ich habe davon keine Notizen. Mascarell brachte nur winzigen organisatorischen Kleinkram vor und Neves sagte überhaupt nichts; deshalb habe ich dann umfangreichere Darlegungen vorgebracht um den ideologischen Hintergrund des Konfliktes mit der CGTSR darzustellen. Bernard brachte seine aus der Internationale bekannten Auffassungen in grösster Lautstärke vor, behauptete Frankreich habe keinen Krieg gemacht weil das Volk dagegen gewesen sei, die CGTSR habe im Kriegsfalle die besten Aussichten gehabt den Krieg schnell zu Fall zu bringen usw. Während ich de Jongs Darlegungen genau aufgenommen habe, war ich im Falle Bernard dazu nicht in der Lage. Polen wandte sich scharf gegen die CGTSR, zum Teile ironisch, mit der Bemerkung, es glaube nicht, dass der Krieg im September durch die Flugblätter der CGTSR verhindert worden sei.

Ich habe mein Referat gehalten mit folgenden Thesen: Es ist falsch zu sagen dass die einen von uns gegen den Krieg sind und die anderen für. Ich protestiere gegen diese Klassifizierung, sie ist oberflächlich. Ebensowenig sind wir für oder gegen die Demokratien. Wir sind alle gegen den Krieg und alle gegen die Demokratie als Erscheinungsformen des Kapitalismus. Der Frieden ist nicht unser Friede, der Krieg nicht unser Krieg, beides sind Formen des kapitalistischen Lebens, unterbeiden Umständen leisten wir sozialrevolutionäre Arbeit. Dies bedeutet aber nicht im Namen winziger

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Organisationen alle fünf Minuten die soziale Revolution zu proklamieren und nur sie allen Mängeln dieser Welt als einzige und totale Lösung entgegenzusetzen. Landauer hat gesagt, dass es keine bewährteren Antirevolutionäre gibt als die die immer nur die SR ausrufen und mit den Wirklichkeiten des Alltags nichts anzufangen wissen. Dies ist der Fall der CGTSR und ihrer ganzen Taktik. Die Welt wird nicht durch dauernde Proklamierung des polaren Gegenteils der heutigen Ordnung verändert, das Leben liegt in den Nüance. Wir gehen den Massen voran, aber dürfen nicht den Kontakt mit ihnen verlieren. Was logisch ist für den Einzelnen als Denker, ist noch lange nicht psychologisch; die Psychologie ist wieder nur zum Teil massgebend für die Bewegungen der Massen, die eigene Gesetze haben; wir müssen mit ihnen im Einklange stehen und nicht immer nur unsere "absolut richtigen" Ideen verkünden. Es gibt nichts Absolutes. Der Antifaschismus ist kein Schwindel, sondern ein Wert, wenn auch ein relativer. Ein antifaschistischer Krieg ist nicht nur nach einer SR möglich, siehe Spanien, wo die SR durchaus noch nicht vollzogen ist. Aber die antifaschistische Front ist dort trotz allen inneren Spannungen eine Notwendigkeit und eine Realität, eine reale, keine symbolische "Front". Die CNT im Februar 1936, Portugal, Chile, sind Realitäten. Im September handelte es sich darum, ob wir eine abstrakte Propaganda im Sinne des bekannten CGT-Manifestes finanzieren sollten; dazu konnte ich meine Zustimmung nicht geben, da diese Propaganda oberflächlich und politisch gesichtspunktlos gewesen wäre, und ausserdem gerichtet gerade gegen diejenigen unserer Sektionen, die im Kampfe um reale Dinge stehen. Was nichts gegen die kleinen, rein propagandistischen Sektionen besagt, aber sie können sich nicht in absoluten Gegensatz zu den Sektionen setzen, die im realen Leben ihres Landes eine verantwortliche Kampfesposition gegen und für gewisse Realitäten einnehmen müssen. Wir müssen uns auch mit Aussenpolitik beschäftigen. Ich weiss genau dass die Imperialismen sich nur durch ihren Grad von Sättigung und Hunger unterscheiden; ich habe das selbst in meinem Dezemberbericht festgehalten. Trotzdem müssen wir Gegensätze in der heutigen Welt ausnützen, siehe unsere Kampagne gegen Nichtintervention, also für Intervention durch Waffenverkauf an die Republik. Ausserdem ist die Demokratie nicht nur eine Form des Kapitalismus, sondern ein Regime politischer Freiheiten die ungeheuren Wert haben, selbst wenn sie relativ sind. Auch in der Demokratie steckt schon der Faschismus - nämlich die Tendenz der Staatseinmischung in alles, zum Beispiel in die sozialen Kämpfe als Schiedsrichter. Das ist Faschismus, und gerade das hat die Sozialdemokratie für "Demokratie" gehalten. Wir aber interessieren uns für politische Rechte als Mittel und Betätigungsmittel von Massendruck ausserhalb der Parlamente usw. Wir wenden uns gegen die Illusionen über die Demokratie - ich kann protokollarisch nachweisen, dass ich mich in der IAA stets gegen die oberflächlichen Verlegungen über Demokratie gewehrt habe, die in der CNT-Presse auftauchten - aber wir interessieren uns für ein System politischer Rechte. Der 19. Juli war eine rein politische antifaschistische Aktion in diesem Sinne; der sozialrevolutionäre Akt war der zweite, nicht der erste, er trat erst ein als die Arbeiter feststellten, dass die Kapitalisten desertiert waren; natürlich ausserdem weil die Spanier dazu vorbereitet waren und fälschlicherweise an Ausbreitungsmöglichkeiten einer sozialen Bewegung auf andere Länder glaubten. Unser Anarchosyndikalismus hat längst begriffen dass wir auch politische Kämpfe führen müssen - mit proletarischen Mitteln und für soziale Ziele; in unendlich viel Fällen wenden sich direkte Aktionen aller Art an die Regierungen, um von ihnen eine bestimmte Tat oder eine bestimmte Unterlassung zu verlangen. So müssen wir auch aussenpolitische Dinge aktiv zur Kenntnis nehmen ohne dem Nationalismus zu verfallen. Gefahren sind vorhanden und müssen in Kauf genommen werden; man darf sie nicht zu vermeiden versuchen durch Nur-Predigt des absoluten Heilmittels. Polen hat dazu ausserordentliche inter-

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essante Ausführungen gemacht die ich unterstreiche. Dies betrifft nicht nur Kolonialprobleme und Länder die in nationalen Unabhängigkeitskampf stehen wie Spanien, sondern auch die Gegensätze zwischen den faschistischen Staaten und ihren Gegnern. Wir müssen heute gegen eine Erweiterung des totalitären Territoriums in Europa sein. Diese kann uns nicht gleichgültig sein. Ob Hitler drei Millionen deutsche "Brüder" mehr mit dem Regime beglückt, das Erich Mühsam das Leben kostete, ist vielleicht in unserer brutalen Zeit gleichgültig; dies wird aber leider Folgen haben, rein politischer Art, im Sinne einer Gebietserweiterung faschistischer Unterdrückungsmethoden, für Hunderte von Millionen von Menschen nicht nur in Mittel-, sondern auch in Westeuropa. Man braucht kein Pessimist zu sein, heute geht alles schnell, schnell kann auch eine andere Wendung kommen. Aber wir brauchen eine politische Vision. Am traurigsten ist es zu sehen wie die Goebbelspropaganda in unserer eigenen Presse auftaucht unter der Parole: Hitler hat "Recht"! Die Sudeten haben das "Recht" zu Deutschland zu gehen. Das ist eine katastrophal abstrakte Denkweise. Seit wann ist für uns das nationale Kriterium das einzig massgebende? Wir können es unter Umständen relativ anerkennen wo es mit sozialen Werten zusammenfällt – so Spaniens und der Kolonialvölker Unabhängigkeitskampf; in Hitlers Hand ist das nationale Prinzip und das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker ein Schwindel, Waffe der Sozialreaktion. Im September wollte Deutschland keinen Krieg und konnte ihn nicht wollen. Es wollte eine Pression um gegen die Möglichkeit einer antifaschistischen Frontbildung in Europa die internationale Frontbildung der Bourgeoisie zu setzen, was in München gelang. Hitler wollte Angst machen, Panik erzeugen, es gelang ihm glänzend, gerade in den revolutionären Kreisen, die vor lauter Gefühlsduselei und Sentimentalitäten pazifistischer Art jede politische Vision der Dinge verloren. So konnte München Europa besiegen und der Faschismus noch als Friedensengel erscheinen. Parolen müssen sich ändern, auch wenn der Geist einer Bewegung derselbe bleibt. Nie wieder Krieg, war unsere Parole mit Recht. Inzwischen sind die Krämpfe des Kapitalismus weitergegangen, und im Moment schickt sich der französische Faschismus zum Beispiel zu einem grossen Aufstieg an unter der Parole: Gegen den Krieg! Für Hitlers Methoden auch in Frankreich, heisst das praktisch. Daran ist die revolutionäre Linke mit schuld; eine so falsch gerichtete Propaganda konnte ich nicht gutheissen. Wir hätten nicht der Septemberpanik verfallen sollen. Das deutsche Proletariat ist tief entmutigt darüber, dass das Ausland auf Hitlers Schwindel hereingefallen ist, die innerdeutsche Opposition hat ihren schwersten Schlag seit 1933 erhalten. Der polnische Delegierte hat das sogar in Gesprächen mit Arbeitern aus dem Reichsgebiet bestätigt erhalten. Ich habe in der IAA keine Stimmung für Krieg gemacht. Trotzdem sage ich offen dass ich im Falle eines Konfliktes zwischen den kapitalistischen Staaten die Niederlage der faschistischen für wünschenswert halte, genau dasselbe sagt die Kongressresolution der DAC, mit anderen Worten. Aber darum handelte es sich im September nicht, wie gesagt. Ausserdem ist für mich wichtig dass die von mir im September eingenommene Haltung nach meiner Ueberzeugung die einzig mögliche war im Interesse des kämpfenden Spanien; ich fühlte mich durch die Beschlüsse des Dezemberkongresses – Solidarität mit der CNT – gerad zu dazu verpflichtet. Die Prinzipienerklärung mit ihren Formulierungen ist kein über uns aufgehängtes Gesetz, sondern muss immer lebendiger Ausdruck einer lebendigen und sich bewegenden und den Zeitverhältnissen anpassenden Bewegung sein, gerade wenn wir immer das Prinzip des Freiheitlichen im Auge behalten wollen. Unser Plan für Boykott u. Embargo ist auch proletarische Aussenpolitik, er fordert nicht die Revolution sondern eine ganz konkrete proletarische Intervention in kommerzielle und andere Beziehungen innerhalb der bestehenden Ordnung, er richtet sich gegen bestimmte Staaten, fordert von anderen gewisse Dinge und nimmt direkte Stellung für einen weiteren – die spanische Republik. Damit geben wir nichts von unseren Prinzipien auf, sondern versuchen in ihrem Geiste

F Sorade chis Realisierung der Bourgeoisie! nahm nach von München bewegt, - hier - Ihr hierdurch eine revolutionäre, antibürgerliche Parole nan

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– im Geiste der Prinzipien und mit unseren Mitteln – der uns unsympathischen, aber doch nun einmal vorhandenen Realität auf den Leib zu rücken. Diese Linie wollte ich auch im September, gerade im September in unserer Propaganda gewahrt sehen, und eine grössere Summe unseres Geldes in den Händen der CGTSR bot in diesem Sinne keinerlei Garantie. Wir kämpfen gegen den Krieg nicht als ein selbständiges Prinzip, sondern als Erscheinung kapitalistischen Charakters; das Losrennen gegen ein isoliertes Faktum kann oft gerade der bestehenden Ordnung und der Reaktion nützen, statt ihr zu schaden. Wir kämpfen nicht gegen Einzelheiten, sondern gegen das Ganze, dazu müssen wir aber einen klaren Blick haben, dürfen nicht kurzsichtig auf Vordergrundserscheinungen losgehen. Die Franzosen haben einen Vorschlag zu Punkt 7 der PE eingereicht, wo gesagt wird, dass ein Krieg im Interesse des Proletariats nur in Frage kommt, wenn es sich entweder handelt um ein Land in wirklicher sozialer Konvulsion, das gegen einen Angriff der inneren und äusseren Reaktion zu verteidigen ist, und im Falle dass ein Land vollzogener sozialer Revolution sich verteidigt. Das ist richtig – obwohl zu abstrakt formuliert, zu rationalistisch, denn im Leben lasst sich das schwer abgrenzen, es gibt nirgend feste Linien und alles ist viel nüancierter und Entscheidungen sind immer erst im Augenblick zu treffen, nicht lange vorher festzulegen. Trotzdem, in den angegebenen Fällen allein würde das Proletariat seinen Krieg für sich führen, in allen anderen wäre es nur Opfer und Werkzeug – wie im Frieden eben auch. Und das schliesst nicht aus, dass es im Kriege wie im Frieden, siehe die Resolution der SAC, die Form und Reichweite seiner Forderungen und seine unmittelbaren Ziele ändert je nach Erfordernis und Präferenz für den einen oder den anderen Zustand, trotzdem zuweilen beide nicht "die Soziale Revolution bedeuten, "unsere" Revolution. Dabei gibt sich die proletarischrevolutionäre Bewegung keineswegs auf sondern bleibt was sie ist. Es ist so, dass die Bewegung in einer Krise ist; sicherlich stecken Wahrheiten in den Formulierungen der einen ebenso wie der anderen, die sich heute als Vertreter verschiedener Tendenzen gegenüberstehen, und es gilt alles auf die gemeinsame Basis zu beziehen und sich zu verständigen. Ich fordere aber die Anerkennung, im September gegenüber der CGTSR organisatorisch richtig gehandelt zu haben; ich protestiere gegen die am Anfang erwähnte oberflächliche Auslegung des Konflikts, und ich ~~[illegible]~~ reklamiere jedenfalls für mich, dass ich meine Interpretation der Lage nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen aus einer Anwendung unserer Ideen auf diese Lage gewonnen habe. Vor allem habe ich geglaubt zu handeln im Interesse unserer kämpfenden C.N.T.

Der Antrag des Tags auf Verurteilung der Haltung des Sekretariats am 24. September wird gegen seine Linke von allen verworfen (Italien nicht anwesend). Dann werden noch verschiedene Erklärungen von Schweden und Polen in Kenntnis Sinne der Erklärung genommen, ebenso eine Forderung der CNT welche für gewisse Fälle Ausschluss der CNT aus der IAA fordert; [illegible]

Wahl: [illegible] vor Sitz des Sekretariats in Stockholm und Stellung je eines Delegierten der SAC und der CNT. (In der Diskussion hatte ich mich eingesetzt für Schaffung eines Sekretariats mit nur einem bezahlten Sekretär.) Polen und Portugal erklärten sofort ihre Zustimmung, und nach verschiedenen Darlegungen wurde der Plan so interpretiert, dass Anderson Generalsekretär werde, aber nur die verantwortliche Leitung übernehmen könne, da er Sekretär der SAC bleiben müsse; der freigestellte Sekretär werde nur der von der CNT nach Stockholm zu entsendende sein; der andere Schwede sei Sekretär nur ehrenamtlich. Dafür stimmen vier, eine Stimme Enthaltung. Besnard und Vascarell erhielten den Auftrag zur Liquidierung des pariser Büros und der vorhandenen Verpflichtungen.

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gen. Adresse des Sekretariats: Box 415, Stockholm I. Ueber Tätigkeit und Publikationen hat das Sekretariat nach dem Statut selbst an Hand der fin[illegible] zweiten Lage zu entscheiden.

Unter Verschiedenes wird zur Kenntnis genommen eine Initiative der JJLL von Spanien zur Gründung einer Jugendinternationale libertärer Tendenz; [illegible] das Sekretariat beauftragt, sich ebenfalls mit dieser schon lange beschl[illegible] senen Gründung zu befassen. Polen bittet bei allen Kongressberichten zu beachten, dass es eine illegale Organisation ist – keine Namen nennen. Fe[illegible] gestellt wird noch, dass über einen Antrag zugunsten einer Einheitsfront-aktion, nur von der bulgarischen Sektion eingesandt, infolge Abwesenheit Bulgariens nicht beschlossen worden ist.

Am 7. erfolgte eine Sitzung des alten Sekretariats mit Anderson.

;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;

Dieser Bericht ersetzt nicht das Protokoll, und kann nicht vollständig sein. Dazu war ich nicht in der Lage, denn ich war nicht Protokollführer, sondern hatte dauernd aktiv am Kongress teilzunehmen. Doch glaube ich alle wesentlichen Züge objektiv festgehalten zu haben. Man entschuldige die lange Darstellung meiner eigenen Ausführungen an einem Punkte, aber dieser Bericht ist schliesslich für mich abschliessender Rechenschaftsbericht über meine eigene Tätigkeit, geliefert für die deutschen Genossen, die mich ins Sekretariat geschickt haben.

Lange Ausführungen von Prieto, Besnard und Polen vor allem sind hier zu kurz gekommen, und ich kann nur auf das spätere Protokoll verweisen. Ihre neue Aufnahme war mir unmöglich.

Der Kongress war trotz gewisser unangenehmer Begleiterscheinungen interessant; die zwei Tage die dem Zwischenfall gewidmet waren waren negativ, alles andere aber positive Diskussion und Arbeit, wenn auch natürlich vieles zu wünschen übrig blieb wie immer. Abgesehen von ihrer heftigen Reaktion gegen die CGTSR war die spanische Delegation ruhig, sachlich und positiv; die sicher aus einer gewissen inneren Unsicherheit stammende Nervosität und Neigung zu ständigem Protest wie auf dem Dezemberkongress war definitiv überwunden. Die Bedeutung des Kongresses ist allerdings stark vermindert durch Abwesenheit Amerikas.

;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;-;

Nachtrag: Nach Diskussion [illegible] aller Delegationen, die ich allerdings nur zum Teil anhören konnte, wurde Wiedereinführung des Internationalen Solidaritätsfonds mit nationalen Sektionen beschlossen; Holland kann auch seinen mit anderen Organisationen gemeinsamen Fonds beibehalten; die Sektionen berichten dem Sekretariat, dieses kontrolliert sie; In solchen Ländern gesammelte Gelder, die keine Réfugiés zu versorgen haben, gehen an das Sekretariat, welches sie im Sinne des Ausgleiches auf die in Frage kommenden nationalen Sektionen des Fonds verteilt. Damit ändert sich zunächst praktisch nichts, alles hängt von der Entwicklung ab, in Frankreich auch von den Beschlüssen des Kongresses der CGTSR (Stellung des Kongresses zu Dousset und seiner Praktik; und zur IAA selbst). Das CSI gab auf dem Kongress keinen Bericht, da die französische Delegation "stumm" war, es wurde infolgedessen auch nicht diskutiert.

H.R.

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[Letter] 1939 Feb. 20 [London to] Pedro [Herrera, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20 de Febrero de 1939.

Querido Pedro:

Se pasa mucho tiempo en recibir tus cartas y las mias para ti en ser traducidas. He aqui la demora en contestar la tuya del 15 ote.

Tu carta es verdaderamente desconsoladora, pero te expreso mis expresivas gracias por decirme con la franqueza en que lo haces la verdadera situacion. Tus noticias hubiesen sido peores si yo no hubiese estado en Barcelona el pasado mes de Septiembre y parte de Octubre y no me ubieses dado toda clase de detalles de la politica nefasta de Negrin y su Gobierno. Lo que senti entonces y siento ahora, es que tu y los demas camaradas del Comite Peninsular y Regional de la F.A.I. habiás aprobado las tacticas de la C.N.T. por tanto tiempo. Recordaras, que en la ultima parte de 1937 tu y los demas companeros defendisteis todo lo que hacia la C.N.T. En el Plenum en Valencia, Federica se opuso a mi porque insisti que las transigencias que ella y Oliver habian hecho en Mayo, y ademas despues de dicha fecha, terminaria en una catastrofe irremediable; y no solo Federica, sino todos los demas companeros con quienes hable en Barcelona, Valencia y Madrid, me aseguraron que la C.N.T.-F.A.I. no tenia otro remedio, y aun cuando estaban transigiendo, ello era solo con el mero objeto de ganar la guerra, pero que despus procederian con la Revolucion empezada en Julio de 1936. No crees tu, por tanto, que la F.A.I. es tan responsable por el desastre de Cataluna como la C.N.T.? La diferencia consiste en que tu y los companeros de la F.A.I. realisaites vuestros errores y disteis la voz de alarma para volver a los principios fundamentales y metodos del movimiento, lo que la C.N.T., desafortunadamente, no hizo.

No obstante, no son estos tiempos para recriminarnos mutuamente y hay trabajo mucho mas importante para nosotros que hacer. Una de las cosas es la que tu mencionas, la situacion de los refugiados y la necesidad imperiosa de ayuda. Otra es el deber imperativo no hacer nada o tomar parte del Gobierno de Negrin. Acabo de recibir el Boletin tirado por la C.G.T.S.R. titulado, "Espana ha sido tracionada por los politicos". No lo he leido aun asi que no se lo que contiene. Puede que sea en los mismos tonos que el manifiesto que el Secretariado de A.I.T. de Estocolmo me

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que tradugimos y reproducimos en 15.000 copias. Al referirse a los Gobiernos democraticos y su actitud cobarde no ataca a los politicos y especialmente la politica de Negrin como deberia hacerse.

No obstante se producira otra vez la vieja dificultad, si la lucha en el centro y sur de Espana prosigue. La C.N.T. insistira probablemente en proteger a Negrin y sus aliados comunistas bajo el pretexto de "ganar la guerra". Me dices que no hay esperanza de que la lucha continue. Ello no corresponde con la informacion recibida por mi del companero Anderson, de la A.I.T. El me dice que el companero VAL habia venido a Paris a fin de rogar a los camaras de la C.N.T. su ayuda a los companeros del Centro para continuar la lucha y esto fue acordado en Paris por los companeros de la C.N.T.

Yo tampoco veo como es que , dran continuar. Me parece un suicidio, pero tal vez estos companeros piensan que es preferible morir luchando que pasar por las torturas y humillaciones de los campos de concentracion franceses. Te ruego, querido Pedro, que no lo tomes como un reprocho hacia los companeros de Cataluna, las condiciones siendo como tu las describes habiesses sido un bano de sangre el tratar de oponerse a las fuerzas invasoras de Franco Tal vez en Madrid exista aun la probabilidad, a pesar de que los cuervos politicos esten preparados a devorar sus victimas, creo asi y todo no creo sea factible que continue la lucha.

Con respecto a colonias para los miles de refugiados,"aun Palestina", tu dices en tu carta. Me gustaria poder creer que el Gobierno ingles consentiria a esto, pero estoy completamente seguro que Chamberlain nunca se aprestara a tal cosa. Tiene demasiado medio anadir mas lena al fuego de la revuelta de los judios y arabas. Asi pues no va a permitir que militantes espanolos sean importados en Palestina. Sin embargo, creo que debe empezarse una campana para conseguir asilo a los refugiados politicos espanoles. Esta necesidad la he hecho resaltar en el manifiesto del que te acompano una copia.

Mucho me ha alegrado lo que me dices con respecto a Gonzalo de Reparaz y confio que habra podido llegar a Paris. Tambien celebro que Escorza se halla fuera de Espana. Pienso ahora si Santillan ha logrado salir ya del campo de concentracion en donde estaba. Dime si sabes algo de Isgleas, el companero de Federica. Tambien Mas, Donenech, Isgleas y todos los demas companeros de las Juventudes. Dimelo cuando me vuelvas a escribir. Dime tambien si las Divisiones de Jover, Vivanoos y Sanz se encuentran en los campos de concentracion. Cuando yo los visite tan seguros que estaban de la victoria'Es torrible que no se dieran cuenta de los metodos nefarios de los criminales de Negrin. No me comprendiste. No dige que Santillan me habia hablado de la defensa de Barcelona Lo que hizo fue comunicarme los planes que tu y el tenias. Pense que ellos se referian ambien a la defensa de Cataluna.

Tal vez sea verdad que no recogere mas detalles de la tremenda catastrofe si fuera a Paris. No obstante una conferencia personal contigo y los demas me ayudaria mucho a sobrellevar el golpe de Cataluna y Barcelona. Asi pues, me parece que me embarcare en un barco frances y parare en Paris una semana. Ya he hecho los arreglos provisionales para embarcar en Abril 8, y de ser asi sal-

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estare en Paris el 27 de Marzo siempre y cuando te encuentre aun ahi, pues deseo vivemente e verte antes de mi partida.

Querido Pedro, mi corazon se deshace al pensar en todos vostros. Si supiera como poderos ayudar no esfuerzo seria demasiado pesado. Escribeme pronto y cuentame todo lo que tengas que contarme, pues de esta forma tal vez pueda serte de alguna ayuda.

Con el afecto de siempre,

P.S.

He escrito a Lucia varias veces pero hasta ahora no he tenido contestacion. En donde se encuentra?

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6,Sneat Avenue
London N,W.11 Feb.20th 39 24121

My dear Teddy. So glad to get your letter of the 7th inst. On the same day I received a violent letter from Sax giving me hell for daring to transmit to him poor Fizis suggestion that Stella may make better progress if she were in care of someone in hwhom she has confidence and who would make herfeel she is not among strangers. Also because I wrote him that I had written Dr Kopeloff I would pocket all consistancy and ask for a visa to the States if I thought my presence would help Stella. Never before has Saxe written me such an utterly uncalled for raging letter. However that is of no importance. What is important to me is that I do not mean to interfer in any way or meddle with the method used in the Center in treating Stella. If Saxe is too much of a fool not to realise that it is my love for Stella and my sikcening anxiety about her which motivated my suggestions I hope you will understand.

The inclosed letter from Kopeloff also came together with yours and Saxe. I rely on his word because I know him to be perfectly frank,and as he too states that my presence would in no way hasten Stellas recovery I will of course not ask for a visa. You maybe believe me it would have been a wrench to get myself to do it. Especially now when the Dies investigation has turned the country into a new ~~xxx~~ mad house of witch hunters.

Ian let me read Sax s letter ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ written after he had seen Stella and was carried away by her sudden relief from her mental fog. Also your letter after you had seen her. The human brain is the most delicate of all organs,it takes a long time to bring clarity into its mechanism once it gets clouded,so we must not lose patience agonising as it is to standby helplessly. I understand that her delusion of danger to you and Sax is often conditioned in ~~xxx~~ a mental state likes hers. But I was rather startled about her new idea fixe about her intestinal tract being stuffed up. You know that is what Emmy has been suffering from for years,and as she had often complaint to Stella about it when she was in St Tropez and had also repeatedly written her about it it occurred to me that who had probably forgotten Emmys plaints may now have dug it out of her subconsciousness. The latest news from Emmy is that she has already undergone four operations and she is about to have the fifth. She has perfect obsession about operations but I have yet to see that it has done her much good.

To come back to Stella I feel relieved that you too feel convinced that our girl will recover even if it takes time The Drs say it is up to her to get well if she will only do her part I cannot quite get their meaning.Do they mean if Stella would try to get well,or that something of interest should be held out to her which make her believe in her recovery? I ask this because it occurred to me that when Mattie Ross was in Stellas state and the doctors had done everything for her they suggested an ocean trip as a last resort. I understand Harry has extended an invitation to you and Stella to come to Jersey. Would you think it advisable to broach this to her as something to look forward to if she will determined to pull herself out of the cloud? Please,act only on the doctors advise provided you want to tell him about the invitation

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from Harry.

I was interested in what you wrote about Ruth having been treated by a psychiatrist for a year and that he helped her to reeducate her life. The only puzzling part is that it also made her break entirely with her past. I understand she does not go near her old friends or associates. But in as much as that was necessaryin order to adjust herself to the life with Bob whom I understand she never really loved the same proceedure could have no bearing whatever on Stella. For,she loved you,perhaps much more than was good for her and she certainly will need no readjustment to xxxx a life with you and the two boys whom she idolized. I only hope it will never again be a life completely isolated as Bearsville. However no use thinking of the future except to help Stella get out of the fog which holds her mind.

Ian and I realised the gravity of the aftermat that followed Davids operation through Sayre's letter.What a time the poor kid has had. I am so glad you sent him to a nursing home. I hope he will gain strength and weight their and come back in a more peaceful mood than he has been. I suppose David will need decent regular meals since his stomach maynot be qble to digest all sorts of bad cooking. I was not surprised that Dorothy cannot cook,after all she has devoted all her time to music though she might have learn cooking all these years. But I was amtounted to learn that Dorothy screams at thechildren. I should never have expected sucha thing from such a lady asDorothy. Anyhow it must have been a great or deal for her to have three kids on her hands and one such a primitve devil as our Davy. It was good of Dorothy to consent to mother him

On Ians birthday I took him to see SHE STOPPED TO CONQUER and for supper to the Café Royal.Your old hang ot which has changed beyond recognition. Then Saturday Itoook him to Ethel Mannin, the writer, one of the few friends I made in this awful country. She plans to visit America in Sept. If only Stella were her old self again by then. She enjoyedEthels novelsIsent her andshewould want to meet her. Butifshe is not yetall her old self I hopeyouwill meet Ethel,she is very interesting and very charming.

I saw your head of David for the first time when I called on Ian in his room. It is splendidly done. I congratulate you.

Dear Teddy I think often of you and always with deep concern and affection. I know you will be strong and brave for in that way alone will you be able to help Stella to walk in the light.

Love to Davy and yourself.

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Feb.20th 39

Lieber Gehosse Andersson. Gester ging mein Brief,kopie von Hererras Brief and mir und kopie vom Manifest ab. Ich las das Manifest als es vom Drucker kam nur oberflehlich Erst als ich zu hause anlangte las ich es wieder. Zu meinem Entsetzen fand ich dass dort wo es heissen solte "LET US REVIVE THE PROUD DECLARATION OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S INTERNATIONAL die Worte WOKRING MEN'S AUSGELASSEN WORDEN SIND Und auch the Unterschrift in Deinem Text THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASS.

Leider is es meine Schuld und nicht die des Druckers. Ich habe namlich in dem ubersezten Tex dieses ausgelassen. Ich kann diese unverzeiliche Nachlassigkeit nur meinem verzweifften geistigen Zustand uber Spanien zuschreiben,denn ich bin sonst immer ausserst vorsichtig in soche Sachen. Ich bitte Dich dieses den Kamaraden des Sectt zu erklaren und mich zu entschuldigen. Es wird gewiss nie wieder passieren. Die 5000 die noch gedruckt werden sollen werden naturlich die Korektur haben.

Bitte sorge dafur dass der Brief Hererras nur von Dir Albert Jensen und die ganz intimste Kamaraden gelesen werden,ebenfals die beiliegende Kopy von Vazquez Brief.

Solidarisch

Du wirst sehen dass ich nur eines von Deinem Text ausgelassen habe wo Du schreibst dass die alte Gewerckschaften fur boycott und block

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kade war. Ich habe es deswegen getan weil ich wusste dass die Amsterdamer Gewerkschafts Sippe den Antrag der I.A.A abgelehnt hat und dass auch ~~xxxx~~ die Englische Gewerschafts Organisation auch mit keinem Worte blockade oder boycott erwehnte. Sonst ist Dein text ganz ubersezt worden und ich habe nur den appeal um Hulfe fur die Flucktlinge hinzugefugt.

Hier ist eine Formel fur das Mandat fur mich fur Kanada. Auch fur Genosse Ralph Barr wenn Ihr einverstanden seit er soll in England fur the I.A.A wirken. Naturlich will ich Euch Barr nocht aufdrangen. Ich wisste sonst niemanden in England. Wohl giebt es jezt eine Anarchistische Federation, aber die ist noch sehr ~~xxxxx~~ junk und unerfahren, ~~xx xxxx~~ ausserdem sind die Vorurteile gegen unsere Ideen in England sehr stark.

Soldarisch.

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ANCOCK 2906-7

PHILIP KRAMER, MANAGER

Joint Board Cloak, Skirt and Dressmakers Union

REPRESENTING LOCALS 12, 33, 39, 46, 56, 73 AND 60

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

OFFICE 25 LAGRANGE STREET

BOSTON, MASS

February 20, 1939

Dearest Emma,

Your letters came this morning, I am still reading them (you forgot to enclose the German letter from Souchy) meanwhile, I am trying to rush off this one so that it will get to you earlier. With your letter I also received a stack of letters from Molly wherein she informs me of all they are going through now in Paris. You know that Federico Montseny, Esgleas, Hererra, Garcia Oliver were in Perpignan and by now I hope that they are in Paris. That Mercedes and a number of others were in concentration camps and some others are still coming. I am sending Molly a money order to be used for relief. I shall try to raise a little more here and I think we will have to establish a relief committee similar to our former Anarchist Red Cross. Things have happened too suddenly and we have not yet come to, after the collapse of the defense in Barcelona.

I was in New York this week-end and tried to see Harry Weinberger but was told that he would be out of town; but on Sunday while walking along Fifth Avenue near 10th Street I met him coming home. He invited me to his apartment and we talked matters over. He seems to feel that the politicians in Washington have completely gone crazy and with the pending hearings of Harry Bridges, Strecher and the others there is hardly a chance of doing a thing for anyone who has been deported from this country. He spoke to Roger Baldwin who is most of the time in Washington and he, too, feels thoroughly upset about the latest stunt: impeaching Frances Perkins. The enclosed clipping may interest you, it appeared in this morning's Times. Father Coughlin in his broadcasts every Sunday speaks openly against everybody, mentioning everyone by name; it is just too bad that we are unable to put up an effective counter-attack on these slanders.

I am certainly happy to learn that Stella is getting better. I intentionally refrained from seeing her after Fitzie told me not to make any attempts, but as soon as she is well again and it will be permissible to see her, I shall make the trip to New York for the purpose of visiting her at the hospital.

I am glad you like the albums, you must have received the book I sent you "American Labor" by Herbert Harris, which is an up to date account of the U.S. labor movement. Unfortunately, the United Automobile Workers of America, a fine organization, which I in my humble way helped to build, is fast going to the dogs. Partly due to the factional division of the various communistic groups; partly due to the fact that Homer Martin is not a leader of men, but mostly due to the malicious

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propaganda that was carried on against the union by Ford, Chrysler, the DuPonts, owners of General Motors, and the other automobile barons who spent millions of dollars on espionage to foster the current internal friction in the organization.

In my organization, not everything is perfect, I admit, but the women and young girls who have taken the place of the old Jewish tailors in the cloak, skirt and dress industry are either American, corn-fed pioneers of the West or the second generation of Italian, Jewish, Syrian, Polish and so forth, immigrants who are American by education. It is for them that the International is making such elaborate educational plans in order to keep them militant because for years they worked as docile, dumb animals throughout the country. Now they are beginning to become class conscious and organizers like myself make no secret of the fact that we use the Union as a means to an end, the end to be a new society where workers would own the means of production and run the industry for use and not for profit. Working among these people in all parts of the country I have learned that militancy is not measured by the thunderous applause at a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, Union Square or some other public gathering. I have learned to measure it by the tenacity and stamina on the picket lines either they are fighting to gain conditions for themselves and their fellow workers or are interested in their own individualistic aims. I have learned to recognize honest and sincere rank and file members from those ready to sell out their co-workers, the leadership thrown in for good measure. So, looking over our activities, I feel that although we are far from our objective (meaning yours and mine) we are way ahead of the rest of the trade unions who still measure their gains by "a fair days wage for a fair days work" leaving it to the Almighty to decide what is considered fair in this present system.

For the time being I am still in Boston doing the work of Jimmy Higgins. Ostensibly a Vice President and General Organizer, in reality the chief cook and bottle-washer and general handy man about the union. Last Saturday I was given notice by my president that there is a special committee in New York from Los Angeles with a request to have me assigned there. I have declined the offer but I am not so sure whether it will stand long. I may eventually have to go to California. Due to the callous negligence of the leadership and the utter indifference of the rank and file who are mostly sick people and are now in Southern California to recouperate, the organization that I formed in 1933-34 has almost withered away and to start rebuilding all over again is what they want me to do. There is one paradox in my position. While there is widespread unemployment in the country, I seem to be working overtime with jobs waiting for me way ahead of time. A suggestion to Dubinsky to send someone else there was of no avail, I am waiting for an answer. Am really worried that if California is my next destination I shall again be cut off from all contact and all activities outside of the union which I would not like at all, at the present time.

Let me know, dearest Emma, the latest of our comrades.

Rose

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Feb.21st 39

Dearest Rose,

Your letter of the 9th inst reached me Monday yester day. It must have crossed my second letter which I mailed yesterday with inclosures about ten days ago. The terrible catastrophe of Catalonia has completely unnerved me,especially the sickening anxiety about some of the comrades I had known and loved since I first met them in 36. Their plight in the concentration camps in France is beyond the most powerful discription. Some have been released and are in Paris without passprts,visas,means to live and most of them are ill from the firghtful physical and spiritual suffering they have endured. There is so little I can do here which adds to my sorrow over the collapse of such a wonderful begnning.

In point of fact I am so distressed I do not even know why I am to go to Canada,what I will be able to do there. It is only that I must have a change if I am to retain my sanity. Yes I know the hopelessness of Quebec. Under no circumstances will I want to get anybody into trouble. So if you and the other comrades think my presence in their house or flat might bring them anything un unpleasant I will go to some inexpensive hotel,if you can find one. I have diflnitely decided to sail April 8th. It was to be from Southampton,but as I must see some of the Spansih comrades in Paris before I sail,who knows when and where I may see them again if not on this occasion, I will go to Paris and sail the 8th of April from Cherbourg. I will make final arrangements next Monday and will then give you the name of the ship.Fortunately it will dock in Montreal and thus save me the dreadful trip from Quebec to Montreal.

I inclose copy of a letter to a New York friend and also a copy of the Manifesto we have gotten out in English for the International Working Men's Ass.

Give my love to Kyer,Gustel, the boys and fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

With love

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Feb. 1st 39

Dear Saxe. Thank you a lot for your very affectionate, kind and soothing letter. I suppose I deserved all the bitterness it contained. Unfortunately I did not make a carbon copy to see what I had written to put you in such a rage. For, I had no thought of criticising or condemning you for anything, or giving you advice about Stella. I knew without your mentioning that you had no foreboding, or premonition of feel her misfortune. Neither devoted you to be content of my. Nor other pressure or that anybody, or you for that matter. I thought that you knew my anxiety about Stella [illegible] that I am so far away and unable to do anything for the [illegible] your mothers children so near and precious to me. Why then the frenzy in your letter? If I had thought you would take it as a personal insult, or the least doubt of your interest in Stella because I wrote I would not [illegible] if [illegible] her, or to let you [illegible] about Stella [illegible] private care for Stella I should refrain from writing you this. But the thought was far away from me, as was the thought that you would fly up in rage because I asked you to write, or phone me occasionally because I gathered from her letter that she felt terribly lonely. Really Saxe I had expected better of you.

[illegible] reply [illegible] me. It is for [illegible] that you have [illegible] [illegible] I [illegible] [illegible] I [illegible] read the first couple [illegible] rough sketch of living my life. Neither then or [illegible] I was here in the States, or since [illegible] you shown [illegible] the old [illegible] and union that had existed between us. Nor, you were good enough to undertake the task of [illegible] the proofs of L.M.L. I [illegible] only after going through Sasha's diaries, letters and other material which he left entirely to me what a task it must have been and how little L.M.L. meant to you. Poor Sasha, not only did he have to battle with Emma for my interest but he also had to defend me and my child conceived in pain and born in blood and tears against you whom I had always considered my most understanding kin so closely knit with me for so many years. It was a shock I can tell you. I should never have mentioned this dear Saxe except that your last letter has added strength to my conviction that I had ceased to mean anything in your life and that it is for this reason that you could have it in your heart to write me in such a bitter tone as your last letter conveyed.

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However, it does not really matter for it is conditioned in life that our spiritual children as well as those who come from our loins should driftaway from us, grow wordly wise and look back on the communion they ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ had with us childish nonsense. I certainly understand you better in this than you ~~xxxxxx~~ have understood me these last ten years. Nevertheless you will always remain in my thoughts and my heart as you have been when you first came to me in New York.

I cannot tell you how very grateful I feel to you for all you did for Stella and will yet do if necessary. I felt that you were helping her as I would have done had I be near, in fact, for both of us. Again and again I have been telling myself, well Saxe is on the spot and he will ~~xxx~~ replace me in anything Stella might need. I still feel that way, but I shall not trouble you again, or give you cause to break out in such wild outburst.

Give the kiddies for me and greet Dorothy. She must have had the devils own time with our Davy. I am so glad he was placed in a nursing home.

Affectionately.

Emma

Sorry the first part is so typed so badly. I worked in my office so could not see the spacings

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24106

Feb.21st 39

Dear Saxe. Thank you a lot for you very affectionate,kind and soothing letter. I suppose I deserved all the bitterness it cont tained.Unfortunately I did not make a carbon copy to see what I had written to put you in such a rage. For, I had no thought of criticising or condemning you for anything,or giving youadvise aboutStella. I knewwithoutyou writingmewhat you haddone forStella,how deeplyyou feel hermisfortune andhowdevotedyou havebeentoDavy.Ididnotneed to beassuredofthatby anybody,or you for that matter. I thought however that you knew my anxiety about Stella and the poignant suffering that I am so far away and unable to do anything for the one among your mothers children so near and precious to me. Why then the frenzy in your letter? If I had thought you would take it as a personal insult,or the least doub t of your interest in Stella because I wrote I would ask for a visa if my presehce neat Stella would help her,or to let you know about Fitzis idea about private care for Stella I should refrain from writing you this.But the thought was far away from me,as was the thought that you would fly up in rage because I asked you to write,or phone Moe occasionally because I gathered from his letter that he felt terribly lonely. Really Saxe I had expected better of you.

And yet, I do not know why I had expected a kindlier reply than you gave me. It is for a very long times that you have made me realise how far you and I have drifted apart. I think it began when I stupidly let you read the first couple of rough chapters of Living My Life. Neither then or when I was back in the States or since have you shown me the old warmth and union that had existed between us. Yes,you were good enough to undertake the task of readdin the proofs of L.M.L. I realised only after going through Sashas diaries,letters and other material which he left entirely to me what a task it must have been and how little L.M.L. meant to you. Poor Sasha,not only did he have to battle with Emmy for my integrety but he also had to defend me and my child conceived in pain and born in blood and tears against you whom I had always considered my most understanding kin so closely knit with me for so many years. It was a shock I can tell you. I should never have mentioned this Dear Saxe except that your last letter has added strength to my conviction that I had ceased to mean anything in your life and that it is for this reason that you could have it in your [illegible] write me in such a bitter tone as your last letter [illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 21 [London to] Saxe [Commins, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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However, it does not really matter for it is contained that our spiritual children as well as those who should driftaway from us glow wordly wise and look [illegible] communion they ~~[illegible]~~ had with us childish [illegible] certainly understand you better in this than you [illegible] understood me these last ten yeats. Neverth3less you will [illegible] remain in my thoughts and my heart as you have been when [illegible] came to me in New York.

I cannot tell you how very grateful I feel to you for all you did for Stella and will yet do if necessary. I felt that you were helping her as I would have done had I be near, in fact for both of us. Again and again I have been telling [illegible] well Saxe is on the spot and he will aos replace me in anything Stella might need. I still feel that way, but I shall not worry you again, or give you cause to brwak out in such wild outburst.

Hug the kiddies for me and greet Dorothy. She must have had the devils own time with our Davy. I am so glad he was placed in a nursing home.

Affectionately.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 21, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately. – 1 p. ; 31 × 23 cm.

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11

24211

THE SIX POINT GROUP

Telephone No.
MOUNTVIEW 1727.

31, BROOKFIELD,
WEST HILL,
LONDON, N.6.

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.. *Social* .. Miss E. Maitland
Hon. Secretary: MISS MONICA WHATELY, L.C.C.
TO WHOM ALL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED.

21st Feb.1939.

Miss Emma Goldman,
6, Sneath Avenue,
N.W.11.

Dear Emma Goldman,

Your letter was considered by the Executive Committee, and they were very deeply concerned about the plight of the brave Spanish feminists. They wondered, however, whether it would not be better to obtain the release of Mercedes Composado through our French friends. France, after all is giving asylum to the refugees, and she has accepted an enormous responsibility which she must often feel overwhelming.

Perhaps you could suggest other means of obtaining the release of your Spanish friends, and if you felt it useful I would gladly arrange for you to come up to my flat and talk to such members of the Executive who are free if you have any evenings disengaged.

We do want to help, but at the present time are not sure how this can best be done.

If you can furnish me with any further particulars about the case of Mrs. Zensel Muesahm I will write to the Russian Embassy in this country and use all my influence with the proper officials to obtain her release, or if she has been guilty of any misdemeanour, of her trial.

With my very kindest remembrances,

Yours very sincerely,

Monica Whately L.C.C.

Hon. Secretary.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 21, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / [Mariano R. Vázquez]. — 1 p. ; 23 × 19 cm.
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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

IISG Roc

Paris, 21st February 1939

I have received your letter of the 16th inst which I hasten to reply.
You want me to explain to you the reason for the loss of Barcelona, and I enclose herewith a report which I have drawn on the matter. To it I only wish to add confidentially, that our Movement has had, though it is painful to confess it, its part of responsability for what has happened by not having worked with the enthusiasm which the gravity of the moment demanded.

It is true that the sudden departure of the Government from Barcelona had a great demoralizing effect, but it is no less true that if something had been done towards awakening public enthusiasm Barcelona could have been defended, if only for a few days.

On the remarks made by you about our good faith and the treachery of others, once again I must repeat what I have told you before: that here nobody has betrayed anybody. What has happened all along is that circumstances imposed what every time was contrary to our wishes. The circumstances my dear friend, were the lack of arms brought about by the attitude of the Democracies. The fact is that one country alone cannot fight against the whole world and that we have won from international fascism and the cowardly Democracies 20 battles, having lost the last one. This is all.

If we had to argue on the causes that led to the loss of the war we could not find the effects in those compromises to which you and some other comrades always refer. It was rather the opposite. We did not compromise enough but were too revolutionary, thereby frightening world capitalism. Experience tells us with clarity that one thing are our illusions and revolutionary sense and other reality, and these realities and possibilities will never exist in any country, and far less in countries like Spain, while there does not exist a world-wide proletarian solidarity and a revolutionary consciousness capable of asserting that the enemy shallow us. It is in these incontrovertible truths that we have to find the causes, not in the betrayals and defects of others because we all had defects.

In public, when things are put in order, we shall be in a position to defend the Libertarian Movement in order to demonstrate that if there was any responsibility for the loss of our war, that responsibility cannot be attributed to us, and moreover we will be able to prove that the responsibility rests absolutely with the other sectors which precipitated our defeat, but this, dear Emma, only for the public, for us, no. We must examine things with objectivity, the only way and means of extracting positive results from an experience the most important of all up to now realized by the proletariat.

I do not know to what comrade you refer when you mention Lopez, who you say is in the hands of the tribunals in Barcelona.

I have no hing to say against your idea of coming to Paris, though if you leave it too late, I may not be in Paris by then. The funds which you collect you may send to the SIA if it is not possible to give them to the Libertarian Movemnet. If it is possible to pass them on directly to the Movement, all the better, since they will be badly needed for the future of our cause and also to attend to the needs of the refugees and their evacuation.

With cordial and fraternal greetings,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 22 [London to] Monica Whately, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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24212

Feb.22nd 39

Dear Monica Whately. Thanks very much for your letter.You will be glad to learn that we have succeeded in getting our friend Mercédes Composado released from the concentratration camp,but there are others of the Muj res Libres group. I am awaiting a list of their names from Mercédes and I will then submit it to you.

I suppose we ought to be grateful that the French authorites have permitted so many of the Catalan people into the country.But the conditions under which they are forced to live are so harrowing that one wonders whether the French authorities are not deliberately driving the Spanish refugees into the arms of Franco.Not that I think many real antifascists would want to ex change the appaling state in France to Francos mercies.But even the Spanish people are human and their power of endurance not without end. You have no doubt read the accounts in the London papers,even so conservative as the TIMES of how the unfortunates in the camps are treated. You will agree that such hospitality is adding insult to injury and should be opposed by all thinking men and women.

To come back to the Feminist refugees it is not only that they are kept in the hidious camps,it is also that when they are released they are exposed to downright hunger as they

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and destitution. They desperately need material help, and as no one thinks of their needs they must depends entirely on a few women who though not blessed with world' goods must nevertheless contribute as they cannot see the plight of these heoric feminists who have done so much for the women in Spain.

Do you think I might appeal to the women you intend to invite for me to talk to, any evening next week which is convinient for you would ~~suits~~ be acceptable to me if you let me know in advance.

About Mrs Zensel Usherm I have heard no more than the facts stated in the Russian paper DERNIERE NOUVELLE and which I referred in m letter in the Manchester Guardian. As to Mrs Z having committed a misdemeanour, my dear Mo ica Whately do you still believe that one must commit an overt act in Russia to be put out of the way. The least contrary opinion is quite enough. Now I do not say Mrs Z. has already been put out of the way, but I am certain that she will unless her case is given the widest publicity. I hope therefore that you and the other members of THE SIX POINT GROUP will do their utmost to insist on the where abouts of Mrs Z.M. By the way the woman who lured her to Russia is certain Mme Stassova. And it was this lady who wrote Mr Roger Baldwin Director of the American Civil Liberties Union that she was in a Sanitorium, actually Z.M was in the prison of the Cheka where she may also be now.

Kind greetings.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 22 [London to Annie Adama van] Scheltema[-Kleefstra, Amsterdam] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 23 cm.
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24209

Feb.22nd 39

Dear Madame Sheltema.

Thank you very much for your kind letter. I did not write sooner partly because of the inclosed Manifesto we had to get out and even more so because of my anxiety about my Spanish comrades. Trying to trace them in the various concentration camps by means of correpondence takes up all my time and energy. I do not know whether the Dutch Press have had much to say about the appalling conditions in the camps. The papers here have given hair raising discriptions of the physical mental and spiritual suffering of the tens of thousands,men,women and children in the camps. It is a commentary on France, the country once considered the cradle of liberty to permit human being to live in what one correspondent called "HELL ON EARTH". I have a suspicion that the Deladier government are purposely trying to break the will of the refugees in or er to make them consent to return to Franco. Of course the Dela iers and their kind cannot imagine that Spanish revolutionists would rather suffer than accept anything from the man who has drenched Spanish soil in rivers of blood of the Spanish people. Anyhow I feel heart broken over the situation and my inability to achieve more than I have so far for my comrades

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24210

I had intended to ship two caises of printed Spanish material to the Institute but a letter from my good friend Arthur Muller-Lehning yells me it would be useless to do so as it would only have to be returned to England. I rather think he is right. In any event see him an decide between you about the shipment. You see my friend Lilian Wolfe Kaeli has a very safe place, she has written me she would take great care of my Spanish corres pondence which is now more than ever of great value, and she would also store the printed matter. Or I can leave it with an another good and reliable friend who has a house in the country. I will wait you reply before I decide difinitely.

I am leaving here the 31st of next month for Paris, from there April 8th for Canada. I will of course write you again and give you my Canadian address.

Please tell Dr.K.N I have received his card. Greetings to him

Sinserely

617

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 22 [London to John] Andersson, [Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Feb.22nd 39

Dear comrade Andersson.

Since you have someone who can translate English I might as well write in this language much easier to me than German.

First of all here is the bill for the printing of 15,000 of the Menfesto,pstage and a few incidentals such as bus fare for the comrades who helped and who are unemployed. We have mailed a great many to various branches of trade and labor unions the labor an trade press and bundles to comrades in Glasgow, South Wales, and a number of other towns. Saturday and Sunday we will be able to give out quite a number athe Bus drivers mass meeting to be a dressed by Stafford Scrippsand the open air dem onstration of the Labor Party on Trfalger Square Sunday after noon. We have also sent copies to America and Canada. I do not think we need to spend more money for an additional five thousand copies. We think it would be better to wait until the I.W.M.A has another Manifesto.

But there is another matter which came to our attention to day we have been asked for some pamphlet that sets forth the AIMS AND OBJECTS of the I.W.M.A and gives its affiliations. Of course we ha the pamphlet issued in 1922. But in the first place it is out of print,in the second it is also of date in the light of the Spanish events. Some changes were

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24287

agreed upon at the last Congress was [illegible] and would they be enough to revalue the finer values of the AIM AND OBJECTS OF THE I.W.M.A? Finally would the Secretariat consider a new edition? Let me know.

One thing is certain absolutely nothing is known in England about the INTERNATIONAL WORKING MENS AS.. And if it is to become known much ground work will have to be done among them some statement of its aims either by means of the old pamhlet or a simplier thing written now and repeated manifestos. Unfort unately we have no means whatever at our disposal. We have nothing left of the CNT_FAI fund and we can of course not touch any money sent us for SIA. It is for this reason that I suggest you and the other comrades consider the proposed campaign in England and decide what you want done about it.

Fraternally.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 22 [London to] Peggy [Guggenheim, London] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 29 × 20 cm.

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23430

Feb.22nd 39

Dear Peggy. You have no idea how excited I was going up to your studio and then meeting you on the strairs.My hearth thumped violently I could hardly control my voice. You see I was afraid you willresent my looking you up. I am so glad to have found you the same old Peggy.

I have been living in England since the latter part of 1936. I never was more lonely in my life. I suppose I do not know how to break through the British reserve. I have tried hard enough. But I must confess to having failed. Except for a very few most warmhearted among them Ethel Mannin I feel as friendless now as I felt when I got here. That is why I longed so much to meet some of my old American friends,uou mostly. And that is why I plucked up courage to seek you out. Believe me it required mor courage for that than in the olden days when I had to face the police.

The above is my office address and telephone,but I am not here every day,but you can reach me where I live almost every day until one o/c and tomorrow, Friday and Satruday all day The address is 6,Sneath Avenue London N.W.11.It is Golders Green the telephone is Speedwell 71 35. Monday I shall be at the office all afternoon. I will be so glad to see you again soon.

Always with my affection.

870925533

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 22 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.
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17359

Feb.22nd 39

Dearest Ethel.

Thanks for your letter. I think the draft for the Film letter will have to be amplified a bit.I will do it tomorrow and send it back to you. Ralph is busy with the inclosed Manifesto we are sending out to branches of Trade Unions and Labor,besides there is no desperate hurry about the Film letter.

Dearest we have received the inclosed letter. Its good to find people anxious to do something that will help the refugees but I fear they will not be allowed to get into the camps. News papermen even have been barred so it is certain no one else ex cept authorised by the French authorities are allowed in. The writers of the letter seem very inexperienced else they would not say they could help in the camps.No one but French people are permitted to help. Another thing is that we do not send food lorries. All in all I really do not see how we can assist these eager people. I wish we could for it is a thousand pitiss to refuse the first earnest offer to be of help. Will you write them to this effect.

I was delighted to hear from Ralph that there are a forty pounds for you to send to Camara. If only your letters

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17360

appear in the papers we would get very much more.

I have difinitely decided to leave England around the 31st of next month, stay a week in Paris and sail April 8th for Montreal. I feel I must see our comrades from the CNT_FAI and SIA again for there is no saying if I will ever see them again. They are trying to get asylum in some South America country or Mexico. I therefore feel that I will be cut off from them for a long time. I hate to spend an extra 35/ the difference between the price in the fare between booking in Londonor Paris. But I'd rather forgo other things in order to see my comrades whom I have known when they were at the heights and now in the depths of misery and defeat. I was moved to tears last night when I read the appeal of the CNT. in the French Syndicalist paper. They appeal to the men and women in the camps to hold high their hopes of a rebirth no matter what their physical and mental suffering is now. Really dear I have never known such unconquerable people.

I am sure Liza would be delight to spend a quiet afternoon with you any time you will ask her. And of course I always love being with you. Please do not think I am exaggerating when I say I know bo one in England who is such balm to mydist urbed and rebellious spirit as you.

Yes, I wante the Huxley volume. Please send it at your convinience. I am reading the Laugham work. I find it very interesting. I also have a volume containing a lot of suppos expert articles about Russia. I want to go over it and Ian wants to read it. We will return it afterwards.

Darling you have done so much for mehow can the se measure up to it. Its only that I know you loved the collor.

870929380

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 23 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Paris?] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 25 × 20 cm.
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20524

Feb.23rd 39

My dear Augustine. I had hoped that ~~the~~ our friendship of so many years would not let you take in bad faith my last letter. Surely you must know that I had no desire to hurt you in anyway.But that the unrushing wave of Catalonia and Barcelona had swept over me with frightful force. You see my dear I should have drawned had I not grabbed the last straw of hope that all is not lost in Spain. I was therefor completely crushed when I got your defeatist article It would not have effected me from anybody else.But from you who had always been overoptimistic and whose faith in the methods of our comrades had so often carried me along it completely knocked the bottom from under me. So you must not be angry with me my dear even if my letter was harsh. Children should not habor a grievance against their mothers.And you have been as my own child all these years.

Please dear Autgustine forgive me and write me about our poor suffering comrades.I am nearly mad with anxiety and with the feeling of being so cut off as if I were already in Canada. I am in such a state I can hardly stand it here any more. I would ~~ex~~ go on to Paris and wait there for the 8th of April when I intend to sail.But I still have somethings to do here to help what ever little work comrade Ralph Barr will continue in my absence.

At the request of Andersson for the I.A.A we translated and printed the inclosed Manifesto which has gone out to many labor branches and it will also be distributed at big demonstrations.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 23 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Paris?] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Unfortunately it contains two grave omissions,in the line where it should read "the proud declaration of the International Working Men's Ass"it read the International Associaition which makes no sense. Then the signature,International Working Men's Ass was completely left out. In as much as no one in England has ever had of the I.W.M.A no one will know what these initials standx for. Worse luck it is my own oversight which I can only explain by my disturbed present state of mind. I wrote comrade Andersson that if the I.W.M.A could afford it it would be worth while to keep up the circulation of their Manifestos. It might gradually awaken th interest of the Left,non Communist elements in Labor and trade union ranks here.

Give my love to Therese and your son and take some for yourself. Please write me as soon as possible about everything.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 23 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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16997

Feb.23rd 39

Ethel Dearest. Here is the changed text I suggest for the letter about the film. Please "englisise"it. I know there is a vast difference between English and American English so I am grateful to have someone who can make what I say more paletable to the English masses.

We cannot make arrangements after a bout projectors or operators.Each organisation or group that will want the film will have to do that themselves. It were different if like the Communists we had our own projector;or operator. As it is it would mean a lot of extra work for Ralph whoch we should no impose on him when I will sail. Do you not agree?

Of course,my dear you are not to sign the letter. Ralph who had acted as treasurer before might act as Hon.secretary treasurer. But would you object to the use of SIA paper stationary? If so we can print couple of hundred sheets with a new heading. It just struck me that we will have to do that as we cannot give Ralph as secretary treasurer with your name appearing as such on the SIA stationary. Its alright anyway.

870925357

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[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 23 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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16990

I suggest that you wait a little longer with sending the money to Marseille. It seems that Lucia Sharpe Saornil is now in complete charge of the care of the refugees. Her address is c/o SIA. 26 rue de Crussol- Paris XI. Please ask Aegis to write a letter in French to her that she should let you know at once where money is to be sent, to her or Camara? You will have to use a double envelope, the inside addressed to her name, the outside the SIA in Paris. I rather think all our Spanish comrades must be extremely careful about their mail. So it is best to use double envelopes.

I hope the papers will bring your letters. It would help the returns very considerable.

Mearie please type the letter for our film so it can be sent to the house that did your appeal, I mean with directions how it is to be set up and whatever is to be done in heavy type, or any other instruction.

With love.

626

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 23, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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24246

London Feb.23rd 39

Liber Helmut.

Danke fur Deinen vom 19ten d.m.s Ich weiss wie beschaftigt Du sein musst und ich zogere immer Dir zu schreiben und Dich zu bitten mir wissen zu lassen wie es mit unsere ungluck liche Spanier geht. Aber ich bin hier so verzweifelt abgeschnitten von allem und so besorgt um ~~xxxxxx~~ unsere Kamaraden ich kann es fast gar nicht mehr aushalten. Ich wurde soffort meine paar Sachen packen und nach Paris kommen.Mehr asl meine Existence hier kostet ~~xxxxx~~ es dort auch nicht sein.Es ist nur dass ich hier noch einiges zu tun habe vor meiner entgultigen Abreise nach Kanada. Unter anderem haben wir dass Manifest der I.A.A in ein anstandiges English ubersezt und drucken lassen.Andersson schrieb mir die I.A.A furde fur 15,000 examplare bezahlen. Der gute Genosse wolte dass wir 25,000 herstellen lassen, er weiss nicht dass wir nicht einmal die Leute haben die uns mit der Verteilung helfen wurden. Immer hin haben wir 15,000 gedruckt und teils per Post an verschiedene Gewekschaften und von Hand zu Hand verteilt. Lieder ist mir bei dem Englischen Text etwas unangenemes passiert, the Working Men's wurde in einem Satz ausgelassen und die Unterschrift International Working Men's Association wurde weggelassen. Das ist insofern unangenem als ja hier niemand von unsere Internationale weiss und das Manifest solte daher dazu dienen sie einzufuren. Damit dass nur the initiale angegeben wird,so durfte kein Mensch wissen waw I.W.M.A bedeutet. Ich habe mich nicht wenig geargert als ich das Menifest ~~xxx~~ vom Drucker bekam und meine unverantwortliche Nach lassigkeit bemerkte. Ich schrieb Andersson ich kann dieses nur meinem jeztigen Geisteszustand zuschreiben den die Catalonische Katastrophe und die grauenhafte Leiden unsere Kamaraden in den Konzentrations Camps haben mich schon benahe narrisch gemacht.

Ich habe jezt fest beschlossen den 25,oder 26 ten Marz nach Paris zu kommen und den 8ten April nach Kanada abzusegeln. Ich muss unsere Spanier umbedingt noch einmal sehen,denn wer weiss ob wir uns spater noch wiedersehen werden. Vasquez un Hererra schrieben wie Du aus ihre Briefe ersehen wirst dass sie jezt alle Krafte ansetzen um irgend ein Asyl zu einer Kolonie zu finden. Mir stockt der Athem wenn ich daran denke dass unsere Kampfer verstreut werden sollen in alle Teile der Welt wo sie nichts mehr fur Spanien werden leisten konnen. Ich hatte gehofft dass es vilen wenn auch nicht allen gelingen wird nach dem Centrum zu kommen. Denn wie es scheint haben unsere Leute dort die Absicht weiter zu kampfen.Mondestens scheinen die Swedische Genossen dieser Meinung zu sein.Denn Ander sson schrieb mir VAL waere in Paris gewesen und die CNT hatte den beschlossen der Kamf soll weiter gekampft werden. Wie sie es fertig bringen werden ist mir unbegreiflich,hauptsachlich wenn das blutige Franco regime anerkannt wird. Es ist eine Tortur nichts difinitives zu erfaren was eigentlich unter den Genossen vorgeht.

Ich war herzlich froh dass auch Michel der Gefar ent kommen ist. Und Manzana,was ist es mit ihm? Vielleicht bittest Du Michel mir zu schreiben wenn er nicht gar zu mitgenommen ist von seine Strapatzen und Leiden. Und was ist mit Klose? Ist der end lich entkommen.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 23, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p.; 29 × 21 cm.

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24247

Ich lege hier zwei Brife mit von Vazquez and Hererra und meine Antwort an H. Du wirst sehen dass H.und dieandernGenossen von dem FAI Committee den Zusammenbruch Catalonias und hauptsechlich Barcelonas vorausgesehen haben,aber dass sie schliesslich ebenso wenig getan haben wie die CNT um dieses zu verhindern. Man solte meinen sie wu den alle jezt dafur sein dass man endlich den ganzen Sachverhalt unserer eigen Prese am wenigsten zukommen zu lassen. Ich furchte aber Negrins angablicher Mut den Kampf weiter zu fuhren es wieder unmoglich macht ihn und sein regime bloss zustellen. Wie Du sehen wirst habe ich Hererra gefragt ob man jezt offen und erlich schreiben oder reden kann hauptschalich wegen die elende Handlungen der Stalin Banditen. Ich weiss nicht ob Du die SOZIAL ISTISCHE WARTE liest. In der lezten Nummer war ein Artikel uber die gemeine Methoden der Czechischer Kommunisten den andern poitischen Fluchtlingen gegenuber,ubd auch die unerhorte Grausamkeit Moscows die die Czechische Politische der Gefar uberliess in Hitlers Hande zu fallen. Wie lange noch wird man die kommunistische Verater shutzen? Ich mochte sagen man macht sich mit unserm Schweigen zu helfer dieser Verbrecher.Ich kann fast nicht mehr an mir halten, anderseits furchte ich den Kamaraden zu schaden.

Schon deswegen muss ich unsere Leute sehen. Ich weiss nanlich uberhaupt nicht wozu ich nach Kanada reso oder woruber ich dort reden soll,wenn man nicht offen und erlich sprechen kann. Jede Kein Mensch verstat was eigentlich in Katalonian und Barceloan passierte,gerade in Barcelona der fruchtbarste Boden fur unsere Ideeen und unsere Militanten . Vazquez schreibt ich soll nach K. um dort Mittel aufzutreiben fur die Kolonisation der Fluchtlinge Aber um das zu erriechen muss man im Stande sein die wirklichen Ursachen des Debakles den Arbeitern Kanadas vorzu legen.

Ich hoffe man wird Dir wieder einen Verlangerten Aufent halt geben,denn gerade jezt ist Deine Anwesenheit in Paris so notwendig.

Bitte,bitte schreibe mir recht bald etwas ausfurlicher oder vielleich t kann es Dora tun,oder Michel. Ich bin wirklich der Verzweiflung nahe. Grusse all Kamaraden und auch Dora.

Herzliche Grusse.

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[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 23 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].— 2 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

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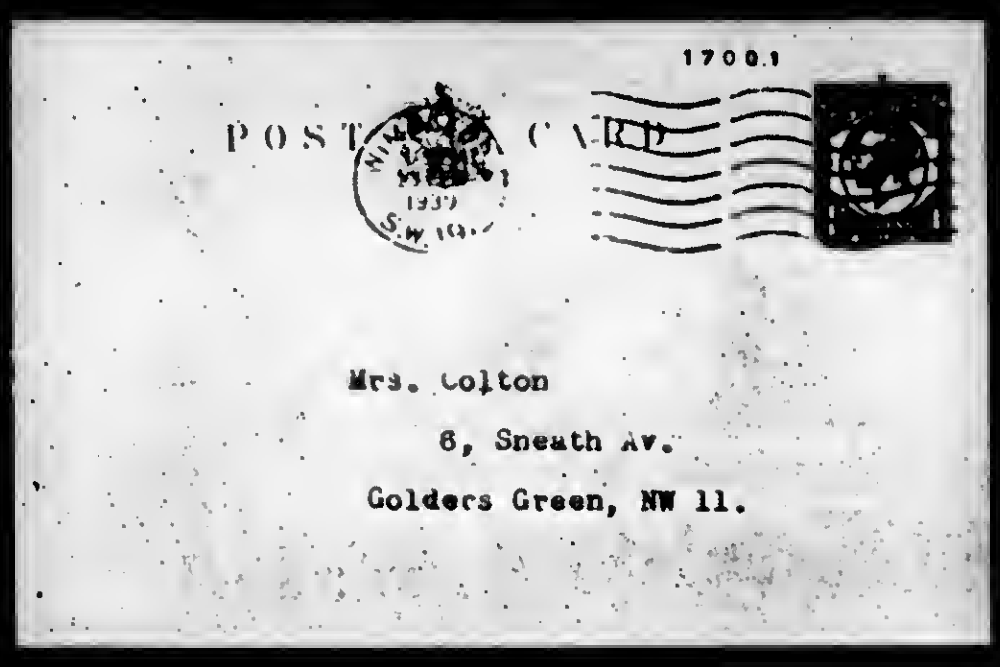

1700.1

POST CARD

Mrs. Colton

6, Sneath Av.

Golders Green, NW 11.

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17002

Feb. 23rd 1939

I have written to the Ruskin College chap - as you say it does seem a shame not to be able to use such enthusiasm and eagerness; I have suggested that he write to Pires who may be able to suggest a way in which he and his friends could be useful.

The Huxley book is being posted to you today.

I think myself the opening par. of the Manifesto should be rewritten-it reads as though the war is still at its height, as though the manifesto was written befor the fall of Barcelona.

No more for now. Let me know what you decide about the film letter, whether Sonia will sign it or you or whether it will be just an unsigned leaflet (duplicated)

Haste. Love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 23 [Marseille, France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin [Gudell]. – 5 p. ; 30 × 23 cm.
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23. 2. 1939. 23392

Meine liebe und gute Emma:

Nie habe ich gedacht einen Brief von Ihnen so schnell zu bekommen. Mir scheint es als ob ich noch in Spanien bin und ich soll auf den Antwort wenigstens zwei Wochen warten. Als ich Ihnen schrieb habe den Absicht gehabt sofort nach Paris zu fahren und deswegen gab ich Ihnen die Adresse von Bureau, inzwischen aber die Geschehnisse sind so gegangen, dass ich wollte einige Tage noch in Mars. bleiben. Diese Tage verlängern sich und ich sitze hier bis heute. Ich habe viel was zu tun;

Ich bin Ihnen sehr dankbar für alles was Sie gemacht haben für meine Einreise nach U.S.A. Ich hoffe es wird gelingen eine Einreise Erlaubnis zu bekommen. Die Amerikanische Behörde können mir nur dann ~~so~~ verweigern wenn sie erklären etwas von die Kowno Geschichte. In die Erklärung habe ich ge-

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sagt, dass ich kann direkt von die U.S.A nach Spanien. Wir werden hoffen dass es klappen wird. Die Unterschriebene Papiere und mein Certificate of Birth sind nach Washington geschickt. Das hat der Konsul von Marseille selbst getan. Er ~~hat~~ sagte mir dass in drei Wochen ich werde ein Antwort haben.

Jetzt etwas von ~~bei~~ Spanien: Ich glaube auch dass die Genossen von Zentrum weiter kämpfen werden und weiter kämpfen wollen. Ich weiss auch dass ~~ein~~ 75% von unsere Genossen haben verlangt nach die Zona Zentrum befördert zu werden. Das die gute kämpfer sind, niemand zweifelt es, aber ob sie werden Möglichkeit weiter zu kämpfen hab das ist eine andere Frage. Es kann passieren was passierte in Katalonien. Die franz. Regierung hat erlaubt Waffeneinfuhr, aber die Waffen sind gekommen wenn Barcelona

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gefallen ist ich habe ~~die~~ unsere Genossen gesehen sie an die erste Linie gewesen sind und haben nichts mehr gehabt als zwei Handgranaten. Nachdem sie ~~da~~ es geworfen haben gegen Tanks, haben nichts mehr gehabt. So ging die Sache bis Mittwoch. So sind die Faschisten bis zu Barcelona gekommen. Mittwoch sie hatten schon ein Teil von Montjuich und Hospitallet. Alle wollten sich zu verteidigen aber gabs kein Munition. Als die Bevölkerung sah das gibt's keine Verteidigungsmittel von Montag an haben angefangen Barcelona zu verlassen. Montag, Dienstag und Mittwoch es war etwas schreckliches: die Leute habe geweint vor Wut, die Faschistische Aviation hat dauernd bombiert und nicht 2-3 Apparate, sondern 15-20. Von unsere Seite gab es kein einziger Apparate. Von Dienstag vormitag die Artilerie gegen die Avions hat aufgehört zu schiessen, weil gabs kein Munition. Und wenn schon so ein Bild ist, sehr schwer was zu machen

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Erst Mittwoch Nachmittag sind die erste Waffen gekommen. Die Moral von die Antifaschisten ist aber verloren. Einige Gruppen von unsere Genossen haben die Feinde weg von Montjuich gejagt, einige Dutzend von die Faschisten festgenommen, haben angefangen neue Artilerie einrichten in Tibidabo und Montjuich... die Faschisten aber sind schon so nah gewesen, dass die haben mit Handgranaten Tibidabo genommen. Und wenn Barcelona gefallen ist, ist der Mut gefallen, und niemand war fähig etwas zu machen. Alle haben geglaubt dass Barcelona wird nie fallen, wenn Sie aber gefallen ist, alle haben sein Glauben an die Möglichkeit zu siegen verloren. — Also wenn in Zentrum die werden Waffen haben, dann werden Sie sich verteidigen können, sonst wird alles sehr schwer gehen.

Simon ist mit mir den ganzen Zeit gewesen. Wir haben viel Mühe gehabt um die Archive zu retten. Wir haben unser Pflicht getan. Uns wurde versprochen die Papiere, als wir aber nach Frankreich kamen, sind wir verhaftet und nach Argeles ~~ge~~ befördert. Unterwegs sind

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wir gefogen und begaben uns nach Perpignan. Simon wurde wieder in Perp. verhaftet und ich hab Glück gehabt weiter zu fahren können. Die Genossen machen alles um den Simon zu befreien.

Meine Sekretärin hat eine Grosse Tragödie. Montag Abend hat Sie Nachricht bekommen dass Ihr Mann Tot ist und Dienstag sollte Sie Barna verlassen. Noch dazu Sie ist schwanger, schon 7 Monate. Sie wollte nicht weg von Barna. Sie wollte lieber da sterben. Ich habe Sie übersenqt wegzufahren. Jetzt Sie ist auch schon in Frankreich, wohnt bei unserm alten Chauffeur (Egea) der Mit Ihnen und Kaminski hat die Reise nach Valencia gemacht. Meine Genossin ist zusammen mit die Sekretärin.

Ich hörte dass Sousa geht schon besser und er wird schnell gesund. Von Esgleas weiss ich auch nichts: letztens ich habe Ihn in ein Dorf Pont de Molins an die Grenze, gesehen. Ich hoffe er wird in Frankreich. Alaiz ist mit mir durch die Grenze gegangen und ist frei. Federica und sein Vater frei, in Frankreich

Für heute ich werde schluss machen und später werde mehr von die letzte Tage schreiben. Schreiben Sie bitte an Dieselbe Adresse Herzliche Grüsse Martin

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24th February, 1939

Dear C.V.,

What a strange fellow you are. You either write 20 pages by hand which demonstrates that no man can give greater love, or you relapse into silence for years. If I did not hear about you occasionally either through Yaffe, or in a roundabout way I should not know what has become of you. It is true that I too was remiss for a long time. My excuse is that I have had two and a half most strenuous years working for our wonderful comrades in Spain. I don't know whether I have already written you before that the Spanish Revolution coming on top of the untimely end of my pal, Alexander Berkman, was like a ray of light from a bleak sky. It actually saved my life, made me feel years younger and made me believe implicitly in the ultimate victory of the heroic Spanish people. That kept me at work many hours a day and often nights, and made it impossible for me to keep up all my correspondence, especially the personal ones. That is myexcuse for having neglected you for so long. What excuse have you? Well, there is no use in holding each up to account. I have always had too much faith in you to think for a moment that because you do not write you have cast me out, and I know that you have felt the same.

I wish I could write you a cheerful letter this time, but the tragedy of Catalonia has swept over me like an inrushing tide. I was not foolish enough to believe that our comrades will have an easy task surrounded as they were by enemies within and without, especially the cowardly silence of the workers in every country, the intrigues and manoeuvres of the Communists and the treachery of the so-called Democracies, allthis seemed insurmountable. Nevertheless I could not get myself to believe, when I was in Barcelona in October, that the end would come so soon. Why it came you will earn from copies of two letters which I am enclosing in the letter I have written Yaffe. The one is from a very reliable member of the Committee of the F.A.I., and the other is my reply which I had to dictate in Spanish while the letter to me was translated into English for my use. I have impressed on Yaffe that

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these are not for publication, but it is necessary that the more intimate comrades should know about the factors responsible for the collapse of Catalonia and the surrender Barcelona. I am enclosing a copy of my report about my last visit to Barcelona. It is unfortunately not complete. Since the catastrophe I have been unable to do any further writing, but it is contains enough to show that when I was i Barcelona in October the comrades of the National Confederation ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ were millions of miles removed from the blow they were called upon to sustain in January. The comrades of the F.A.I. were by far better aware of the impending calamity. They warned the others. Unfortunately they were not listened to, and so all of them had to pay the price. They have already sacrificed so much and suffered so deeply that I for one have not got it in my heart to join the chorus that will cry, "I told you so". Certainly I was never blind to the compromises and concessions made by the C.N.T., nor did I keep my attitude from the comrades. True, I did not follow the bad example of some of the anarchists i America who condemned them in public print without having be in Spain and without knowing the superhuman forces arrayed against the Spanish comrades, but I made it clear to the National Committee and its leading men every time I came bac to Spain, and yet although I saw the danger ahead I did not think it possible that the debacle would be so great. My one consolation is the spirit of the Spanish militant element. It will never be broken, no matter what Franco does, short of killing them off. I am certain that though the Revolution is defeated it is not for long. The Spaish people will rise again and again until they will achieve their freedom and their independence.

There is one thing that has reconciled me somewhat wi the concessions the National Confederation of Labour has made It is that they sternly turned their face away from dictatorship. There was more than one occasion when our people coul have possessed themselves of power, but it would have meant dictatorship and the same measures as used in Russia, the extermination of every opponent. I rather think that future historians will emphasise this as one of the greatest assets to the Spanish Revolution and to the anarcho-syndicalitst and anarchists. Of course it is true that they who would hav none of dictatorship are being crushed by dictatorship, ~~but~~ I

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Nevertheless I am romantic enough to cling to my belief that dictatorship is simply not compatible with our ideas. Just at present I am too ill from the terrible collapse in Catalonia to be able to clarify my own thoughts as to what other methods can safeguard a revolution and the revolutionists. I know that our people have made irreparable mistakes, but also I know that one cannot learn without mistakes, so perhaps the Spanish anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists who have sacrificed so much and who are now suffering beyond belief, will learn something constructive for their future struggle out of it all.

April 8th I will sail for Canada, but I am leavng here the latter part of March to be a few days in Paris. I may not be able to help our comrades very much with my presence, but I feel I must see them again. I have never known richer comradeship, more wonderful hospitality and kindness than I have received from them on every visit I made to Spain. No matter what I have done to help them these thirty months, it is as nothing compared to what they gave me. I am really going to Paris for selfish reasons, to be able to see them once more because I fear I may not see them again. At the same time I do not know why I am going to Canada. I only know I must have a chance and get away from here. Of late I have stopped hoping that I will be permitted to re-enter the States. Letters from the friend who wanted to help are very discouraging. I was looking forward especially to a visit to California and to meeting you all again, but that cannot be helped. Perhaps when I get to British Columbia you might be able to come to Vancouver. You know the saying, If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must come to the mountain.

I wonder what has become of your scheme of giving me "a nice comfortable and peaceful old age". My good friend, John Cowper Powys once wrote me that a lady of my age should sit back and have the world come to her instead of her coming to the world. Even if I had the means it will never be in my make-up to sit back and idly reflect on the comedies and tragedies of mankind. Anyway I would like to know whether you still contemplate doing anything about that scheme. I had no faith in it then, and I cannot say that I have any more now. Anyway write me soon. With love to Sadie,

Affectionately,

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[Letter] 1939 Feb. [24, London to] C[assius] V. C[ook, Los Angeles (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. – 5 p. ; 26 × 22 cm.

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Rec'd 3-14-39 Lec

Extract from letter.

This is mine – E.G.

..... The events in Catalonia and Barcelona have been too much even for my iron nerves. I feel too crushed to be able to concentrate on worth while writing, but I may before long pull myself together and then I will send you an appeal which might be printed in America and sent out together with the Bulletin. For the present Ethel Mannin and I have got out an appeal for immediate help to those who have already contributed. Unfortunately we do not have many friends we can reach, so what will come in in response will probably prove a grain of dust. I have also received an appeal from the International Working Men's Association from Sweden which we have translated and are printing in many copies for distribution. I will send you a few copies in my next letter.

I already had an answer from Angelica to the letter which you were good enough to give her, and I have just written her a reply. What I have written regarding Spain may also furnish you with the necessary explanation of the collapse of Catalonia and the fall of Barcelona. Angelica writes that she foresaw the tragedy of Spain. My reply is as follows:

"This can be due only to two factors, first your general hopelessness about world affairs and secondly because you have not been in Spain and seen with your own eyes the spirit of the people and the marvellous constructive achievements of the workers and peasants. Unfortunately the evil hour began when Soviet Russia, after three and a half months, the most critical months indeed, finally decided to help Spain with arms. It was indeed an evil hour, it was the beginning of the end. From the moment Russian arms and Stalin's satraps arrived, the process of boring from within began, until Stalin's power spread like a contagious disease over revolutionary Spain infecting everybody, even some of my own comrades.

"You and I know what Stalin's dictatorship has done in Russia. I can tell you it is as nothing compared with what it has done in Spain. During my last visit I succeeded in sending out documentary evidence of the crimes committed by the Spanish Russian Cheka, the number of men in the army killed, the frightful destruction of the collectives and the demoralisation, the insidious propaganda from Russia successfully spread. All this reached the pinnacle in the May events, but even as late as May, 1937, it was still time to check the frightfulness of Stalin's agents. Alas, the leading men in the C.N.T. and some of my F.A.I. comrades were naive enough to believe that the Communists as a party could not possibly be responsible for the

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frightfulness created by them. Then, too, they were the first and the last to make concession after concession so as to keep the anti-Fascist front intact. They are now paying dearly for it, paying in blood, ideals and in life. The most heart-breaking thing about the collapse of everything is the fact that the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. had built up a powerful movement over a period of many years, a movement for which they had been hounded and persecuted, imprisoned and checked a thousand times. Then to come into its own on the glorious 19th of July, to see the first beginning of the dream realised, to have every opportunity and every chance which they had in the palm of their hands torn from them and gradually robbed of strength and fervour - that is the tragedy of tragedies.

"As to the horrible condition of the refugees, for myself I should have preferred death at Franco's hand rather than to be exposed to the horrors of tramping the road from Barcelona to the French border, cold, starved and under constant bombardment, and then to be placed in a perfect hellhole of concentration camps and treated like criminals - that is the hardest thing to bear for me, and I know for many of the comrades the insult and the humiliation they are subjected to must be greater agony than even the hunger and the cold.

"In point of truth, the Spanish people were betrayed by the entire international proletariat - yes, also by the so-called Democratic Governments, but then I for one never expected anything better from any Government, whatever its name. But the hardest thing to face was the indifference and inertia of the workers in every country."

This then was the state of affairs which began almost immediately with the arrival of Russian arms in return for heavy payment in gold, and it was this which undermined the morale of the people who knew about the pernicious activities of the Communists in Spain. Nor was it only in Spain. Time and again the Communists in this country vilified our comrades of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. by spreading the rumour that Catalonia sabotaged the Aragon front and Madrid. In point of truth it was Barcelona that supplied arms to those fronts and to every other front, never thinking of the possibility of the moment when arms would be necessary to defend this part of Spain, and not only arms but also men and provisions. Then came the triumphant march of Franco through Catalonia and the need of defence all along the line as well as Barcelona. For your information I wish to say that as late as January 25th at 9.30 in the evening our people still were determined to defend Barcelona, but it dawned on them with overwhelming force that their arms were not adequate. In addition was a civil

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population undernourished for a year, without bread the last four days, without water or light the last 48 hours, and all through the agony ten or twelve bombardments a day. Our people felt that to continue this uneven battle would only mean to add to the agony of the people of Barcelona and would also not be a guarantee that the morale of the civil population could be depended upon. It was then that they decided to evacuate. Our comrade, Mariano Vazquez, the general secretary of the C.N.T., and several other comrades, broadcast for the last time to the people of Barcelona suggesting that they should leave. Indeed so long did he continue to save everybody who wanted to get out that it became almost too late for him and his family to leave. This, my dear, is all I can tell you about the collapse of a great beginning, the greatest in history, and of a struggle that does not know its equal in many centuries.

As to what will become of central and southern Spain, that is difficult to say at this writing. I am certain that the people there are determined to fight on to the uttermost, but I have no faith whatever in the Negrin Government, not that I have faith in any government, but Negrin has proven weak, ineffectual and ready to sell out. For that, too, I have documentary proofs. Nothing is so ridiculous to me than to read what Negrin or anyone else of the Government say about "we will fight to the end" when the people do the fighting and pay the price. I wish I could give you more detailed descriptions. Unfortunately the material I have cannot be disclosed until our comrades themselves have settled whether to go on or surrender their achievement. For the present their plight is heartrending. Tens of thousands of refugees, while granted "asylum" by the French authorities, are being kept as prisoners under the most appalling conditions. What will become of them when England and France recognise Franco's rule I cannot contemplate, and what country will let them in if they should want to settle anywhere. Already some of the French papers write that "the Anarchists and undesirables will have to be disposed of". The same writers are good enough to say that for the rest of the refugees they should be put in the French Army, "surely they will want to show their gratitude for the hospitality given them by our Government". It is all so tragic and one is so terribly helpless to do anything really vital.

I was surprised to learn that Nore was once an Anarchist. It must have been in his infancy because all through the years I have known him and of him he was first a social democrat working on the social democratic paper, the New York Volks Zeitung. Then he became an ardent Bolshevik, so much so that when my articles against Soviet Russia appeared

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. [24, London to] C[assius] V. C[ook, Los Angeles (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. – 5 p. ; 26 × 22 cm.
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In the New York World, he was in the chorus that cried "Crucify". He attacked me, suggesting that I had sold myself to the capitalist and counter-revolutionary class. In 1937 he was in London and he called me on the 'phone to ask whether he could see me. As I was never able to harbour a grievance very long, I naturally consented. He came to assure me that he had deeply deplored his attitude towards me, that he now realised I was right in 1922 and that he no longer believed in the State, but I suppose it is true that the lion changes his skin but not his nature, so I can see that Lore again believes very much in the State if he can be sympathetic to Daladier because of what he learned from Bullitt and Kennedy. I do not know what it can possibly be that should induce anyone who is clear-headed about the function of the State, to believe in Daladier. He is not only a rank reactionary, but a coward to boot. It was he who was responsible for the wanton slaughter of the men during the demonstration in 1934 and it is he who is entirely the tool of the large industrialists in France, particularly the Comite des Forges and all the munition manufacturers. True, he fears nothing so much as to hurt the feelings of Mr. Chamberlain and the National Government, but that is not the only reason for having broken the general strike and for being determined to serve only his master class. While I should never charge Bullitt with being a coward I do charge him with being a carerist. True, he was once in sympathy with the Russian Revolution and for a long time after served Stalin as he served Lenin before, but the moment he saw the greater advantages of serving the United States he acquiesced without much compunction. You can therefore see that there is no reliance on Bullitt's he has changed not only his skin but also his character. As for Kennedy, I do not know him and therefore do not feel justified in writing about him. I do know, however, that he is an official and undoubtedly carries out the orders of the State Department. How then can any clear-headed man, which Lore is supposed to be, believe anything he gets from those quarters? Do not imagine that I have any ill-feeling against Lore, not in the least, but I have so little faith in journalists and he is primarily that, I always treat everything they tell me with more than one grain of doubt.

Ab 34

As regards Roosevelt I think the man began with good intentions, but soon proved that he lacks the stamina to hold out against Wall Street and against the military clique who want war for the sake of war. That of course also includes the Duponts, the Westinghouse and all the other merchants of death. Not for a moment do I believe in Roosevelt's real desire to avert war. On the contrary, his latest stunt, even if he were not properly quoted, that the American frontier is in France,

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proves that he is in no way different from the Chamberlains, Daladiers and the dictators of the Fascist countries. They are all obsessed by competing with each other in unheard of rearmaments, although they must be conscious that this is the very thing which will unavoidably lead to a new world conflagration. On the other hand are the isolationists. They also know where their bread is buttered. They know that to strengthen American imperialism they must keep America out of any European entanglement, for it will be easier to gather the spoils while Europe is wading in blood. Anyway I cannot enthuse over what these politicians, statesmen and journalists have to say. My greater concern is what the people themselves will do. I wish I felt sure that in the coming war the peoples of Germany, Italy and now also Spain would rise to revolutionary heights and throw off the burden they are carrying and the leeches that are sapping their blood, but I have not even that hope. On the contrary I feel certain that not only the common man who has no social consciousness at all, but all socialists, communists and even anarchists, not to speak of the Jews, will rush to the colours of their country the moment the slogan will be Democracy against Fascism. These people never learn anything. They certainly have not learned from the last slogan, the War to end War, the War to Save Democracy. Now, too, they will be deceived by it, forgetting that war has never settled anything. It is only if the people within a country rise to their stature and break their chains that war can at all be justified, but never an imperialist war, -of that I am certain, and I am definitely decided to stand out against it no matter what the consequences.

I am now as certain as I can be at the present moment of sailing for Canada the 8th of April .....

February, 1939.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 24 [London to H. Yaffe, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24th February, 1939.

Dear Comrade,

I have your letter of February 6th. Thank you for it. I am afraid I will not be able to do anything with publishers about "Nationalism and Culture". I keep on telling you, dear comrade, that Rutledge, while speaking of their desire to import 250 sheets of the book, would certainly never take a thousand, no matter what the price is. I cannot even approach them again with such an offer. You do not seem to realise that our comrade is simply not known by the English reading public and no publisher will take any chance of important many sheets of so large a volume. Believe me, I am as deeply interested in furthering our comrade's works as you and the other comrades in Los Angeles. Rudolf Rocker is not only a comrade to me, but a precious friend among the few it has been my fortune to find and to keep all these years. So it is not as if I would not make every effort to make him known. To do that one must be known oneself. When I tell you that after years of struggle I am still persona nongrata in England, you will realise how impossible it is for me to help you in your great and admirable effort in publishing all Rudolf's works.

As I am not sailing for Canada before the 8th April, there is no such great hurry about sending me copies of "The Six" and a few copies of "Nationalism and Culture". You can do so shortly after this letter reaches you. Our comrade Desser is a very poor correspondent. In addition he has been terribly distressed by an accident to his brother which ended in his death and also by a prolonged siege of unemployment. That explains his silence. He is nevertheless one of the most reliable and splendid comrades we have in Toronto.

I have received a cheque for 50 dollars 50 cents from Jeanne Levey which is the amount you sent her I believe. Thank you and the comrades for it. I am enclosing copies of it.

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one from a Spanish comrade, a member of the F.A.I., and my reply. I know that our comrade, Tom Bell, reads Spanish, so he will be able to tell you and a few other comrades what the letter contains. I must however impress upon your mind that ~~xxxxxxxx~~ these two letters are <u>not</u> for publication - they are merely to orientate a few comrades of the disintegrating factors that led to the collapse of Catalonia and the surrender of Barcelona. Later we may be able to publish material which I succeeded in getting out of Spain on my last visit and which contains enough documentary evidence of the treachery and the manoeuvres of the Communists in the Negrin Government, but we cannot do that without the consent of our Spanish comrades. Just now their suffering is beyond belief. A people so proud as they must now knock at the gates of a number of countries for asylum. I dare not think what will become of them if they should be refused. Terrible as the plight of the Spanish people in general is, it is by far greater to our own comrades, as anarchists they are wanted no where and hated with a blind fury. There is no saying where they will be admitted. The world has become so callous that no one cares what will become of tens of thousands of the most heroic people in modern times. Even ~~the~~ supposed to be Left papers in the city write that of course Franco cannot be expected to give full amnesty to those who have committed "all sorts of crimes". It is the old story and probably will continue to be for a very long time - the anarchists are always made to pay. That may be our pride, but also it is our tragedy.

Please remember me kindly to all the comrades.

Fraternally,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 24, London [to] Herbert Read, [Beaconsfield, England] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.

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SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA

(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

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Emma Goldman
Hon. Secretary

Telephone: GERrard 2636

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

24th February, 1939.

Dear Herbert Read,

As you see I [illegible] again to pester you. I really hate to do it, but our [illegible] are very persistent. They probably think I have [illegible] with you. You can fully have been most [illegible] I [illegible] you to if it [illegible] I should not impose on you. Still [illegible] of Wayland, I must ask you again for an article. [illegible] you have read the accounts in the Labour Monthly of the hamstring conditions in the French concentration camps, and I wonder whether you would like to write something about it, or [illegible] the present British Democracy while [illegible] grinning face. Perhaps [illegible] proclaimed to the sky the humiliation [illegible] of the Non-Intervention Pact. Apart from the fact that they knew all along that this Pact [illegible] intervention on behalf of Franco, they have stuck to it like glue, and at the first chance they have intervened ostensibly on Franco's behalf but in reality to be first on the scene in order to be the first to safeguard their own interests. Perhaps you could write on that, or anything that appeals to you.

Let me know, please.

[illegible] I am leaving England [illegible] sailing for Canada. [illegible] I saw them in their glory at the very zenith of their revolutionary fervour, struggle and expectation. I cannot go away without also seeing and helping them in their defeat, although I know that their spirit is still the same - that it has not been scathed. I can see that from every letter I receive. Besides, they are trying to get somebody [illegible] to rescue [illegible] thousands from sure death if they continue in the concentration camps. I want to see

of Read

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[illegible] I want to take [illegible] chance, [illegible] seeing them once more.

I [illegible] much to see you again before I leave. [illegible] please.

Sincerely,

Emma Goldman

E. G. [illegible]
[illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 24 [London to Emily Holmes Coleman] / [Emma Goldman]. – 5 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.
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24th February, 1939.

Dearest Demi,

I received your letter of December 28th of last year. I feel very much ashamed that I did not write sooner, but the last two months have been very agonising months, among the most poignant in my life. First I went to Amsterdam to the Institute I think I wrote you about that now has all of Sasha's correspondence and whatever writing he left, and all my material. It was a terrible experience to dig in the dead past, to go through some of Sasha's letters and especially his diary, to learn of the struggle he made to free himself from E. and his attempt to make her see me as he did and a lot more. I came back battered mentally and physically. Then came the Spanish collapse. It was a greater blow than the disappointment in Russia. Perhaps I should console myself with the fact that my own gallant comrades had been defeated because they would not establish a dictatorship, put all their opponents to the wall and shoot them outright as was done in Russia. I am sure that history will raise them high for that and for other things which they have done, but for the present they are paying heavily.

I am sending you a copy of my report on my last visit to Catalonia. It is not completed. I had intended to do so, but when the catastrophe in Barcelona happened I lost all desire to continue. It seemed so insignificant to put down in words on cold paper the heroic struggle as I saw it and the high hopes entertained by my friends. The deeper is the tragedy that all had come to an end, at least in Catalonia. No, I do not think it is for all time. I know the Spanish people too well to believe for a moment that their defeat is anything but temporary, for their spirit will never permit them to submit to dictatorship or Fascism. It will make them rise again and again until final victory. But that is small comfort to me who probably will not live to see the Renaissance of the Spanish people.

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You know through "Living My Life" and the many talks we had how difficult it was for me to go on living after the debacle of the Russian Revolution. I expressed to you the thought then that I never could survive another such dreadful disillusionment, but so enslaving is the will to life that one goes on although one's mind rebels against the futility of so much sacrifice and so much suffering as the Spanish people have already endured and are likely to endure for heaven knows how long. Of course it is true that t central and southern Spain is still determined to fight on. In their case it will be a fight to death whether they conquer or whether they are defeated. In the case of the latter possibility they will not even have the escape of the Catalan people, no way of reaching the French border without being butchered by Franco and the German and Italian hordes, but I would not for the world dissuade them from going on. I feel as they do it is preferable to die fighting than to surrender - not that my comrades in Catalonia and Barcelona lacked courage to go on. You will see by the extract of a letter I wrote to a friend of mine in New York that it was by no means lack of courage which forced the revolutionary elements in Barcelona to leave their beautiful and passionately-loved city to the enemy. There were other forces much more than my letter contains and which cannot be made public for the present, but the time must come soon when the world will learn that Catalonia would never have fallen and Barcelona never have been given up if it were not for the treachery of the allies of the anarcho-syndicalists and anarchists. For the present I feel stunned, unable to know what to do or how to help my friends. I know I could do something if I were in the States, but I cannot share your certainty, my dear, that I will be let in. Every letter from friends who wanted to help proves more and more that there is no chance. The reaction is two rampant and the new attempt at witch-hunting almost as terrifying as the one during the war and after. No, I do not think I will succeed in re-entering the States, and in all other places I feel utterly lost.

Yes, I am going to Canada. Frankly I have no idea why and wherefore. There, too, fascism is on the increase. Quebec is already that. The new law which is called the Padlock Law is worse than anything I have heard of outside of Germany, Italy and Russia. According to that decree any police officer can break into your house and if he finds a gathering or literature supposed to be Communist he can drive you out, put a padlock on your house or flat and keep you out as long as the law considers it necessary. In other words Montreal is out of the question for any activity for me. I may not even be able to accept the hospitality of some of my friends, as I might get them into trouble through being with them, so I intend to go to a hotel for a few days. As to Toronto, while Fascism is present there as well, still there is an Anglo-Saxon attitude towards the freedom of Press and speech, so I may not be interefed with in my public work, but it would hardly be enough to go to the expense of a trip to Canada for only one city. I will try of course to go as far as British Columbia. I have no certainty. So you see, my dear, I am at sea as I have never been before. It is only that the needs of my Spanish refugees are so desperate and that money is needed for

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placing the tens of thousands in some country that will give them sanctuary - I wish I could be sanguine about their chances of getting in somewhere, but as men and women to whom their ideal is more precious than their lives, most doors in this ruffled world will be closed. I dread to think what will become of them if they fail to find a place.

Dearest Emi, I feel very proud indeed that your year with me has given you the first chance to do your own writing without interference and without material care. You are not only "supposed to be" my secretary during that year, but you were. You helped me more than you can imagine with your understanding and with many other things. True, we often fought violently, and I did feel as Sexe had suggested, like kicking you into the bay, but also I grew terribly fond of you because you helped to enrich that year beyond anything I can repay. Of course I do not judge whether your poetry or writing since that year have gained in quality just because they have not been published. Great work needs a long time for gestation and I would rather you go slow than that you do as so many would-be writers of to-day, turn out a book every four months. But I should like to read some of the things you have created.

You will forgive me, my dear, when I do not quite understand what you mean by a "pure". I do not think that any great poet worth his salt should also be a propagandist. You know how much I have been opposed to that, not merely as applicable to poets but to any truly artistic creation. I have always felt that the thing itself, the poem or story or play, if they have quality, will xxx speak for itself, but also I have maintained and still maintain that nothing truly lasting in creative work can get away from life or what it contains in heights and depths, in joy and sorrow, in human hopes and defeat. If your meaning of pure poet includes that, then your work will remain a living factor, otherwise it will last only for the hour. You probably read of the death of Yeats. There was a very fine article about him in the Sunday Times which I cut out for you. If I can lay my hand on it before this evening I will enclose it. He was certainly a pure poet, millions of miles removed from the struggle of our day, and yet the best thing he has written represents the deepest lament of the injustice and cruelty in the world. So xx xxx you too must not try to get away from life, from <u>all</u> that it contains.

About Ethel Mannin, it will surprise you that she too fights against dividing her thoughts and her energies. It is only that she is not called upon to do much work - I have done all that - that she consented to give her name for International Anti-Fascist Solidarity, our organisation which collects funds and clothes for the unfortunate refugees. She is most unhappy and almost on the verge of a breakdown if she is at work on a book and she is being distracted from it for social work. I am sure every artist must feel that way,

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but on the other hand it is true that Ethel feels deeply with the people, perhaps because she is one of them. She came from the poorest of the poor and had a frightful struggle to assert herself. I don't mean to suggest that you do not also feel - I was certain without your assurance that you are too kind-hearted to pass sorrow or pain wherever you see it. The difference between you and her is simply that Ethel knows the social and economic causes of the mass misery, and that she feels with every fibre the need of helping to change these causes, but being creative she cannot any more than you can or any other artist, divide her energies. However, she has been a tremendous help to me, not only in my work but as a friend. Among the few I have met in London she stands out in her beautiful understanding, her tact and ever-ready helpfulness. It is strange that you should have come in on one of her books at this time. She has written a great many novels, some directly, some indirectly, they are not read, largely because she has written them in haste. She has many responsibilities and they drive her like furies to her writing table and to the need of rushing her work. I wish for her that she could get away from it for a year or two. I am certain she would do much finer writing. You have been more fortunate in this respect because you have always had the help of your father. Believe me, my dear, the economic factor is a great driving force, though of course it is not the only force as our Marxists would have it.

The day before yesterday I went to Peggy's studio. It cost me a lot of effort to do so. You will laugh when I tell you that when I arrived there my heart thumped violently - I was so afraid that she would be resentful because I sought her out after the years that have passed. She was not in but when I went down the stairs I ran into her. We recognised each other of course, but I felt a certain chill in the reception she gave me. I may be mistaken, but the fact that we kept standing in the hall the few minutes we talked and that she did not ask me up to the studio, makes me think that she really was not very eager to renew the old relation ship. I may be mistaken. I'm sure she always been rather my [illegible] to cover up this shyness by demonstration of indifference and aloofness. Anyway, I asked her to meet me somewhere one day. I wrote her a note when I got home and sent her my address. I have not yet had an answer. I do not think that you, my dear, have ever realised what Peggy's break-away has meant to me. If she had only given me a chance I would have explained to her that it was the unfortunate situation with Lawrence at the time of my writing which made it impossible for me to give her more space and attention in "Living My Life" than I did. Don't you see to do Peggy justice I should have had to write about her life with Lawrence, her divorce and all the other things that followed. Since I could not do that at the time it was impossible to write vividly or honestly. Well, there is nothing to be done about this. It seems such a trifling thing to me now, compared with all the stress and storm that have swept over me since - it is hardly worth mentioning, but I wanted you to know because I felt then that even you did not understand.

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I had forgotten that I was in London at the time when you were in New York. Somehow I had got the idea that I too was there. I confess that thinking as I did I was disappointed that you did not come to see me. As you know, life has given me many blows. One such I received from a very old and dear friend of mine, Agnes Smedley. She came to New York while I was there. I wrote her a note saying how much I wanted to see her. Her reply was a note which she dropped in Stella's letter box to the effect that since she was a Communist and was going back to China there was no use our meeting again as we would only argue and she was not in a condition to do so. In other words, her Communism killed all other feelings in her, as it has to everyone who is infected by that virus. When I tell you that Agnes was as close to me as you for a period of years, you will understand how that hurt. Naturally I thought that you, too, had discardedme. I am so glad that this was not the case, and I owe you many apologies for having doubted you. I, too, want very much to see you, my dear. Perhaps we may meet some day, but if you have gone to America the outlook for such a meeting is very remote.

You say nothing about your son. Where is John? I wish I knew if he is in Paris. I would love to see him. I have not forgotten his beautifully radiant face when he came to me with that bowl of plucked tulips, and your terrifying expression lest I would "murder" your son for having destroyed my tulip bed.

I am going to Paris the latter part of March. I am not sailing until the 8th of April, but I simply must see my Spanish comrades again. It may be the last time, for if they should be permitted to settle in one of the South American "Republics" I will certainly not be able to go there. Besides in this mad world, one can make no plans. One drags on one's existence from day to day and from hour to hour. My mail will be forwarded so you can continue to write me to me, Lincoln Avenue, London, N.W. 11.

With a great deal of love,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 24, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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C.N.T. - F.A.I. -

SECRETARIADO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES

C A R T A - C I R C U L A R

Ponemos en vuestro conocimiento que las circunstancias han determinado cese nuestra actividad como SECRETARIADO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES C.N.T.-F.A.I.

Como podreis observar por la circular que adjuntamos del Consejo General del Movimiento Libertario Español, esta decisión se adoptó en beneficio e interés del movimiento, a fín de sacar mayor rendimiento en el trabajo a desarrollar a que nos lanza la pérdida de nuestra guerra, después de prolongados sacrificios y esfuerzos, y que obliga a emprender una nueva etapa de gestión.

No hay otras razones que hayan impulsado estas resoluciones. Y por nuestra parte, solo cabe agradeceros en nombre de las Organizaciones que representamos, el esfuerzo y colaboración que prestasteis a nuestra lucha, que, si se ha perdido, no se debe en absoluto a nosotros, sino a otros sectores y variados factores, de entre los que descuella el haber luchado solos contra el mundo.

Deseamos, y no dudamos lo hareis, que con el mismo entusiasmo que hasta aquí lo hicisteis, defendais nuestra causa y nuestro movimiento prestándole, con mayor intensidad si cabe, la solidaridad y apoyo que hasta la fecha disteis.

Desde este momento, quedan suprimidas todas las oficinas y delegaciones que existían en diversos países, representando a las Organizaciones C.N.T.-F.A.I., corriendo a cuenta del Consejo General del Movimiento Libertario la orientación futura y el trabajo a desarrollar en los diferentes países.

A ningún organismo más teneis que dirigiros ni atender, para las cosas de España, si al Movimiento Libertario se refieren, que no sea al Consejo General de referencia?

Sin más por el momento, os saluda fraternalmente.

POR EL COMITÉ PENINSULAR F.A.I.
Pedro HERRERA

POR EL COMITÉ NACIONAL C.N.T.
Mariano R. VÁZQUEZ

París, el 24-2-1939.

NOTA.- Giros y correspondencia a la dirección que indica el Consejo General del MOVIMIENTO LIBERTARIO. Quedan anuladas totalmente las anteriores.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 24, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / M[ariano] R. V[ázquez and] P[edro] Herrera. – 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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C.N.T. Secretariat of Foreign Affairs F.A.I.

20.2.39.

We have to inform you that circumstances have decreed that we cease our activities as Secretariat of Foreign Affairs of the C.N.T. F.A.I.

As you will see by the enclosed circular from the General Council of the Spanish Libertarian Movement, this decision was taken in the interest of the Movement, and with a view to get better results from the work to be done, forced upon us by the loss of the war.

There are no other reasons for having taken these decisions, and from our part we wish to thank you in the name of the Organisations which we represent, for the colaboration and aid you gave to our struggle, which it [illegible] cannot be entirely due [illegible]

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II

but to other sectors and various reasons, among which stands out the fact that we had to carry on the war by ourselves against the whole world.

We would like, however, and we trust that you will do it with the same enthusiasm as hitherto, to continue receiving your defence of our cause and movement with equal or even greater intensity and solidarity.

From this moment all offices and Delegations abroad representing the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. are discontinued, and henceforward the General Council of the Libertarian Movement will be in charge of the future orientation and the work to be done in the different countries.

In connection with Spain —

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other body or organisation is authorised to deal with you, other than the said General Council.

Remittances of funds and correspondence should be sent to the addresses indicated by the G. C. All previous ones are hereby cancelled.

On behalf of the Peninsular Committee
F. A. I.
(Signed) P. Herrera

On behalf of the A. C. - C. N. T.
Signed
M. R. V.

Paris, 24th February, 1939.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 24 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
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Feb. 24th, 1939.

My dear E. G.:

This is like old times, my sitting here at 7.30 P. M., just back from the United States court, where I have been trying a plagiarism (copyright) case for the singer Frank Crumit, and writing you a letter to make the Queen Mary early tomorrow morning.

Your letter to Lillian was most interesting, and I know enough to know that your interpretation of the facts is correct, though I am not so sure if Germany would invade the United States, or if they would appear to be on the way to overwhelm France and England, that I would not be willing that the United States should help these countries short of going to war.

In reference to the young man who fought in Spain, it is probably better that no one approach the State Department. They have been allowing all the other fighters from Spain to return, and they probably will allow him to do so, though they move very slowly. As a matter of strict law, (though I know that would not bother you,) if he swore allegiance to Spain, he is expatriated, and no longer a citizen of the United States and not entitled to return. They are raising a question somewhat like that in the Grover Cleveland Bergdoll case, holding that he was convicted of desertion in time of war and therefore lost his citizenship, and cannot return to the United States. I am fighti g that case for Bergdoll. You remember Rebecca Shelley, during the war as a conscientious objector. She married a German in this country before the Cable Act, and lost her citizenship. She was fired from a WPA job, as an alien, though born in this country, and having had so ven generations of Americans back of her. She applied for citizenship, and because when asked she said she would not bear arms, they refused her citizenship, though the Labor Department, and the Naturalization Bureau, stated that they are willing to have her become a citizen. I shall probably help her fight her case out west.

I note that you will be in Canada in all probability in the middle of April. I will certainly see you there.

Hurriedly yours,

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880726385

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 24, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, London / John Andersson.— 1 p.; 31 × 25 cm.

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24094

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE des TRAVAILLEURS
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER-ASSOZIATION
ASOCIACION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES
ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORETORI

ADRESSES:
Secrétaire Général John Andersson, Box 415,
STOCKHOLM 1, Suède

Stockholm den 24.Februar 1939.

Genossin Emma Goldman,
London.

Wir haben Deine drei letzten Schreiben empfangen.Auch die Rechnung. Ich werde am spätestens nächsten Montag Geld dafür senden.Der Treasurer ist augenblicklich krank,aber ich werde morgen zu ihm gehen,um die Sach zu ordnen.

Was betrifft die Broschüre von der IAA in englischer Sprache,haben wir bereits grundsätzlich beschlossen,dieselbe herauszugeben,aber konnten wegen schlechter Finanzen die Arbeit nicht anfangen. Alles in allem,haben wir von anderen Ländern 50 Gulden erhalten,und zwar aus Holland,Das Übrige das wir für unsere Arbeit brauchten,hat uns die SAC zur Verfügung gestell Die SAC hat uns auch geholfen,so dass wir 800 Kronen an das vorige Sekretariat der IAA in Paris senden konnten,damit es seine dortige Tätigkeit abwickeln könnte.

Wir versprechen jedoch baldmöglichst mehr Geld zur Verfügung für die Propaganda in England zu stellen, Wir müssen früher oder später dort einen festen Wurzel zu bekommen versuchen.

Ich habe mit Interesse von dem Schreiben teilgenommen,das Du von unserem gemeinsamen spanischen Freunde H.empfangen hast. Es gibt uns ein illustratives Bild davon,wie die Stimmung gerade jetzt unter den spanisch en Genossen ist.

Seitdem Fall Barcelonas hat die SAC an die SIA 24,500 schwedische Kronen gesandt.Während derselben Zeit hat die SAC 16,000 schwedische Kronen an die CNT gesandt. Also insgesamt 40,500 Kronen in dieser kurzen Zeit. Die Einsammlung setzt natürlich fort.

Die SAC ist auch bereit,einen Teil ihrer kontanten Mittel zu opfern zu gunsten der CNT. Dies mit dem Gedanken,dass wir einige unserer lieben spanischen Genossen dadurch retten können. Wahrscheinlich wird die SAC einen Genossen nach Paris zu senden,in den nächsten Wochen,um mit der CNT zu unterhandeln. Augenblicklich führen wir mit der CNT darübeer einen Briefwechsel.

Herzliche Grüsse

John Andersson

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE des TRAVAILLEURS
I. A. A.
SECRÉTARIAT
I. W. M. A.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 25, London [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 10 × 15 cm.

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Dear H.W. London Feb 25/39

The extract from a letter enclosed in my letter to you of Monday contains an error. In referring to Deladier I mention his part in a staged attack on the mussolinians which caused the loss of life. It should read Feb 6th 1934, not 36.

In haste. E.G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1939 Feb. 25, London [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 10 × 15 cm.

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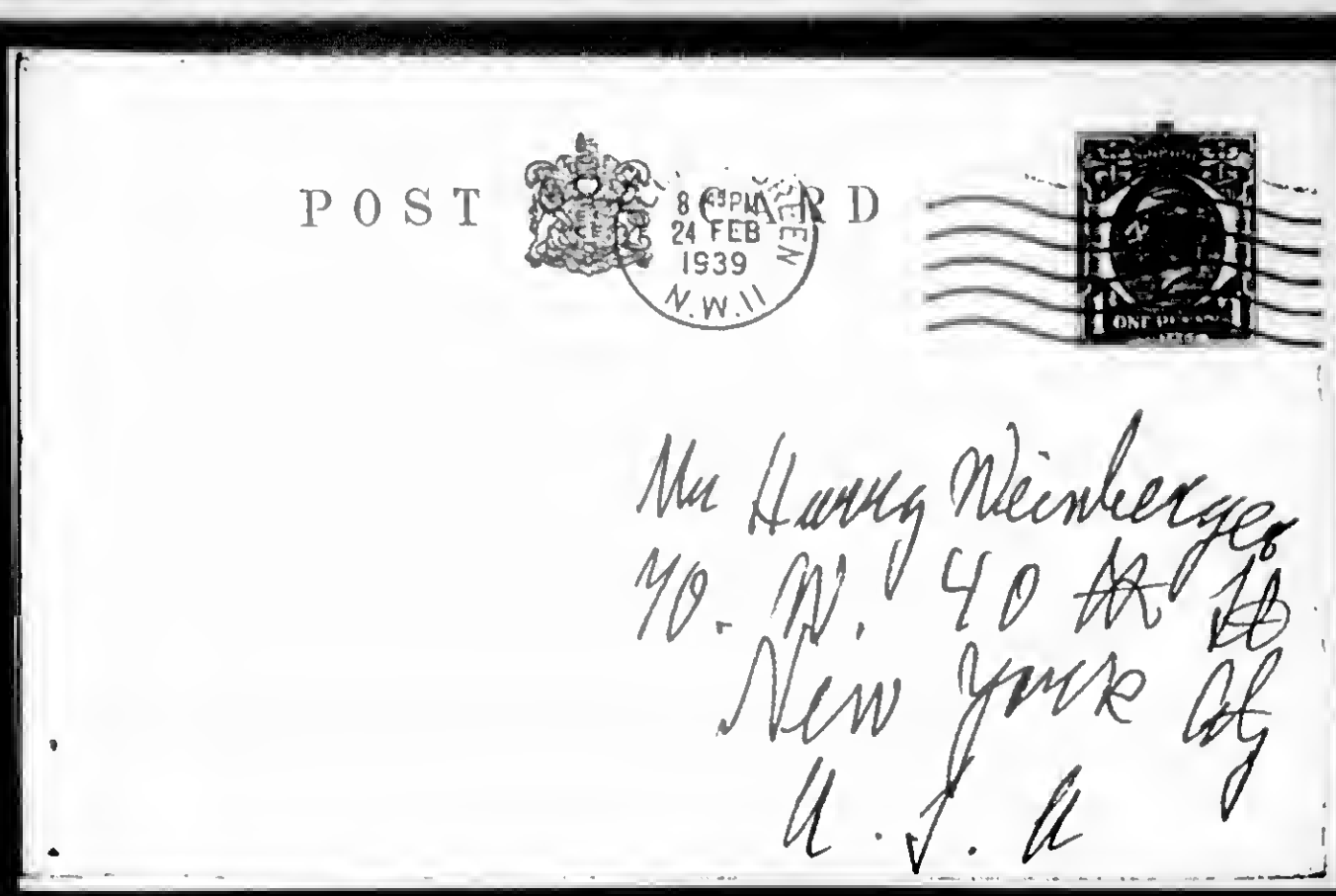

POST CARD

8 PM
24 FEB
1939
N.W.11

Mr Harry Weinberger
70. W. 40 St
New York City
U. S. A.

660

860522075

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 25 [London to] Lillian [Mendelsohn, New York] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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S · I · A

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(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

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Emma Goldman
Hon. Secretary

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

Telephone: GERrard 2636

Feb.25th 39

Dear Lillina .

I am writing to let you know that my last letter contains a gross error.It is where I say of the part Deladier had played in a deliberate attack against a mas demon stration .I gave as the date 1936. Actually this took place the 6th of Feb.1934. I don't see how I could have been so mixed up in the date and year.

There is nothing I can add except the approaching day of Franeos recognition which will endanger the lives of the hundred of thousand of the refugees. For whatever Franco will promise which he has no intendion to do anyhow, he will make a blood bath of the most militant men and women.and what is even more ghastly ~~is that~~ no one, lesst of all Socialists and Communists will protest agains this heinous crime. The Communists have brought the misfort une about so they are not likely to protest, they will most likely join the ~~chorus~~ cry of crucify.

I am difinitely leaving here about the 25th of next month and go to Paris for ten days to see the Spanish comrades. I

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 25 [London to] Lillian [Mendelsohn, New York] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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will sail April 8th.

Give my kind greetings to Will.

Affectionately.

Emma Goldman

PS. Mail will be forwarded
so write me to 6, Sneath Ave
London N. W. 11.

662

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1939 Feb. 25 [London to] Lillian Mendelsohn, New York / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 9 × 11 cm.

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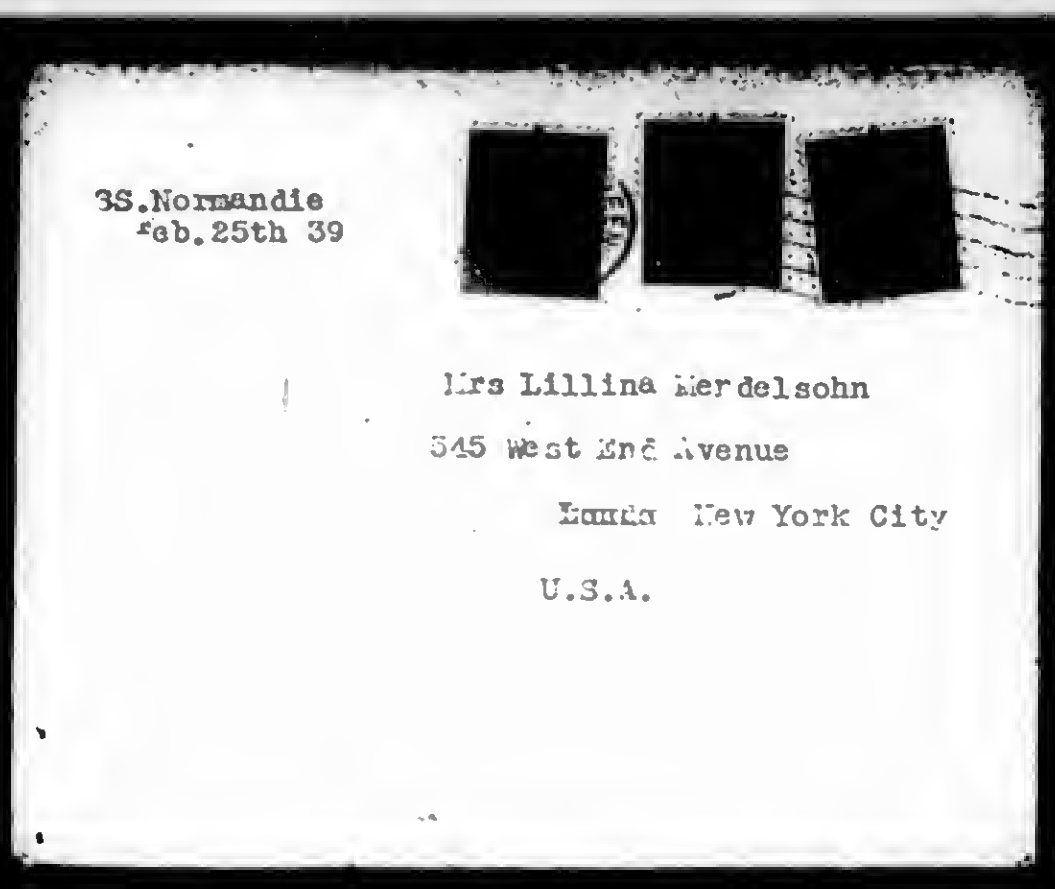

3S.Normandie
Feb.25th 39

Mrs Lillina Mendelsohn
545 West End Avenue
Manha New York City
U.S.A.

663

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 25, Amsterdam [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / Annie [Adama van] Scheltema[-Kleefstra].— 1 p.; 30 × 20 cm.

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24091

Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis
International Institute for Social History
Institut International d'Histoire Sociale
Internationales Institut für Sozialgeschichte

Directeur: Prof. Mr. N.W. Posthumus — Keizersgracht 264 - Amsterdam-C.

Telef. 24449

A.v.S./t. 25th February 1939.

Mrs. E.G. Goldman,
6 Sneath Avenue,
London N.W.11

Dear Mrs. Goldmen,

I was for some days ill with the flu and now I have difficulties with my heart. It must be nerves, so I am staying some days at home.

All that we have to live through in these terrible days is too much. It is too horrible to think of all these Spanish young men, fighting for their ideals and now like caged animals there in the South of France. It is a bitter shame for all of us.

I think that Müller Lehning wrote already about your cases? The professor came to me and we spoke once more about this question. It ould be really better to send the printed material to Amsterdam and your correspondence to our address in England. In this way all is on the right place. - You know that we do all that is possible for the security of our material. - I understood that you have one case with printed material?

I hope you'll tell me from time to time where you are and what you are doing.

ith my kindest wishes,

yours sincerely
Annie Scheltema.

This afternoon I'll read your manifesto.

664

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 25, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Lucía Sánchez Saornil. – 3 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista

CONSEJO NACIONAL
SECCIÓN ESPAÑOLA

París, 25 de Febrero de 1939
Camarada Emma Goldman
LONDRES

Querida Emma:

En otras circunstancias debiera avergonzarme de no haber contestado ya tus cartas llenas de interes y angustia por nosotros. En las actuales, tengo la seguridad de que lo disculparás todo cuando sepas que hasta el momento presente no hemos disfrutado de un minuto de reposo, tratando, ante todo, de trabajar de una manera legal, pues de otra hubiera sido imposible en las circunstancias en que nos hallábamos y con las leyes de excepción que se han dictado en la democrática Francia para los españoles exilados.

Ni un solo minuto de reposo. Dias enteros en la prefectura de Perpignan tratando, puesto que teniamos los papeles en regla, se nos legalizara la situacion personal y se nos pemitiera trabajar por los evacuados españoles. Dias enteros, en el estado moral que es de suponer y que solo nos permitia, cuando mucho, la hilacion de pensamiento precisa para redactar un telegrama. No se nos permitio continuar en Perpignan, donde en los primeros momentos trabajamos con fruto en la evacuacion de las mujeres y niños de nuestras Guarderías. El diá 10 estaban evacuados todos nuestros establecimientos y los pequeños, con la ayuda de la Federacion de Comites Españoles de Perpignan, iban siendo colocados en familias hasta que un buen diá las autoridades francesas nos prohibieron radicalmente toda actuacion, clausuraron el refugio que habiamos improvisado, desmontaron nuestras oficinas y nos echaron a la calle.

Poco a poco los niños que habiamos colocado en familia fueron sacados tambien y establecidos en colonias en las cuales no se nos ha dejado intervenir, encontrandonos en la hora presente con que desconocemos el emplazamiento de estas mismas colonias cuya composición se ha alterado, mezclando o separando niños y personal a gusto de las entidades catolicas bajo cuyo patronato, al parecer y segun noticitias de una de ellas que ha logrado comunicarse con nosotros, se les ha puesto.

De Perpignan y bajo amenaza de detencion pasamos a París donde tampoco se nos ha dejado permanecer, enviandonos a Lagny, un pueblecito a 24 kilometros de la capital, y en el que aun esperamos nos concedan la residencia, aunque, como ves, vulneramos la "consigna" y trabajamos en París junto a la S.I.A. francesa.

Hoy todos nuestros esfuerzos van encaminados a establecer contacto con los compañeros internados en los campos de concentracion; a organizar las relaciones entre familiares que han sido dispersados por las disposiciones francesas; a establecer por lo menos una colonia propia en la que tengan acogida los huérfanos de guerra de nuestros militantes mas caracterizados y a buscar, cerca de otros paises, sobre todo los Sadamericanos, la posibilidad de ser acogidos, aunque no sea mas que para huir de este infierno de Francia. Oh, la madre de las democracias!

665

870929375

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 25, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Lucía Sánchez Saornil. – 3 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20513

Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista

CONSEJO NACIONAL
SECCIÓN ESPAÑOLA

Por mucha imaginacion que tengas, querida Emma, no puedes imaginar lo que estamos sufriendo; no quisiera decirtelo, porque se que sufres a tu vez por nosotros, pero tampoco debo ocultartelo. La prensa francesa, una parte de la prensa francesa, por verdadero interés unas veces, otra por especulación política, se ocupa de ello y no quiero atormentarte con detalles. Solo puedo decirte, para que te hagas una idea, que diariamente los hombres mueren a montones en los campos de Argelés y Saint Ciprien.

Por el momento, nuestra necesidad mas inmediata en la solidaridad material de todo el mundo; los compañeros que logran espacar de los campos no tienen una situacion mas envidiable que los que estan en ellos, acosados constantemente por la policiá, sin un franco, solo viven de la solidaridad de S.I.A., y si nuestras Secciones del exterior no la intensifican los fondos pronto habran dado fin y la situacion entonces será doblemente aterradora.

Refiriendome a tus noticias del 29 de Enero es lastima que la camarada Ethel quiera alejarse de S.I.A. cuando es mas necesaria su colaboracion, pero creo que esto hecho, y menos aun si logras convencer a Grevelle o Rhut, no debo hacerte desistir de tu viaje a Canada que ya tenías ultimado. Tal vez allí puedas obtener aun para nuestros exilados, que no combatientes ya, un alivio. Estimo, por el contrario, que si no tienes otros obstáculos es interesante de todo punto tu partida.

De mis impresiones particulares solo quiero destacar dos cosas: mi satisfacción por haber logrado salvar a casi todas las militantes mas destacadas de "MUJERES LIBRES" gracias a la intrepidez de nuestra camarada Mary Barroso, que tambien trabajaba en S.I.A. y a quien no se si recordarás. Mas de la mitad de estas compañeras logramos colocar en familias evitando que fueran a campos de concentración; pero, por contraste, tengo la gran pena de no haber podido impedir que fuera Mercedes, que salió de España unas horas antes que yo y que fue capturada por la policía al pasar la frontera.

He hecho investigaciones y sé que se la ha reclamado desde Paris pero no se si ha llegado aquí pues hasta el momento nadie me da noticias seguras. Puedes imaginar el gran pesar que esto me produce, conociendo la estrecha colaboracion en que desde mucho antes del movimientos hemos trabajado Mercedes y yo y el gran cariño que nos unía.

Hasta el momento no nos hemos separado Baruta, Cristina y yo; pero desde ayer tenemos una honda inquietud por Baruta que ha sido detenido en Marsella cuando iba a resolver asuntos relacionados con este Consejo y se encuentra amenazado de internamiento en Argelés. Estamos haciendo gestiones para que lo pongan en libertad y esperamos conseguirlo, pero hasta tanto no le veamos cerca de nosotras no nos abandonará el temor de que sea absorbido en la vorágine espantosa de los "campos".

Hasta nuevo aviso recibiremos la correspondencia a mi nombre en la S.I.A. Francesa. Rue Crussol 26. procurando evitar toda la alusión al Consejo o al cargo en el sobreescrito. Aquí puedes, y en la misma forma, enviar todo el material de solidaridad que hayas acumulado, escepto el dinero que seguiremos enviandolo, si lo hubiera, a nombre de Cámara, como hasta aquí.

En fin, querida Emma, siento un poco de vértigo si miro hacia atrás,

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20514

aunque duro y todo prefiero mirar al futuro.

Ahora soy yo quien te pide que nos escribas pronto; nos hacen mucho bien las cartas de los amigos.

Saludos de Cristina y Baruta y un fuerte abrazo de tu compañera, particularmente y

POR EL CONSEJO GENERAL

Lucía Sánchez Saornil

Querida Emma: en el momento de acabar esta carta recibo la inmensa alegria de abrazar a Mercedes. Te lo comunico para tu satisfaccion.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 25, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Lucía Sánchez Saornil. — 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20515

S.I.A.

Paris, 25th February 1939.

Comrade Emma Goldman,
LONDON.

Dear Emma,

In any other circumstances I would be ashamed no to have replied before to your letters, so full of interest and anxiety for us. But I feel sure that, in the present circumstances you will excuse everything when you come to know that until now we have had not one minute's rest, endeavouring, above all else, to keep within the law, as otherwise it would have been impossible in these circumstances and in view of the restricting laws that have been enacted in democratic France for the benefit of the exiled spaniards.

Not a moment's rest. Whole days spent at the Perpignan Police Station endeavouring (since our papers are in order) to have our personal position legalised and to be allowed to work for the spaniards evacuated. Whole days in a state of mind not difficult to imagine, hardly able, at best, to collect our thoughts sufficiently to compose a telegram. We were not allowed to remain in Perpignan, where we were able at first to work successfully in the evacuation of the women and children from our Colonies. On the 10th all our settlements had been evacuated and the little ones, with the help of the Federation of Spanish Committees of Perpignan, were being placed with private families, until, all of a sudden, the french authorities forbade absolutely all our activities; they closed down the refuge we had improvised, they pulled down our offices and put us in the street.

Little by little the children we had placed with private families were taken away also and sent to colonies in which we have not been allowed to do anything. We do not even know yet the whereabouts of these colonies, the composition of which has been upset, mixing and separating children and staff at the pleasure of the catholic organisations under whose patronage it seems they have been placed, according to news received from someone who managed to get in touch with us.

From Perpignan, and under threat of arrest, we went to Paris; but we were not allowed to stay there and we have been sent to Lagny, a little village 24 kilometers out of the capital. There we hope we shall be allowed to remain, though, as you can see for yourself, we are breaking the 'rules' by working together with the french S.I.A.

All our efforts at present tend to get in touch with the comrades interned in the concentration camps; to establish contact between relatives that have been separated owing to

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the french regulations; to organise at least one colony of our own where we can place the war orphans of our most prominent militant figures, and to find out whether other countries, in South America particularly, can possibly allow us to enter if only to get away from this hell of France. O! mother of democracies!

However great your imagination, dear Emma, you can have no idea of what we are going through. I would much prefer not to tell you, because I know you suffer on our account; but I cannot hide it from you. The ~~[illegible]~~ french papers - some of them - sometimes because they take a real interest, and sometimes for political reasons, devote space to the matter, and I will not, therefore, torment you with details. I will mention only the fact that each day large numbers of men die in the Argelès and Saint Ciprien camps.

At the present moment our most urgent need is the practical solidarity of the whole world. Those of our comrades who managed to escape from the camps are in no better position than those who remain in them; they are mercilessly harassed by the police, pennyless, living on the S.I.A.'s solidarity; but unless our branches abroad dan increase the grant of funds, the resources available will give up an the position ~~xxx~~ then will be even more dreadful.

Referring to yours of the 29th, it is a pity that comrade Ethel should think of droping out of the S.I.A. just when her cooperation is needed most; but in my opinion that should not make you desist of your journey to Canada, still less if you can convince Grevelle or Ruth. May be you will find there some help for our exiled ~~[illegible]~~ ones - if not for our combattants. I am of opinion, on the contrary, that if there are no other obstacles in the way, your journey is most desirable.

As regards my personal impressions I wish to mention but two facts: gratification at having managed to save nearly all of the most prominent militant comrades of "MUJERES LIBRES", thanks to the personal courage of our comrade Mary Barroso, who was also working for the S.I.A.; perhaps you will remember her. More than half of these comrades we managed to place with private families and so saved them from the concentration camps; but, to my great sorrow, I could not save Mercedes from the same fate; she left Spain a few hours before I did, and was arrested by the police when crossing the frontier.

I have been making enquiries and have found out that she has been claimed from Paris; but I do not know whether se has arrived here, for no one can give ~~xxx~~ me reliable news. You can imagine how sorry I feel, for you know that even long before the rebellion we were working together in close collaboration Mercedes and I, also you know how much I loved her.

Up to the present Baruta, Cristina and I have not parted

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 25, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Lucía Sánchez Saornil.— 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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company; but since yesterday we are very worried about Baruta who has been arrested in Marseilles, whence he went to settle business connected with this Council, and he is being threatened with internment in Argelès. We are doing all we can to obtain his release and have hopes of succeeding; but until we have him again in our midst we shall always have the dread of his being swallowed up in the fearfull vortex of the camps.

Until further notice correspondence may be addressed to me c/o the ~~xxxxx~~ french S.I.A., Rue Crussol 28 but ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ making no mention of the Council, nor of my official capacity, in the cover. You may, in the same way, send here all the solidarity matter you may have accumulated, with the exception of money which please send, ~~xxxxxxx~~ - if ypu have any - addressed to Cámara, as heretofore.

To end, dear Emma, I feel in a whirl if I look back; I much prefer to look forward to the future, however hard it may be.

Now it is my turn to ask you to write to us soon; our friends' letters do us no end of good.

Kind regards from Cristina and Baruta, and a close embrace from your comrade personally and from

~~PER~~ THE GENERAL COUNCIL

Lucía Sánchez Saornil.

Dear Emma, Just as I had finished this letter I had the great joy embracing Mercedes. I know you will be glad to know.

670

860521221

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 27, London [to] Mariano [R.] V[á]zquez, [Paris?] / [Emma Goldman]. – 4 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.
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[enclosure]

London, February 27th, 1939.

Dear Comrade, [Mariano Vazquez]

Thank you for your letter of the 21st inst. and your declaration . The letter is being translated. If I get it before I mail this letter I will add a few lines to it.

Before I take up some points in your letter I want to ask you about something which you sent me before the Barcelona catastrophe. It was a letter together with a letter of the secretary of the FEDERACION NATIONAL DE LAS INDUSTRIAS SIDERO METALURGICAS to the SECRT. OF THE STEEL AND IRON TRADES FEDERATION in this city, together with a long list of names to whom parcels should be sent. Before the letters were translated the Catalan calamity broke over everybody, so there was no sense in sending the material to the Secrt. of the I.S.T.F. But it has since occired to me that if I could get any information whether the people whose names you sent me have evacuated, whether they are in some of the French camps and in which one I might get the Iron Steel Trades Federation here to help them with food or money or in some way, perhaps even in making it possible for them to find asylum in England. I realise it is asking the impossible, still you might be able to furnish me with the information. So if soon if you can.

Your reference to my "criticism" of the compromises as being the same as that of the other comrades made me very sad, because I was not aware that I had ever critised you or the other comrades for their action. I admit that there were ever so many things the CNT. and up to last year the FAI did which I could not agree with. But I felt that the time had not come for me to point out what I considered grave errors on your part and sure to lead to dire consequences. The fact that I continues to do my utmost in this country for your struggle should have proved to you that I considered no disagreement so important so long as the struggle went on to "criticise". But even if I had done so it would not have been indicative of my lack of devotion to my Spanish comrades, and to the heroic battle they were waging. You will remember that at the extraordinary conference of the AIT. I said among other things, that the trouble with my Spanish comrades is that they resent the least criticism from non Spanish comrades no matter how sincere and wellmeaning the criticism is made. I felt then, and I do still that it was this characteristic of you and the other Spanish comrades which was responsible for many of the misunderstandings between them and some of our comrades outside Spain. Yet it is an undisputed fact that our severest critics are often our most sincere friends. Besides expressing an opinion does not mean that we are criticising.

You say in your letter "nobody betrayed anybody". And in the next sentence you state "publicly we will be able to prove that the responsibility for the loss of the war rests absolutely with the other sectors which precipitated our defeat". If this is true, as I have all along been convinced that your other sectors are dragging

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[Letter] 1939 Feb. 27, London [to] Mariano [R.] V[á]zquez, [Paris?] / [Emma Goldman]. – 4 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.
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down the precipies, than there was betrayal, otherwise why expose their perfidity? Frankly this seems a contradiction to me.

As to your statement that the CNT had not "compromised enough but that you were too revolutionary thereby frightening world Capitalism" I was not only shocked, but I was amazed at the amount of shortsightedness on your part this implys. It seems to me dear Comrade, that if this is the main lesson you have made then you should discard your belief in revolution altogether, and never again call yourselfes libertarians. For there was never a revolution and never can be that will not "frighten world Capitalism".. Nor will you appease world Capitalism unless you completely emasculate the meaning and purpose of revolution. I should think Russia stands as a living example for this truism. The whole pack of world Capitalism whether Fascist or democratic now curry favor with Stalin regime. I wonder why, when these very elements had fought Russia by every means. You know the answer yourself, still I would like to remind you that it was the crushing of the Russian revolution by Lenin and his group, and since by Stalin which is bringing world Capitalism to the prostrate and bleeding body of the Russian revolution. Stalin's appeasement of world Capitalism did exactly what Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler and Mussolini did. Both helped to increase the varicious appetite for world dominion, including the conquest of Spain and by emasculating the Russian and Spanish revolution they also paralyzed the active will of the International proletariat.

To be sure the 19th of July 36 revived the spirit of the workers and again raised their hopes to the hoghest expectation. I am certain if the Spanish Revolution could have remained at its height there would have been a more direct and active response of solidarity than was shown in Spain.. Then, came the evil hand of Stalin, the new slogan that was to save the world and incidentally help Stalin's foreign policy Democracy not revolution. Democracy became the the battle cry. Well, the workers in democratic countries knew from their own sad experience that democracy is after all nothing more than Fascism in disguise. Why should they have ~~xxxxxxx~~ enthused for a war to save democracy when they knew that the same slogan had killed ten million men and wounded twenty in the last war and that their chains had only been fastened tighter around their legs and hands?

Now, I realise, dear comrade, that everything in life is relative. I myself prefer a few small political liberties under democracy than no liberties at all under fascism. But the mass does not reason, it follows its incstincts which are usually correct. In the case of Spain the workers soon realised that promise of the 19th of July had been exchanged as in Russia by paliatives, and reformism which again crushed the hopes of the proletariat. For you must bear in mind, dear comrade, that your allies, especially your Communist sector did everything in its power to deceive the workers outside of Spain about your motives in the war against Fascism. They were never permitted to know that the CNT-FAI wanted tow win the war in order to develope the grand constructive beginning of the 19th of July, and not to reinstate world Capitalism in Spain. Not only did they do that but they spread by

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every insidious means the rumours that the CNT-FAI are sabotaging the war. When I tell you that the writer [illegible] was approached for a contribution to [illegible] he would [illegible] with the Anarcho-Syndicalists and Anarchists were [illegible] the Republican government in the management of the war [illegible] less than 1/10 world outside and especially [illegible] about the motives of the CNT-FAI [illegible] the impression that I excuse or justify the lack [illegible] on the part of of the International proletariat for the Spanish struggle against Fascism I can forgive them less than the treachery of the Democracies. It was not in the interests of the latter to help the Republican government. It was in the interest of the workers to help their valian brothers in Spain. I have only tried to explain the apathy of the masses because you do not seem to realise that it was brought about by the treachery of Stalin's foreign policy, by his own Imperialist designs which shrank from no crime and no cunivance to strangle every vestage of revolutionary feeling or acti n in Russia and latterly in Spain.

You are probably correct when you state that "a revolution in one country alone cannot hope to succeed unless it has the support of the solidarity of the International proletariat" but neither can it hope to win by the appeasement of "the fears of world Capitalism". There is a saying in English to the effect that "one cannot serve god and the devil at the same time". Now either you are revolutionists and then you will serve the masses, or you want to appease world Capitalism, then you must compromise inch by inch and day by day until nothing is left of revolutionary quality or inspiration, and that in return will and must alienate the world proletariat. You cannot have it both ways. I cannot see, therefore, how you can say now that you "had compromised enough".

Believe me, dear Comrade, I am not sitting in judgement nor do I want to strew salt over your open wounds. I know better than all foreign comrades who had been in Spain the frightful difficulties in your way, the criminal methods used by the democracies as well as the Fascists to prevent you winning the war, the lack of arms, the lack of food, the shattering bombardments. I saw all and heard all and I tried to put it in words, feeble as they are, to our comrades outside of Spain and to the workers wherever I could reach them. I am not "criticising", I am pointing out certain factors that have contributed to the debacle. I only wish to add one more thing, lack of arms were certainly the greatest drawback to victory. Nevertheless there is another factor equally important, if not more, and that is the abiding faith in victory of the workers and peasants which I fear grew less in proportion as the whole machinery of the struggle went into the hands of the Negrin Communist government, and out of the management of the workers themselves. This was only too obvious to me on my last visit and myt talks with many comrades both CNT and FAI. But even that did n t diminish my faith in your ultimate triumph. Moreover, I do not even now think you defeated, spiritually. Not I believe so implicitly in the spirit of the Spanish people and of our comrades that I feel certain it can never be truly conquered. And it is fir that very reason that I cannot agree with you when you say that "illusions in a revolutionary sense are one thing, and reality is another". I insist that reality without revolutionary illusion becomes a bloodless and lifeless thing, a frightful deception t at accepts the shadow for the substance.

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Please do not take offence at what I have written, for I mean no offence. On the contrary, I want you to know that whatever our disagreements, nothing can effect my faith in you and the other comrades, my admiration for the sacrifices you have made, and the courage you have all demonstrated, and my devotion to your struggle. To my last breath I will believe in the CNT-FAI and serve them to the uttermost.

Fraternally,

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Am 27. Februar 1939

Liebe Emma, vielen herzlichen Dank für Deinen Brief vom 23. und die Kopien, die ich Dir wieder beilege. Oh, ich kenne das alles, was diese Kopien enthalten! Man sieht nur einen kleinen Ausschnitt, jeder die Tragödie der paar näheren Bekannten und Kameraden die er trifft - man hört überall das gleiche. Lucia übrigens habe ich getroffen und ihr von Deinem Briefe erzählt. Sie klagte, dass man sie garnichts arbeiten liesse, sie war an diesem Tage nur mit Fragen ihrer eigenen Unterkunft, ev. Legalisierung usw. beschäftigt. Vielleicht ist es jetzt schon beser. Das Katastrophale ist die Unmöglichkeit der Legalisierung. In dieser Beziehung ist wenig Hoffnung auf Besserung der Lage, das kannst Du Dir denken. Und Massenabwanderungsmöglichkeiten in andere Länder? Hunderte, alle dieman trifft, sprechen von dem sagenhaften Mexico. Ich wollte ich könnte an soetwas glauben. Die nachste Zukunft für die tausende hierher geflüchteter Genossen ist dunkel. Rein privat und durch Hilfe der Organisationen können an sich schon eine Weile eine Menge Genossen durchgeschleppt werden; aber auf jedem Gastgeber lasten scharfe Strafdrohungen der französischen Fremdengesetze. Auch auf dem Fussboden unseres Zimmers hatten wir einen Gast: Michel. Seine Gefasstheit trotz niederschmetternder Erlebnisse - auch mit der CNT! - ist uns ein grosser Trost.

Gerade sein Fall. Was soll der Junge machen? Jetzt illegal hier in einem Hotel. Solange wir hier sind hat er zu essen. Und dann? 10, 20, vielleicht auch mal etwas mehr Franken lassen sich pro Woche zusammentrommeln, und das Zimmer kostet 35. (Hier aber ein Beispiel, dass es noch Menschen gibt. Das Zimmer kostet eigentlich 40, die Wirtin aber, die ausserdem noch ein Risiko auf sich nimmt, erklärte: weil M. von Spanien kommt, bekommt er es 5 Franken billiger.)

Tut Ihr auch finanziell etwas für die Flüchtlinge, ich meine in Bargeld? Könnte man nicht Michel z.B. persönlich irgendetwas zukommen lassen? Verstehe mich recht. Ich sehe zum Beispiel die Leute, die da als deutsche Genossen bei der CNT/R "geholfen" bekommen. Unter einem Dutzend, die die schmalen Gelder aufbrauchen, kann ich nur 3 oder 4 Kameraden entdecken, die ich als solche anerkennen kann. Trotzdem kann man nichts sagen. Aber ich glaube darin das Recht zu finden, zu sagen, dass auch individuell etwas getan werden kann...

Natürlich sind Tausende in dieser Lage. Für die spanischen Genossen kann kollektiv gesorgt werden, da sie bekannt sind, sich gegenseitig kontrollieren. Uebrigens gibt es auch so manchen, der für sich gesorgt hat, oder hier besser für sich zu sorgen versteht als andere; doch glaube ich, dass nach kurzer Zeit das gleiche Elend alle erreichen wird.

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Nimm mir bitte nicht übel, wenn ich noch einmal auf Michel zurück komme. Für ihn sorgen wir uns natürlich sehr. Wir müssten eine französische "Persönlichkeit" finden, die fürseine Legalisierung eintritt, und eine schwedische, die es für ein schwedisches Visum tut. Ich habe einige Hoffnungen, Michel ist ja Archäologe, hat in bedeutenden Museen und in Babylon gearbeitet und findet vielleicht irgendwelche Hilfe. Hier muss er jedenfalls weg, die Frage istwie... Es braucht nicht Schweden zu sein. Aber vielleicht Archäologen?

Euer IAA-Manifest habeich gelesen, gut, dass etwas getan wird, und doppelt gut, dass es nicht den Glasgower Idioten in die Hände gespielt worden ist. Du weisst, dass diese Leute sich zu meinen Zeiten sehr bemühten, als offizielle IAA-Vertreter anerkannt zu werden. Es dürfte vielleicht angebracht sein, bei passender Gelegenheit auch Andersson über diese Leute zu informieren!

Ich glaube an keine Weiterführung des Kampfes. Wichtig ist jetzt eine klare Darstellung der Kampfjahre in unserem Sinne, objektiv, aber auch unerbittlich in der Anklage, und zugleich orientierend für uns selbst. Ich will in diesem Sinne einiges arbeiten, darüber später.

Ja, ich las auch in der SW die Sachen über die Kommunisten in der ČSR. Es wundert einen nichts mehr.

Michel wird Dir sicher noch schreiben. Er schreibt nicht gern, wenn er sich nicht vollständig klar ist über die Dinge, und er hat uns in diesen Tagen oft gesagt, dass seiner Ansicht nach diese ganzen Erfahrungen sehr gründlich durchdacht und angewandt werden müssen. Ich wünschte viele andere hatten wenigstens ein wenig von der Kraft, von sich selbst abzusehen, die Michel aufbringt, und etwas von seiner Klarheit und Objektivität.

Und wir – ich schreibe Dir zur Vorsicht heute, da morgen früh über unser Weiterbleiben entschieden wird. Meine Démarchen laufen und es kommt zu nichts. Man zwingt mich sogar, dem deutschen Konsulat meinen Namen, Adresse und alles mitzuteilen und pro forma deutsche Pässe zu verlangen; erst wenn dort abgelehnt wird, habe ich Recht auf Fremdenpässe... Morgen verbringe ich den grössten Teil des Tages auf der Préfecture, übermorgen auf dem Aussenministerium, die restlichen Stunden mit Laufereien zusammen mit dem und jedem der nicht französisch kann, usw. Aber nun etwas anderes: dazwischen läuft noch eine andere Geschichte, und es ist vielleicht möglich, dass ich am 7. oder 8. hier wegkomme, auf unerwartete Weise. Stell Dir vor, die Spanier haben uns einen spanischen Pass gegeben, nicht Hansen, sondern so einen wie die Spanier selbst bekommen, und die Schweden visieren mir ihn. Bekomme ich die Transitvisen...(Belgien hat schon abgelehnt, und was Dänemark betrifft, so warte ich auf Be-

Man weiss nie, wie man hinauskommt!

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scheid aus Kopenhagen; und England – es sei eine, dass man uns ohne Visum durchreisen lässt, in welchem Falle wir Mitte nächster Woche vielleicht sogar für einige Stunden bei Dir auftauchen würden). Aber ich baue auf nichts, bin auf Rückschläge und alles gefasst. Wenns so nicht geht, kann ich noch mit mehreren Wochen Zwangsaufenthalt trotz offiziellem Rauschmiss rechnen. Die Welt wird mit wenig Logik regiert...

Und diese Tausende, die hier jetzt in unmöglicher Lage sind! Wir werden wahrscheinlich lange Zeit nur eine positive Sache für sie tun können; ich meine, wenigstens unsere letzten Centimes zusammentragen, um über die schlimmste materielle Not zu helfen. Liebe Emma, noch eine Bitte: sag uns, ob es möglich wäre, ev. Michel etwas zur Verfügung zu stellen; ich habe Angst für ihn für die Zeit, wo wir fort sein werden; und er ist einer derjenigen, die am schlechtesten für sich zu sorgen wissen. Und dieses Milieu zwischen der CGTSR und ihren deutschen Anhängseln ist so beschaffen, dass ich keine grössere Freude haben könnte, als Michel so sehr wie möglich davon entfernt zu sehen. Bitte nimm mir nicht übel wenn ich bei Liegef lassen[illegible] von einem einzelnen spreche; aber für uns Deutsche ist Michel doch der Beste, einen Treueren kenne ich nicht.

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Falls wir am 7. oder 8. fahren können, wird die letzte Woche voll mit Laufereien und Besorgungen sein; aber auf jeden Fall wirst Du auch im Falle schneller Abreise noch ein paar Zeilen vorher erhalten.

Inzwischen nimm von uns beiden viele herzliche Grüsse.

Dein

Helmut

Welche Freude Emma Goldman!

Entschuldigen Sie, wenn ich Ihnen endlich nur diese kurzen Zeilen schreibe. Was da ich in Wahrheit hier so plötzlich bis spät beschäftigt macht die Zeit nicht so dem ausführlichen Brief, den ich Ihnen zum schreiben mitteilen wollte, d.h. meine Frau und ich, haben wenig mehr als das nackte Leben gerettet. Jetzt sollen wir nach Spanien. Die dortigen Genossen sollen uns unterstützen, weil die Lebensbedingungen in Frankreich unerträglich sind; immer die Gefahr, in andere Lager zu kommen, macht uns und die Kameraden

die die Lebensbedingungen in Frankreich unerträglich sind

Frau Hanschild: Bitte nochmals hierher

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Feb. 28th 39

Dear Eddie.

[illegible] tells me [illegible] and that he has also sent you a copy of his letter to me in reference to Stella. You will, therefore, know of the suggestion of Pauline about the transfer of Stella to the Bloomingdale hospital. I hope I may depend you will not take of ense at Paulines letter. You surely must know that it is not that she wants to xxx meddle, but that she is terribly concerned about Stella. You remember writing me yourself that the doctors said as long as Stella does not lose weight and sleeps there is no need for alarm. Well, she certainly has lost weight if she is down to 106, and while you have written nothing further about her sleep it still seems cause for great anxiety. As to Bloomingdale I know nothing about it. There was a time when the mention of the old institution gave everybody the jitters as it was then, thirty forty years ago an out and out insane asylum. But from what Pauline writes it seems to be quite a different thing, an institution the best of its kind.

Anyhow, when xxxx Paulines letter arrived I immidiately called Ian to my place and we had a long talk, the gist of which he has probably written you. I can only add that you, Save, Pauline Ftizi should get together and talk over the proposition of xx Stellas removal from the Center to Bloomingdale. I realise it is a terribly grave and most responsible step to take as there is the danger that the Center would not take Stella back in case of failure of the treatment in Bloomingdale. On the other hand, Ian while right that the Center is an endowed place, hence in no way commercial, it is non the less true that individual cases ~~are pro~~ are probably not getting the same attention on $35 a month as they are likely to get on fifty a week. The very fact that Stella is in a ward with others, must listen to screaming women brought into the ward, and observe all their antics is not likely to have a healing effect on our poor Stella.

Now I feel certain that you ~~xx~~ do not permit

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the consideration of the cost in Bloomingdale to decide whether Stella should or should not be removed from the Center. Both you mother and Harry have told Ian that the consideration of cost should not stand in the way. And Ian is certain if you will cable your mother for couple of thousand dollars she will send it. In fact, Ian said that it would not even be necessary to cable your mother, your family solicitor would do. Your mother seems to be intensely interested in Stella's case, and anxious to do every thing in her power to assit in the care and needs of Stella. So there is no cause to stop xxxxx let the money question stop you for any consideration about the step you will decide to take. The only question seems to me to be what will help Stella's recovery. I wonder is there no reliable and disinterested psychiatrist who might be able to advise what is best. By disinterested I mean scientifically so, not material of course.

I understand that the man who is now looking after Stella is a friend of Rudolf Rockers. Unfortunately Rudolf is not in New York now, or I would write him to see the man and have a serious talk with him away from the Center. But I am writing Milly to either see him herself or send a message to ask to write him.

My dear, forgive me if I seem to bud in. I am so unhappy over my own helplessness to do anything or advise what to do about Stella it is sheer exasperation on my part to beg you to get together with Saxx and Pauline and anyone you consider reliable and competant to advise you how to help to decide. The paramount consideration is of course how to help Stella out of her fog. Nothing lese matters.

Please write me again soon and tell me whatever decision you and the others with you will make.

Give my love to David, perhaps when I am in Canada this summer you will let him come to me for a few weeks. I'd love to take care of him.

Affectionately Emma

I leave England for France about the 25th of March. April 8th I sail for Canada. While we were until the 25th it just occurred to me that Arthur Ross should be present at your talk with Saxx, as his experience with Mattie should enable him to make some suggestions. Do write him.

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Feb.28th 39

Dearest Pauline. Form the inclosed copy to Teddy you will gather that I have had a long talk with Ian about his mother and the money needed to transfer Stella to Bloomingdale if the step will be agree upon. You will also know that I let Ian read your letter and that h he has written you and his father. I did not let him read Fitzis letter because she was very bitter about Teddy.Nor was it necess ary. As I wrote her repeatedly and I believe also you there is no difficulty about Teddy getting money from his mother.Ian assurs me that all his father has to do is to cable his mother for couple of thousand dollars and she would send it.You will see I wrote that to Teddy and also that it would even not be necessary to cable his mother,the family solicitor would be enough. Ian was told when he was in Jersey that his grandmother and Harry were most concenred in Stella and would be only too willing to send the amount necessary to bring back her mental clarity and her health.

However you will admit that it means a great responsibil ity and risk to transfer Stella to Bloomingdale because it is not likely that the Center will take her back if the other place should fail to bring Stella relief. What you wrote that the Center cannot be expected to give Stella the best care for $25,it is $35 by the way Ian tells me that the Cnter is an andowed place specifically for scientific and not commercial purposes and it is therefore not correct to say that $35 dollars a month is not enough to entitle Stella to the care she needs. Ian and I talked for hours. I need hardly tell you the boy suffers deeply and is holding on to himself with iron determination not to rush back home. He would not hesitate a moment if he knew he could help his mother. But since Stellas case is not a physical condition and Stella herself must make an effrot to get out of her fog it would be folly for Ian to rush back when he only has about three months more in the college here which he needs to finish in order to be better able to get a scholarship in America.

As I said we talked for hours and weighed and measured every possible step.In the end it occurred to me that you,Axe and Teddy being near than we it would be advisable to hold a con cilum between the three of you and Fitzi if desired and that you should decide the steps to be taken. I realise it will be a grave resoincibility which ever way you will decide,but since we are not in a position to do us I do not know what else to suggest.

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As you can imagine I am lancerated by my helplessness and by the seperation from Stella.Not that I would know better than you or Saxe,or Teddy what to do,still it would not hurt so terribly if I could at least see her.But even that is denied me.In fact Teddy writes me that even if I succeeded with a visa just to see and take care of Stella it would do no good. So what can I do except abide by whatever dicision you will take. But one thing is certain Fitzi is entirley mistaken when she writes that Teddy is closefiste. he had not even suggested to send a check to the hospital before Davy was operated,or that he begrudges any high expences for Stella It maybe thoughtlessness on Teddys part. That I readily believe. But that Teddy would not give his last to save Stella,or David that I consider preposterous.Besices there is no nece for Teddy to hold on to money,his mother is only too willing to send any amount needed to save Stella. However,Ian is right when he tells me it is his father who should cable for money and it should be sent to Teddy and not Saxe because not only would Teddy feel mortally hurt but also the old lady would be ruffled is she were cabled to send the money to Saxe with her oldest son on the spot. However if it were a question of Teddy refusing to cable which I cannot imagine than either Ian or I will do it.

Now that you understand that it is not money which must or has to be considered you will insist on a talk with Teddy and Sa Saxe.I wish it could also be some big psychatrist who might be consulted on the transfer. Anyway do what you can and write or cable me at my expence.

I will not leave London before the 25th of March so you can still reach me in London,after that in a double envelope the outer addressed to Mme Marthe Alperine,23 rue des Volontaires. Paris 15e

Please skip this letter to Fitzi as I had promised her in my last weeks letter to write her again when I have seen Ian. Give her my love and tell her so far I have not heard from Jo Coffin nor do I hope she will be able to help in re my re-entry to the States

I am completely broken up from the tragedy of Spain an and the fear of the consequences to the Spanish people from the dasturdly betrayal by Chamberlain, Deladier and the wolrd proletar iat of Spain.

Goodby my dear and thank you for the interest you tak in my unfortunate child.

With much love.

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Feb.28th 39

Darling Jeanne.

Our letters must again have passed each other on the high seas for I wrote you directly I got your letter with your check for fifty ~~fifty dollars~~ dollars and fifty cents. I am sure it has reached you by this time.

Yes, I know from Lillian that she and Will are expecting their first baby soon. Needless to tell you I should not have bordned them with the letter of appeal of Prof Paulis or with anything else had I know of the coming event. Well, I have called off the job anyway because I know enither what has become of Prof Paulis nor of the marvelous maternity Institution over which he presided. I can only hope that he escaped Francos vengeance by getting away with some of the others from stricken Barcelona. It may be with Paulis as it was with another comrade, the most famous lawyer who was state attoruney under the Republican government. Time on end he had been linient with Fascists,had never asked for the death penelty when there was the slightest possibility of setting them free,or giving them a light sentence. He would not leave barceloan because said he "Franco could not be so unfare to cindemn one who ha had been so fare to the Fascists. Well the first perons to be grabbed was comrade Babiero and to sentence him to death. He is probably no longer among the living. I am trying to find out about Prof.Paulis,but of course his appeal no longer has value thoungh one might later quoe his appeal in an independent appeal. I will see. The reason it was to be sent to scientists is that Paulis appealed to scientists and men of letters. By the way,if you got our last SIA Bulletin you have the appeal read it over. Or Lillian might send you some bulletins as I mailed her about hundred copies, also the accompanning letter.

The last step in the act of Judas Iscarior of modern times, the Chamberlains and Deladier has been taken.Franco has been regognised. Only now will the actual martyrdom of the Spanish people and our own comrades begin in earnest. France which has for over hundred and fifty years posed as the cradle of humanism,liberty and justice has shown its real character by the cruel and merciless treatment given to the hundreds of thousnds of refugees. Every correspondent without distinction of political leaning has describe

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"the hell on earth" which one reporter called the concentrat on camps. It is all tommy rot to excuse the inhumanity of the Franc government by the saying that it was taken unawares by the influx of refugees. The fact is the French government would just as well the majority of the refugees should perrish,or it is torturing them into submission to go back to Franoc,and still better to enrol them into the French Legion. Notrin so crude and calous has ever been demonstrated. But what will you the world proletariat knows all that happens in the camps, all that is happeneing in Barcelona yet they do nothing, not ing but talks and talks and stupid appeals to the democratic governments when it is precisely they who have betrayed and sold the Spanish people for a mess of pottage. I tell you dearest.the cowardly atttitude of the wokers has filled me with ore bitterness and resentment than the Chamberlains and Deladier or oosevelts. More and more I am coming to think that the masses do not want to be free and those of us who have given all our lives and are still doing it for the liberation of the workers were and are fools. frankly if I were not convinced that the only exception to the rule are the Spanish workers and peasant, that they are the only people who love liberty intensely I should now retire of the field of activity for the rest of m years. It is myabiding faith in the unconquerable spirit of our Spanish comrades which holds up my courage and my will to life.For,well I know that though their defeat now is the deepest tragedy the revolutionary cause has sustained the deafeat is not the final stage. There will be a renascance, a rebirth of the Spanish people,and then woe be to the present victors. The Spanish people are not Germans who took to Hitler as the babe takes to its mothers breast,nor are they British, emasculated,and made bloodless by Parliamantarism. The Spanish people cannot and will not bow their necks. True they ~~arexkxxxx~~ they have been broken physically,but as long there is a breath of life left them they will not forget or forgive those who have chained them now.

Yes,clothes are needed for the refugees but even more so money.for now the principle step now is to get the refugees or as many as possible out of the dreadful camps and send them somewheres where they will be allowed to live. That is what the CNT-FAI is concentrating on now. For the life of me I do not know who would give the sanctuary. already even the so called Left papers write that of course"Franco cannot be expected to amnesty the Anarchists, of other undesirable elements" Thats just it. The Anarchists were good enough to irrigate the fields of Spain with their blood and to sacrifice their lives,but they are not good enough to be treated equal to letters. You and I need not be surprised at that.We know the hatred against us in the world,not only by governments and those they serve but by every shade of Marxsists. The future alone will show how the latter have undermined every inch of ground conquered by our comrades and always claimed by the Communists in Spain. However, ether or comrades will find a place to setle on not sums are desperately needed. I know much has been contribut by our own people, as to the rest,our comrades never saw a can of bean,a bandaire or anything else.Nevertheless aa more intensive campaign should be started for materila help for the refugees. You get the comrades together and put it before them.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 28 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Dearest Ethel Mannin has decided not to sail for America until Sept. She had become somewhat panicy because of the crisis and the immidiate advent of war. She now thinks it will not come so soon. And so she is not sailing. Yes, she may also visit Chicago for the Exhibition and then I would ask her to get in touch with you.But as to giving you more information about England than Ican give you that is not the case. All there is to be said about England is that Chamberlain has carried out the bidding of the Bank of England and that he will continue his policy to the end . And that the Labor and Trade Union leaders are working overtime to kick Chamber lain out of Downing Street and place themselves in power. I attended a demonstration here Sunday.It was a travesty on Spain and an insult to the Spanish people.In fact it was the cheapest and most vulgar kind of electioneering I have seen in mydays camouflaged by int rest in the fate of the Spanish people. I have not words enough to express my disgust and loathing of these leaders to whom the Labor movement is a stepping stone to the House of Commons and to titles and licksbittle of ~~royalt~~royalty. However that has nothing to do with ethel, I will see that she gets in touch with you when in America. One thing I must tell you Ethel is no speaker and she hates to speak.Perhaps in a private gathering.We will see.

I have not heard ~~fr~~ from Jo Coffin yet. I supposue I will,but that does not mean that I have any hope ~~tx~~ she will succee. In after whatever hope I did have have been smashed by the reports I get of the frightful reaction in the States now, the witch huntin and the rest. Darling thinking that I might help my unfortunate Stella I wrote Teddy and Jo.Coffin I would be willing to forgo any public appearance if only I would be readmitted. The reply from Teddy and one of the psychatrists I also wrote to was that it would be useless because I would and could do Stella no good. With thiw excluded I could not get to the States and remained their gagged.In fact I would not do it.Any other country,perhaps but not in the one that has made me what I am,and where I am known from one end to the other. It would be too great a price to pay and would only cause me unbearable pain.

Darling what is the sense to speak to people who are more or less acquainted with what I would have to say? If I speak at all I must do so to reach the masses little faith as I have left in them. I don't mind an occasional pr vate gathering though even he here I might be asked as Angelica was not to touch upon Russia.Yet i it was Russia and Stalins contemptible foreign policy in Spain I would have to speak about for it is he who more than the others has sold Spain for thirty pieces of silver . No dearest I don't care for private meetings,it is not for me. Yes,if Mrs Roosevelt cou could be rea che though I doubt whether she would act in my behalf. In any event I ca do nothing about it so I must leave it to Jo Coffin or anyone else of my friends who want to get me back.

I am difinitely leaving here for Paris the 25th of next month,April 8th I sail for Montreal.I know already that it will be impossible to do anything there public or private because of the damnable Fascist and Catholic padlock law.So I will be

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there only a few days and then go on to Toronto which will [illegible] my headquarters. As it will be too late in the summer to [illegible] West of Canada I will be in Barnsbury Toronto when you [illegible] begin your trip. I know Toronto is a bit out of your way [illegible] York, still it ought not to matter to you and my going [illegible] We could visit better in Toronto where I would have my [illegible] in some town on the way in a hotel, but you can [illegible] time comes.

Yes, Rudolf is wonderful to be with. I had him [illegible] twice in St Tropez, once six weeks. They were [illegible] to my [illegible] wish it could happen again, but in Canada the pain will be [illegible] because I will be so near my dear R. and Milly and yet so [illegible]

Inclosed are copies of a letter from the [illegible] the CNT and my reply. You can let the Olays and Joe Goldman [illegible] but they are not for publication.

Love to Jay and yourself.

Great J.G ane the Olays from me.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 Feb. 28, London [to] Milly [Witcop Rocker, Crompound, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Roc

C.N.T. A.I.T. F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
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TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

London, Feb.28th 39

Dearest Milly. I have come to feel that writing you and Rudolf is like writing in the void. It takes weeks and mothns before eith of you reply. I know Rudolf is not much good when he is on tour for letters or anything else. Still there are times when one should even force onself to write to a close friend as I am. Besides, why do you not write? You two are the only people in America who know and understand the frightful blow the collapse of Catalonia has been to me. I should think you would have wanted to drop me a line if only to share the overwhelming tragedy with me knowing as you both must how alone I am here.

However, I am writing you in a matter of the utmost importance to me, it concerns Stella whose tragedy I feel with every fiber of my being. I understand that the psychiatrist who is now in charge of Stellas case in the Medical Center is a friend of Rudolfs. I was therefore suprised that R. or you have notgotten his reaction to Stellas condition and then written me. Surely you are interested in my unfortunate child? Why then have you not tried to have a talk with that doctor whose name I have forgotten. If you know him I wish you would make it your business to get to him and let me know whether he seriously thinks Stella has a chance in the Medical Center to regain her mental clarity. Or if you cannot speak to him, rush a letter to Rudolf to write the man. I am sure he must realise how urgent the matter is and how he would relieve me if he would let me know what the Dr has to say.

I inclose 2 copies of a letter from Vazouez and my reply by next mail I will also send you copy of the statement the CNT has issued. Its all too terrible to bear this tragic defeat of so glowing a beginning. How rotten France has proven itself, how unspeakably inhuman in the treatment of the refugees and in the brazen hurry to recognise Franco, as to England, I have no words to express my loathing of Chamberlain, the Labor and Trade Union leaders and the people themselves.

I am leaving here next month about the 25th, and I sail for Canada April 8th. I no longer know why I am going to Canada but any place is better than this hypocrotocal and selfsuffient country. I will be in Paris two weeks to see our poor stricken Spanish comrades whom I may never see again.

I implore you Milly write me as quickly as possib Not that Rudolf desreve it but give him my love anyhow. Love to Polly and yourself.

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Feb. 28 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. – 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Am 28. Februar 1939

Liebe Emma,

ich hätte gestern noch eine praktische Anfrage gehabt, vergass sie aber. Darum heute nocheinmal. Falls Du mir ohne besondere Mühe zu haben diese Woche noch einmal schreibst, beantworte sie bitte wenn möglich; weisst Du nicht Bescheid so tut es auch nichts, ist nicht so weltenwichtig.

Ich sagte Dir: wir fahren am 7. über Kopenhagen, falls wir das Visum bekommen, und versuchen über London zu fahren (Abfahrt:London am 8.) falls nicht. Ich frage dieser Tage nochmals beim englischen Konsulat ob sie meinen spanischen Pass noch immer anerkennen. Wenn ja, dann möchten wir so schnell wie möglich fahren, um nicht eine Veränderung der Dinge zu riskieren... Man sagt auf dem Konsulat dass man als Durchreisender 48 Stunden Aufenthalt nehmen kann. Dann dürften wir erst am 6. hier wegfahren, möchten aber eventuell schon am 5.

Dies wäre nur möglich, wenn in England solche Sachen nicht zu scharf kontrolliert werden, bezw. wenn es Schlafgelegenheit (für 3 Nächte) gibt, wo keine Kontrolle üblich und zu erwarten ist.

In Frankreich z.B. nimmt man die kurze Ueberschreitung eines Durchgangsvisums nicht wichtig.

Falls möglich und wir über England fahren müssen, würden wir dann am 5. abends dort sein und am 8. mittags wegfahren. Falls Du diese Woche schreibst, sag uns doch bitte Deine Meinung hierzu.

Sollten wir das dänische Visum bekommen, so würden wir den billigeren Weg über Kopenhagen nehmen, auch ists möglich, dass jede Reise mit dem spanischen Pass unmöglich wird - dann bleiben wir eben hier und betreiben unsere Fremdenpassdémarche weiter. Heute sind wir ja wieder zu neuen vier Wochen Aufenthalt "begnadigt" worden.

Mir fallt noch ein, dass Du nach Augustin fragtest. Ich sah ihn nicht und möchte auch nicht hingehen, aber Dora war gestern bei ihm und berichtete mir, dass er wohl und "dick und rund" aussehe. Und sehr freundlich war; während Therese in eine wüste Schimpfkanonade ausbrach, als sie der Frau des Rüdiger ansichtig wurde...

Der arme Klose ist mit Egon in einem Lager bei Argeles, in schlimmen Verhältnissen. Die übrigen deutschen Genossen sind diesem Schicksal entronnen, um einem noch ungewisseren hier in Paris entgegenzuwarten.

Dies als Nachtrag zu meinem gestrigen Brief. Die Sache ist nicht wichtig, ich frage nur für den Fall, dass Du diese Woche ohnehin noch einmal schreiben und zufällig über diese Sache Bescheid wissen solltest. Sei es wie es wolle, vielleicht können wir Dich Montag oder Dienstag einmal in London begrüssen.

Herzliche Grüsse! Helmut

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[Letter] 1939 March 1 [London to Mariano R. Vázquez, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 4 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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20539

1 de Marzo de 1939.

Querido camarada,

Gracias por tu carta del 21 ppdo. y tus declaraciones. No estoy segura si deseas que mande copias de dicha declaracion a nuestra prensa en America y otros paises, y tambien que la use en nuestra publicacion SPAIN AND THE WORLD, que ahora aparece bajo el titulo: REVOLT. Aclarame este extremo tan pronto como te sea posible.

Antes de que me refiera particularmente a varios puntos de tu carta deseo preguntarte algo acerca de una carta que me enviastes desde Barcelona, fechada 19 de Diciembre ultimo. Venia con una carta del Secretario de la Federacion Nacional de las Industrias Siderometalurgicas y tambien una lista con cerca de 1000 nombres de miembros de esta Federacion, que deberia yo trasladar al Secretario de la Iron and Steel Federation de Londres. Desgraciadamente yo me encontraba en Holanda cuando estos documentos llegaron a mi regrese en Enero ya era demasiado tarde para hacer nada en el asunto. Se me ocurre que tu puedas saber mas o menos si alguno de los camaradas de la Federacion consiguieron escapar de Barcelona y llegaron a "hospitable" Francia y en que campo se encuentran. Si fuera posible saber su paradero. tal vez me sea posible inducir a la Iron and Steel Federation de Londres a que hagan algo por ellos. Espero tus noticias sobre este particular.

Tu referencia a mis "criticas" de lo s compromisos llevados a cabo y alusion de que son los mismos que los de otros companeros me han apenado mucho. No sabia que yo te habia criticado a ti o demas companeros por vuestras actuaciones. Admito que hubieron muchas ocasiones cuando tenia ganas de decirte lo que yo pensaba de los compromisos que ibais contrayendo, pero siempre pense que el tiempo no era propisio para mi hacer referencia a lo que yo consideraba errores de tu parte y que seguramente tendrian que desembocar en consecuencias desastrosas. El hecho de que no obstante continuo haciendo cuanto de mi depende en este pais en favor de vuestra lucha, deberia probarte que considero que ninguna diferencia de opinion es tan importante, que no me vaya a permitir colaborar con vosotros mientras la lucha continue.

Recordaras que al celebrarse la Conferencia extraordinaria de la A.I.T. dije entre otras cosas, que la falta de nuestros companeros espanoles era que ellos resentian toda critica que dimanara de otros camaradas que no eran espanoles, por muy sincera y bien intencionada fuese la critica. Pensaba entonces y aun pienso, que fue esta caracteristica vuestra la responsable de muchos de los malentendidos entre vosotros y los camaradas fuera de Espana. No obstan-

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te es un hecho que nuestros criticos mas severos resultan ser nuestros mas devotos amigos. Ademas, de expresar una opinion no constituye necesariamente una critica.

Dices en tu carta "nadie traciono a nadie", y en el siguiente parrafo dices que "en publico podremos probar que la responsabilidad de la perdida de la guerra se debe absolutamente a los otros sectores que precipitaron nuestra derrota". Si ello es cierto, como yo he estado convencida hace tiempo de que los otros sectores os arrastraban al precipicio, entonces hubo tracion. De otra manera porque exponer su perfidia. Fracamente ello me parece a mi una contradicion.

En cuanto a tu declaracion de que la C.N.T. no habia hecho bastantes compromisos; que resulto ser demasiado revolucionaria, metiendo miedo al capitalismo internacional, he de decirte que no solo me sorprendio sieno que no comprendo la falta de vision de vuestra parte. Estimo, querido companero, que si esta es la leccion que habeis recibido de vuestra heroica lucha y los sacrificios tan enormes que habeis realizado, entonces deberias dejar de tener ideales revolucionarios y llamarte libertario, porque nunca hubo una revolucion y nunca podra haber otra que no "meta miedo al capitalismo internacional". Ni tampoco podra ser acallado el capitalismo internacional a menos que se emascule completamente las intenciones revolucionarias. Creo que Rusia deberia mostrarse como un ejemplo practico de este hecho. El rebano del capitalismo internacional, bien fascista o democratico, piden favores a Stalin. Estos mismos elementos lucharon contra la Revolucion Rusia a sangre y fuego, mientras en Rusia esta tenia vestigios revolucionarios; pero fue el aplastamiento de la Revolucion Rusia por Lenin y despues por Stalin, lo que ha dado unos momentos mas de respiro al capitalismo del mundo entero. Stalin queriendo congraciarse con el Capitalismo internacional, es exactamente lo que ha estado haciendo Chamberlain con Hitler y Mussolini. Ayuda a incrementar el apetito de la avaricio por dominio universal, incluso la conquista de Espana, de todo Gobierno imperialista. Y ademas paraliza los deseos de reinvindicacion del proletariado mundial.

El 19 de Julio revivio el espiritu de los proletarios y les influyo grandes esperanzas para el futuro. Por tanto no puedo menos que sentir que si la Revolucion espanola hubiese podido seguir su ritmo, hubiese habido mas directa ayuda y solidaridad por vuestra lucha. Luego llego la mano negra de Stalin. Su nuevo reclamo que salvaria al mundo y tambien la politica extranjera de Stalin. Democracia, no Revolucion'. Democracia entonces se convirtio en el grito de batalla. Bien, los trabajadores en los paises democraticos saben por experiencia que democracia no es mas que fascismo con careta. Por que iban ellos a ayudar en una guerra para salvar a la democracia cuando sabian que el mismo grito en la ultima guerra habia enviado a la muerta a 10 millones de hombres. Comprendo, querido Vazquez, que todo en esta vida es relativo. Yo personalmente prefiero algunas libertadas politicas bajo una democracia que ninguna libertad bajo el fascismo, mero las masas no razonan, siguen su instinta, que por regla general es correcto. En el caso de Espana, los trabajadores realizaron pronto que las promesas del 19 de Julio habian sido convertidas en paliativos de la misma menera que las promesas de la Revolucion rusa, y ello ciertamente contribuyo

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a apagar todas sus aspiraciones, pues debes tener en cuentas que vuestros aliados, especialmente el sector comunista, hicieron todo lo que pudieron por engañar a los trabajadores fuera de Espana con respecto a vuestros motivos en vuestra lucha contra el Fascismo. Nunca les fue permitido saber que la C.N.T.-F.A.I. deseaba ganar la guerra con el objeto de desarrollar la obra de construccion social empezada el 19 de Julio y no con el pretecto de asentar de nuevo el capitalismo en Espana. No solo hicieron esto los comunistas, sino que diseminaron por todos los medios que disponian los rumores que la C.N.T.-F.A.I. sabotoeaban la guerra. Cuando te digo que el escritor H.G.Wells, cuando se le pidio un donativo en nombre de la S.I.A., dijo que no daba ni un peniqué "porque los anarco-sindicalistas y anarquistas ponian obstaculos al Gobierno para proseguir la guerra". Con esto comprenderas como el mundo fuera de Espana y especialmente los trabajadores fueron tenidos en ignorancia acerca de los motivos de la C.N.T.) F.A.I. Ademas, continua la decepcion, el corresponsal del News Chronicle, en el numero de ayer, dice que los mayores genios militares y heroes de la guerra, Lister, Modesto y Galan han declarado que el P.C. esta resuelto a continuar la guerra. Comopodras ver, los trabajadores en Europa han sido engañados por completo. No tengas la impresion que yo excuso o justifico la falta de accion solidaria de parte del proletariado internacional a favor de la lucha en Espana contra el Fascismo. Esto se lo perdono menos que la traicion de las Democracias. No era favorable a los intereses de las Democracias el ayudar a vuestro lado, pero si era de interes para los trabajadores el apoyar por medio de accion revlocionaria a sus hermanos espanoles. He procurado explicar la apatia de las masas porque no pareces que realizas que ello se efectuo como resultado de la politica exterior de Stalin; por sus designios imperialistas, que no paran en estrangular todo vestigio de sentido revolucionario no solo en Rusia sino tambien en Espana.

Tienes razon cuando dices que "una Revolucion en un pais solamente no puede tener exito a menos que tenga el apoyo de la solidaridad del proletariado internacional", pero tampoco puede tener exito tratando de secar las lagrimas del capitalismo internacional. Hayn un dicho en ingles que uno no puede servir a Dios y al Diablo al mismo tiempo. Tiene uno pues que consistentemente seguir sus ideales revolucionarios y entonces uno presta un servicio a las masas, o uno desea congraciar al capitalismo mundial, entonces hay que hacer concesion tras concesion dia por dia hasta que nada queda de la Revolucion. No se puede servir a los dos lados. No puedo comprender, por tanto, quando dices que no habeis contraido bastantes compromisos.

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Creemo que no deseos juzgarte a ti o a los demas companeros de la C.N.T. ni deseo hechar sal en vuestras heridas, que son tambien nias. Tengo mucha mas experiencia que muchos de los demas companeros extranjeros que han estado en Espana, y se las enormes dificultades en vuestro camino y los metodos criminales de las democracias y fascismo para quitaros la victoria. La falta de armas, la falta de provisiones, los bombardeos continuos. Yo lo experimente todo y trato de pintar las cadenas a nuestros camaras fuera de Espana, asi como a los trabajadores siempre que pude llegar hacia ellos. No estoy criticando, solo deseo apuntar ciertos hechos que han contribuido al desastre. Solo quiero anadir otra cosa. La falta de armas fue seguramente una de las causas primordiales de la derrota, pero existe otra factor igualmente importante. Se trata de la fe inquebrantable de los trabajadores y campesinos. Me temo que esta disminuye de dia en dia en proporcion con el ritmo en que la maquinaria del Estado fue yendo a parar a las manos de Negrin y su Gobierno. Esto lo pude ver en mi ultima visita y mis conversaciones con muchos de los camaradas de la C.N.T.-F.A.I.; pero asi y todo no disminuye mi fe en vuestro triunfo final. Sin embargo, no creo que estais derrotados, no espiritualmente. Creo y tengo tal fe en el espiritu del pueblo espanol y dea nuestros companeros, que estoy segura que no podran ser conquistados por completo. Es por esta razon que no pienso como tu cuando dices que "ilusiones en sentido revolucionario son una cosa y realidades otra". Isisto que realidad sin ilusiones revolucionarias se vuelven una cosa sin vida; una decepcion que aceptas la sombra por la substancia.

Ruegote que no te molestes por lo que te escribo, pues no deseo ofendarte. Al contrario, cualquiera que sean nuestros puntos de vista, nada podra afectar mi fe en ti y los demas companeros; mi admiracion por los sacrificios que todos habeis hecho; el corage y valor que todos habeis demostrado y vuestra devocion hacia la lucha. Hasta mi ultima hora tendre fe en la C.N.T.-F.A.I. y procurare servirle en todo cuanto de mi dependa.

Ya he hecho arreglos definitivos para embarcar para el Canada el 8 de Abril y espero poder ir a Paris entre el 20 o 25 de Marzo. Confio podre encontrarte ahi.

Fraternalmente,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 1, Marseille [France to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Emilia Roca. – 2 p. ; 20 × 31 cm.

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Marzo 1 - 1939

Amiga y compañera Goldman

Si te he molestado con cartas y telegramas ha sido por lo que me dijo Mauro que tu podías hacer, que tu dijiste (el dia que viniste a mon Nou) que tu irias a casas particulares a buscar fondos para estos niños, yo así lo entendí de Mauro. Por eso al encontrarme tan apurada, al entrar en Francia le escribí pensando que ya tenías recogidos todos esos fondos para esos niños que yo he salvado de la Guerra

...tinuo en salir de España ...cho que ahora esta en París, gestionando ayuntos aun del Gobierno Republicano.

No sé aun que será de todos nosotros, pues Peiró Eliás no cree que pueda volver a España.

Emilia Roca

Adresse:
marseille
Bouches du Rhône
Hôpital Salvator
Mme. Henri Barascout (cuisinier)
pour Emilia Roca

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con tantos peligros. Por eso
y porque ya hace cerca 3 a
que estás conmigo me
muy penoso tenerme que
separar de ellos.

Estamos aquí
como podemos gracias a unos
compañeros que nos han pro-
porcionado una casa en las
montañas muy lejos del
pueblo y nos mandan la
comida cuando que no-
sotros queramos.

Como no
tengo dinero a los muchac-
hos la Ana zapatos y ella
pos que si tu puedes mas
dame algo de los con-
guare.

Pues Elías fué de los

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[Letter, 19]39 March 1, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin [Souchy]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.
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Paris, den 1. März 39

Liebe Emma!

Deinen Brief habe ich erhalten. Ich meine den zweiten. Auf den ersten Brief wollte ich nicht antworten, bis ich nicht von Schweden Antwort erhielt. Ich dachte mir nämlich: wenn die Schweden mir das gleiche oder ähnliches über den Artikel schreiben, dann muss schon was wahres daran sein. Ich erhielt, vor einer Woche Mitteilung aus Schweden, dass man in dem Artikel einen wertvollen Beitrag zur Beleuchtung der Situation sah, die in Barcelona vor dem Fall herrschte. Als ich diesen Brief aus Schweden erhielt schrieb ich Dir einen vier Seiten langen Brief als Antwort. Ich steckte ihn in meine Rocktasche und vergass ihn, abzuschicken. Vorige Woche reiste ich nach Perpignan und dann nach Le Boulou, gleich vor Perthus, an die Grenze, um mir mein Manuskript zu holen, über die Kollektivierung in Mittelspanien, das die Polizei dort beschlagnahmt hatte. (Du weisst, ich habe daran fast ein ganzes Jahr gearbeitet). Die Polizei erklärte mir, das Manuskript sei ans Innenministerium oder ans Kriegsministerium gesandt worden, ausserdem interessierte sich die Polizei in Boulou sehr für meine Person. Ich wurde 5 Stunden festgehalten. Während dieser Zeit suchte ich alle meine Taschen durch, fand den an Dich geschriebenen Brief. Natürlich wollte ich nicht, dass er in die Hände der Polizei fällt Ich ging ins Klosett und vernichtete alle Papiere, die kompromittierend waren. Darunter auch den Brief an Dich.

Das ist also die Geschichte, warum ich Dir nicht geantwortet habe. Ich bedaure, dass Du den Brief nicht erhalten hast. Ich habe darin das ganze Problem noch einmal behandelt. Dass ich Dir böse werden könnte weil Du als "Mutter" mir auch mal die Leviten liest, kommt ja garnicht in Frage. Ich fühle zu Dir die alte Anhänglichkeit und Freundschaft.

Die Lage der Genossen ist furchtbar. Die Zeitungslektüre gibt den Eindruck, als ob es jetzt alles gut geht. Falsch. Immer noch schlafen - das war vorigen Sonnabend, die Berthe Ascaso hat es mir in Perpignan mitgeteilt, sie war tags vorher dort - die Genossen der 26. Division auf blossem Schnee bei Puigverda, immer noch sind die Genossen in Argelès ohne Zelte. Das Elend ist unbeschreiblich. Die Lebensmittel werden roh geliefert. Stell Dir vor: wer keinen Topf hat, muss warten, bis der andere oder die andern mit ihrem Essenkochen fertig sind, um sein Gemüse oder was er sonst noch bekommt, kochen zu können. Schlafen immer noch auf dem Sande am Meeresstrande. Wer keine eigene Decke mitgenommen hat, (und das haben doch die wenigsten) muss ohne Decke schlafen. Das ist noch jetzt so.

In Boulou traf ich 7 Genossen, alles Intellektuelle, darunter Lopez Alarcon. Diese Genossen schlafen auf einem Heuboden, zu essen haben sie, was ihnen die französische Gendarmerie gibt. Sie wollten Deine Adresse haben. Ich gab sie ihnen. Sie wollten an Dich schreiben, Du solltest Dich an englische Intellektuelle wenden, damit diese ihren spanischen Kollegen helfen. Das sind: Dramatiker, Schauspieler, Journalisten, Maler, Schriftsteller. Ob Du was machen kannst, wird Du am besten selber beurteilen können.

Ich möchte, dass der Brief sofort an Dich abgeht und schliesse ihn obwohl ich noch viel zu schreiben hätte. Herzlichst Dein alter

Augustin

The kid is here in Paris for the rights for a new problem!

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880726109

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 1, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Elisa [Kater?]. — 1 p. ; 30 × 24 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23511

Paris 1. 3. 39.

Liebe Emma!

Ich habe deinen lieben Brief erhalten und mich sehr gefreut, dass du dich an uns erinnerst. Ich hatte und bin auch noch in einer schlechten Stimmung! Heute ist moralisch wie seelisch vollständig gebrochen. Die Lage für den Spanier ist schrecklich. Viel Kummer und Sorgen auf fast keine Hilfe für die unsrigen! Heute sagte er hatte nicht gutes von den Lagern erwartet, wo er sich jetzt tage befand, aber was dort vorgeht hätte er sich nie vorgestellt. Das alles ist unmöglich in Briefen zu schildern! Liebe Emma er befindet sich jetzt mit Herrera und andern genossen weit von Paris, in einer Hütte oder Küche! Ich kann mir vorstellen wie sehnsüchtig du auf nachrichten warten, aber ich kann leider keine weiteren mitteilungen machen; da ich nicht über andern minderen weiter zusprechen. Wir Spanier müssen 30 Klm. von Paris wohnen man verfolgt sehr hier! Nun meine liebe Emma wo werden wir alle enden! Hoffen wir, wenn wir dich zum 20ten hier begrüßen können das ein Land seine Pforten für uns öffnet und wir uns in einer ecke wieder lassen können! Nun sei recht herzlichst gegrüßt wie immer

deine Elisa!

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 2 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

March 2nd 39

Dearest Ethel, I received a letter in Spanish from Lucia Sanchez Saornil and also a Bulletin which SIA issued. As you will see when I will send you copies of the translation of both our comrades go on with the work in the face of the most appalling conditions. Lucia asks me to tell you that money can go to Camara in Marseille as usual. So you can go ahead and send whatever you think best. At the sametime it is necessary to consider some of the individual refugees who are in a frightful condition. They have reached Paris pennyless and in tatters, they have no documents of any sort, they are in the gravest danger of being picked up any moment and sent back to the murderous camps. One such a comrade has been at the front from the very beginning of the battle. It would take a whole volume to describe all the horrors he went through. He is a German and a volunteer in the truest sense. I had a heart breaking letter from a mutual friend in Paris about this case. I could not even wait until I would submit this case to you and see if you are willing that a few pounds should be sent him. I rushed $10 to him last night of my own. Let me know what you think.

Another case is that of the courageous woman who took the thirty children to her peasant house in the mountains. I believe I told you about her. She has them all near Perpignan in the direst need. Could we send her a little money? Oh, it is all so frightfully inadequate and the returns to our appeal are also and very great. Still, we must do what we can. I am sure you will agree.

I have finally arranged for my sailing. It will be April, 8th but I have decided to go over to Paris for about ten days to see the Spanish comrades once more. It maybe my last chance. They are trying to get sanctuary in Mexico or Chili or any such country too far removed for me to reach, then too in my age one can not count in too many years. So I am determined to see them again or some of them before I leave Europe. I am not yet sure when I will go to Paris. I find that sailing from a French port will cost more because figured in dollars than from Southampton. In fact I will even save a little after paying my fare for a return tocket to Paris.

We have decided on one more meeting in Conway Hall we are hopping to get enough individual contributions to cover the

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the expense of the meeting . The appeal will be for the re[illegible] wh[illegible] we hope we will not need to touch toward e penses. The drawb[illegible] is the lack of speakers. We will ask John McNair of course. I wonder would you presides since it is not a meeting to ask for arms but a protest against the damnable treachery of the democracies and the lethargy of the workers who have never at any time resonded as they should have done,by direct and and vigerous action. Please tell me quite frnakly dear if you would rather not.

I understand you are to speak in Friends House tomorro[illegible] I am coming to hear you and see you at the same time.

With love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 2 [London to Annie Adama van] Scheltema[-Kleefstra, Amsterdam] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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March 2nd 39

Dear Mme Scheltema.

Thanks for your letter. I was very sorry indeed to learn of your illness.I hope you will not rush back to the Institute too soon. You surely know that the aftermate of Flu is often worse than the beginning and that one must rest fo consider able time even if one feels quite recovered,especially is this ture in cases of an affecte heart. So be wise and take your time get really strong before you resume your labors.

I am sorry to tell you that the ques ions of the boxes of printed matter was entirely my mistake.M A.M.L had the Spanish correspondence in mind and I understood him to refer to the printed material. I am sorry. The boxes will go to day. You will find in one of them a package of material including two scrap books of mine which Iwant to add to the other material and not for general use. In fact I want to ask you to make up a set of everything for me, I mean after you have picked out whatever is missing in the coll ection you already have. After the horrible catastrphy in Catalonia I value every scrap of paper ever so much more because ~~nothing~~ not a single thing will ever be replaced. So will you kindly ask whoever will assort the material in the boxes to put aside my own set and esp cially EVERYTHING contained in the package you will find in one of the cases.

You say you are beginning to read my Manuscript Just what MSS do you mean? I ask because I was assured that ALL Mr Berkmans and my material has been shipped with other important material to a safe place. I am therefore a bit anxious to know what MSS is still at the Institute that you have begun to read. Yes,indeed I know that the Insittute is taking great care of everything.I am not worried about that.

y Spanish correspondence which is now of greater value than even before and also because of the confidence my comrades have shown in frankly telling me of everything will go to the English address before I sail for Canada. I have also discovered anther batch of letters containing wonderful tribute to Alexander Berkman after his death. These letters are invaluable for one who will

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[Letter, 19]39 March 2 [London to Annie Adama van] Scheltema[-Kleefstra, Amsterdam] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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want to write his biography.No less interesting are letters from G.B.SH and other leading people in England which I als discovered. As I said all this material will go to your English address before I leave England.

I have made all reservations to sail April 8th.But I have to go to Paris for about ten days to see and confer with my martyred Spanish comrades who are in France and can be reached. I expect to leave here for Paris about the 25th of this month,then come back thr 5th of April to sail by a British port the 8th. Mail will therefore reach me here to the last moment.After April 8th my address will be c/o Mr Joe Desser 759,Bathurst Street,Toronto Canada. That is an indifinite address,I mean it will be my head quaters and will reach me whereever I will be in Canada. I will let youknow the name of the ship later in case you should want to send me a last moment message.

With my kindest and best wishes for your speedy recovery.

Sincerely.

Yes "all that we have to live through in these terrible days is too much". Yet one seems to survive more than one would believe before the catastrophy happens. I am torn in shreds by the letters I receive from my unfortunate comrades especially about the truly babarous treatment in the French concentration camps. True they are not beaten as in Germna camps,but outside of that the French have proven themselves as cruel and savage.Even the Tory TIMES had an article by an eye witness of the horrors to which the refugees are subjected to. To day I received a letter from my comrade at the head of SIA that she and her committee had succeeded in placing the children about two thousands of the SIA colonies in Cataluna with families. Along came the French authorities to take the children away and place them in Catholic institutions without any regard as to whom the children belonged. Let no one ever gain tell me thath e French are more humane than any other people. They have shown their reall character now.

Please send me the address of Nikolaevsky.I want to look him up when in Paris.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 2, Beaconsfield [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Herbert Read. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

BROOM HOUSE SEER GREEN BEACONSFIELD 23512

JORDANS 2194

2.3.39

Dear mma Goldman,

I am sorry to have taken so long to answer your letter, but now that I do answer it I will give you the right answer. I will do something for VANGUARD, if possible before the week is out. If you are writing, please tell them that it is on the way.

I would very much like to see you before you leave. Would you please be my guest for a change, and have lunch with me one day. I could come to Soho, somewhere convenient for you. Unfortunately I have got fixed up every day between now and the 10th. Would Friday the 10th or Tuesday the 14th suit you?

I have been reading Ciliga's book, which Maria Luisa lent to me. What a devastating exposure it is! I have just a moment ago reached a sentence which I feel like quoting to you: "Les hommes et les partis qui ne savent pas montrer l'audace, qui ne savent pas s'enthousiasmer pour des "utopies", ne feront jamais rien de grand. Si l'on avait adopté l'attitude des social-démocrates, il aurait fa lu conclure qu'il aurait mieux valu ne jamais se lancer dans l'utopie socialiste. Quant à moi, si l'utopie n'était point réalisée, il s'ensuivait qu'il fallait continuer la lutte pour sa réalisation." I think you will agree that these words express the attitude we should all adopt in the present dark days.

Yours sincerely,

Herbert Read

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 3 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
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March 3rd 39

Darling Jeanne.

I mailed you a letter to your business address which sailed on the Paris Wed. Since then I got yours of Feb. 19th. I am rushing a relpy to leave tomorrow on the Queen Mary. I sau rushing because I have to write between and betwixt. I just came back from two engagements with people about some of our comrades in the French hell holes. I had a letter yesterday from a comrade in Paris who went to visit some of the frightful camps. He came upon one that had a group of intellectuals in a most aappalling state. They asked for my address an he gave it to them. For the life of me I do not know what to do for them. I have no way of reaching anybody. The ihn intelegentsia her is almost entirely communists and they will not respond to my appeal, or do anything for our people. So I went to see a publisher here imploring him to help me. He told me there was an organisation consisting of non Communist intellectuals who have already raised thousands of pound but that the French government will not permit them to come near the camps or get in touch with the in ofrtunate refugees. You can see that I was right when I wrote you and other comrades that the French government at the request of Franco is torturing our people into consenting to go back to Franco. It is the most atrotious act ever committet by any government; Talk about the savagry of Hitler. I onot see the French ~~xxxx~~ doing any better. At five Herbert Read is coming to see me at the office an unless I get this letter finished it will not go to day on the Queen Mary

Darling I was going to cable you imploring you to get some money for this group of intellectuals, we must save them even if we cannot save all the bulk. If you get it cable the amount, get to some of the writers or dramatists in Chicago. Anybody. I know it will be difficult, but I tell you these people will perish if they are not helped soon. Perhaps a capaign canbe starte for asylum in A. for these people. Oh, yes I know I am foolish to think that, but we must try everything, even the impossible.

Darling I have at last booked my passage, I am sailing April 8th from Southampton. I may have to go over to Paris to see our comrades who have escaped he camps an are now illegal an penny less hiding in Paris. I mean to go there the 26th of this month a and return the fifth or sixth to sail.

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Thank you a thousan times for saying you might be able to join me next autumn and help organise meetings in Cana a. You are quite right it will be too late this ~~xxxx~~ spring as I shall not reach Toronto before the 2~~0~~th of April.But it is a comfort ~~to~~ know that you might be able to help me in Sept. Dearest,if it were a question of A. I would not consent to being booked for lectures by an agency. It was a grievious mistake last time. But it is another matter in Canada. Outside of Toronto we have hardly any contacts there. If then you could find an agency to book me all through Canada as far as Van couver it will mean a load of my shoulders. The only question is w what the agency wi~~ll~~ want me to talk about. You see nothing is so important to me than to talk on the possibilities of Spain and why thou have collapsed, and also on the Eurpean situation. I could not possibly talk on anything else,literature, dram or any other such cultural themes I used to talk about are too trivial to me now, I could not possibly muster up enough interest to talk about them.So if you think you might find an agency to book me by all means go ahea . I think it would be necessary to make the con ition a flat rate,so much a lecture an not on any percentage a s last time. Any how see what you can do.

I hope Lyons can help you arrange with a lecture bureau for Rudolf. I should think it would be easier for him than for me because he could talk on Nationalism and Culture, a sub ject of General appeal. Dearie I know nothing about Lyons the man I only know that he has done a prodigious ~~p~~ece of work in the Sacco an Vanzetti case, and that his work on Russia is tremendious As to whether he want publicity an whether he is sensational I do not know. I have never met the man.Juging from his book he is int ensely sincere. For the rest it may all be Communist gossip. Natur ally they cannot forgive him his disclosures. I would not pay any attention to it. Yes, I have heard that ~~hh~~ and someone else are now additing the Mercury. When I r ach Canada I will write him whether he would take an article on the truth about the Spanish Republican tovermment and its ~~xxxx~~ Communist allies which is mainly respons ible for the collapse of Catalona. I could not write him now ~~xxxx~~ because I still have a lot to do to win up affairs here before I leave Englan .

Inclosed is copy of a statement issued by our comrades. Darling I have sent everything to you direct. It was only the Bullet ins an the a dresses, also copy of my sport on my last visit ~~xxx~~ which I sent to Lillian and that only because I had no idea she was pregnant.

In haste but with loads of love.

880523005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 3, London [to] Esther [Laddon, Toronto] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p.; 27 × 22 cm.

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Ethel Mannin, Hon. Treasurer
[redacted], Hon. Secretary

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

Telephone: GERrard 2636

March 3rd 39

Dearest Esther. As you never reply to letters I have felt writing you was writing in the void. However, to day I have something difinite to tell you. I have booked my passage to Canada for the 8th of April Never before when I booked for Canada have I been asked about rel atives in Canada. I said I had someone closer than a relative and I gave your name, also address and that I was going to stay with you. I hope I have not taken too much liberty ~~i~~bdoing so. I do not believe the authorities will make inquiries, but I wanted to prepare you in case they did. I also said I had lived in your house every time I was in Toronto.

Dear Esther while I have no anxiety about diff iculties in landing, after all I am a Briths subject, it might help a great deal if you would send me an invitation. Simply state you want me to come for a visit and do the writing I contemplate, or for a rest. Of course the invitation must be for Mrs Emma G. Colton I remain here until the 26th of March so you can send it to me here. There is time even until the 5th of April as I leave only April 8th. I am going to stop off for a few days in Montreal per haps getting to Toronto about the April 20th. I would rather not my coming to Canada should become widely known. When I reach Montreal or even when we reach Quebec I will wire you. My address in Montreal will be c/o Rose Bernstein 198 Campagneur, Outremont Montreal Que. The invitation must be sent to me to London, get Dorothy or Ben to write it please.

I am sending some inclosures that will int erest you. I am looking forward to seeing you again soon my dear.

Give my kind greetings to Ben. With love.

Emma

880523005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 3, London [to] Esther [Laddon, Toronto] / Emma Goldman.– 2 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.

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London NW 11
England –

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1939 March 4, London [to] Esther Laddon, Toronto / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 13 × 16 cm.

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S.S.Queen Mary
March 4th 39
Southampton

LONDON W.C. 12 45 AM 4 MAR 1939

4 copies of letters 1939

Mrs Esther Laddon
132 Lytton Blvrd
Toronto Ont.
Canada.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1939 March 4, London [to] Esther Laddon, Toronto / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 13 × 16 cm.

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R.G.Colton
6, Sneath Avenue
London N.W.11
England

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 4, London [to Herman] Scheerer, [Nice] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London March 4th 39.

Dear Mr Scheerer. I am too distressed and griefstricken with the news sent me by wire by Dr D'ECK of the nearing end of Emmy I have not the strength to concentrate on a German letter. I hope you know enough English to read this.

First of all I beg you to get in touch with DR D'ECK and tell him I have sent some money ~~taxxxxx~~ in his name to the American ~~xxxxx~~ Express as he wired me he would take charge of every thing needed to lay poor suffering Emmy to rest. I am writing him to his place of residence but in case there is any delay in the delivery of my letter to him I want him to learn through you to go to the A.E.

I dare say you must have often considered it cruel on my part to be so opposed to operations for Emmy. She may,or may not have told you that of all the doctors who had taken Xrays of her intestines and stomach and there must have been a ozen at least,big men in Paris Prague and Vienna,not one ordered an operation.On the contrary they insisted the knife would kill her.I myself took E,to an American physician connected with the American Hospital in Paris who had E. under observation for weeks.it was after her first ~~criminal~~ operatio n on her stomach and he told me the operation was criminal,it never should have been made.He also assured me that operations will prove fatal in E's casse. This was the reason for Mr Berkmans determination never to permit her to go under the knife and Iwhy I was so opposed to it.Unfortunately Mr Berkman was the only one who could keep E. from the mad step.After his death though I pleaded with her and implored her not to submit to being cut up inch by inch she would not listen.And so the end came as it was bound to come . I repeat E would have suffered less if she had ended her life by one gesture. That she should have chosen slow suicide with frightful sufferink is too terrible for me to contemplate. But there is no use to argue the matter now. If I do it it is only to assure you that it was not indifference to Emmy,or hardness of heart on my part which made me so a grant in regard to th sacrifice of E to the criminal insistanc of the surgeons who finished E. that she needed to be operated.

I have written Dr D'ECK to arrange for the simpliest kind of E's last resting place because I have not the means for anything eloberate,nor do I consider it necessary because the living need our help more than the dead. And I have many more living friends and comrades in the frightful French concentration camps my scanty possession can supply. I hope you will not think me calous for saying so .My old pal and life long friend Alexander Berkman lived only for his ideal and I myself have had no other interests in life. As a result my friend died in poverty and I am not far from it.Still as long as E.lived I tried to do my utmost for her,and now too I have strained every means to send £15 to Dr D'ECK.For in the last analysis it can not matter to poor suffering E how she is going to be put to everlasting rest.

Thank you for all you have done for E. In her misfortunat-- E had always the fortune of meeting people who were

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willing and able to help her.

Sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 March 4, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.— 2 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16991

Ethel Mannin — Oak Cottage. Burghley Road. London. SW9

Sat.

Dearest Emma,

It was a real grief to me yesterday to say those things about Spain in your presence; I know I did not say anything new to you so far as I was concerned, but in a queer sort of way it was like going back on an old comrade. I find it hard to put into words what I mean but I think you'll understand. I can't bear to think of the frightful wastage of human life of the Spanish struggle; the sheer stark tragedy of that great epic, the greatest history has ever known, as I said last night, ending in the collapse of everything, and the setting back of Spain right back to the old black days of the monarchy. And the frightful sacrifice of human life might not have been in vain had they had one real ally.... It doesn't bear thinking about, and even more so now that it all ends as it has. I want you to know how deeply I feel about it, more than there are words for, and how deeply I feel the comradeship of our joint efforts in the early days of hope, I serving you in my small way, and glad and proud to do so. It all meant something, Emma, and my swing-over to pacifism at the end doesn't lessen my grief for Spain or my pride in the fact that I had the privilege of working with you for Spain in those early days. Please believe this; I have

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 March 4, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.— 2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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never been more sincere. 16992

I think it quite the best thing to use the money we have and which we may raise at the meeting in whatever way you think best. For individual cases as they come to your notice, or in any other way you think proper. I only wish to God we could raise thousands .

To whom shall I make out my cheque towards the expenses of the Memorial Hall meeting ?To you or Ralph or who ?

In view of the fact that I've already got three evenings off next week I think it might be better to postpone our evening out till the week after (when I say 'next week' I mean the current week by the time you get this, of course) But would you like to bring Lisa to lunch and tea next Sat, the 11th ? I have to go to town in the eve. so we could go back together, as before, and this time I will have no steangers coming to worry me and give me the jitters. (By the way the Morrises came last week)

Let me know about Sat. dearest Emma, and we can then fix our evening out for the following week when you come here - Sat. as I hope.

I wish you weren't going to Canada. Its so far away, not like your just going to Paris or Amsterdam; something so 'final' about it, but I know you'll feel happier in Canada and maybe be able to do more. Ah the same old fear My devoted love as always,
Sad when I think about the closing of the English chapter of

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 5 [London to Emilia Roca, Marseille, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24116

London 5th March 1939

~~Dear Comrade~~ Querida Companera,

Herecibido tu carta y siento mucho que te he dado la impresion que era impaciente porque me has escrita y enviada telegramas.Pero entiendo perfectamente tus razones.

Nava tenia razon diciendote que he prometido ir a casas particulares para preguntarles para dinero para los ninos de Mon Nou.Pero no te ha dicho una cosa importante. La pelicula que habeis tomado de mi visita,y que me habia prometido el,y queria enviarmelo a Inglaterra no mas tarde que noviembre no habia venido y yo no sabia nada mas de la cosa hasta al empiezo de diciembre cuando el me escribe que queria enviarme la pelicula dentro de pocos dias a la direccion de la Embajada a Londres. Naturalmente esperaba que me informaban de la Embajada,pero nada ocurraba ,y cuando caio Barcelona,era demasiado tarde. Era imposible hacer algo sin la pelicula.Y por eso no me era posible recaudar dinero para tus ninos como era mi intencion.

Pero he collecionado £ 5.0.0. cerca de 850 francos,de la Seccion de Londres de SIA.Queria enviartalo con esa carta,pero antes tengo que informarme de la direccion que me das en tu carta.Una amiga tanbien tiene algunas zapatos y algunas otras cosas de ropa. Por eso digame tan pronto posible si puedo enviarte el giro postal a tu nombre y la direccion mencionada,o a M.Henri Barasout mismo. O si puedes darnos una direccion a donde podemos enviarte el dinero y el paquete.

Naturalmente el companero Puig Elias no puede volver a Espana ahora,pero en un aspecto es mas afortunado el,porque era con l Gobierno Estan haciendo gestiones en este pais para admitir a Inglaterra miembros del Gobierno Republicano.,y eso no lo haran para l resto de nuestros companeros,que estan sufriendo enormemente.

Da mis saludos a los ninos

Fraternalmente.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 5, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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20520

London March 5th 39

Dear,dear Augustine. I feel relived that you are not angry with me because I returned the article and was ~~xxxxxx~~ critical of it. B the way, I did not criticise the article because I did not con söder it "einen Wertvollen Beitrag zur Beleuchtung der Situation sah die in Barcelona vor dem Fall herrschte" I too consider that part important. What I considered unfortunate was first your reportorial style and the gact that you rushed into print with it. It seemed to me that the defeatist spirit in our ranks waw devastating enough to add your bit to it. However we all must decide for ourselves as to what seems terribly important to us in our work. In your case too I did not wish to condemn your article so much ~~xx~~ as to express regret that you who as I said in my letter had so ardently defended every compromise of our comrades should now point out that these very ~~xxxxxx~~ compromises had contributed to the debacle of Catalonia and Barcelona.

By the inclosed copy of a letter I have just written Mollie you will see among others that I have no desire to pour acide on the raw wounds of our comrades or anyone who like you had fought ~~xxx~~ valiantly for thirty months. The time must surely come when we can get together and frankly discuss the mistakes made in Spain. It will only serve our ranks if we are big enough to revalue our values. Just now we all have more important things to do,it is to help our martyred Spanish comrades to find asylum somewheres and to rescue them from their terrible suffering they are enduring.

You will also see from the inclosed copy of my letter that I have gotten busy for the intellectual comrades you have dis covered in the camps in BOULOU. I don't know what will become of my efforts but you canrest assured I will try everything in my power to get some help for them. Meanwhile I inclose a check for £8 made payable to you for the xeven conrades you wrote me about. It is a mere drop in the ocean but it may buy cigarettes,a little food and a change of underwear for them. I must ask you to get busy about getting the money or still better whatever you can buy for it and sen or take it to Lopez Aloncon ane the others and tell them it is from SIA section in London,rather from a little fund we have from people who said we might use it as we saw necessary. At the same time you must find out their axact ~~xxxxxxxx~~ names, professions and if the have passports.You see,since it is hopeless to get enough money for all the refugees I feel we must concentrate on as many as we can save It occurred to me that the best way is to find out excatly,or as near ly as possible what syndicate,profession or trade some of the refugee represent, we may then appeal to their brother trade,profession,or sy syndicate in this country. For instance you write the seven you dis covered are writers,painters journalists and actors do these know more of their comrades,their names and where they are. We will then get in touch with similar organisations in London. You will see in the inclosed that I have already gotten hold of our comrade Werber Read himself a poet and art critic in behalf of the seven comrades and that he had undertaken to get after the Pen Club,perhaps some thing will come of that. We will also get after the dramatist o-

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actors etc. True they are all bitten by the Communist bug who are very powerful among the intelligentsia.Still we hope to find a few who are humane enough to respond to the desperate needs of their Spanish collegues.But .Before we can do that we must have the names of some of the refugee intelligentsia.So please get them at once. It would be most helpful if you could cover the concentration camps and xxxxxfixx make a list of the professional men.It would help us tremendiously.

In fact I wish this could be done not only with intell ectuals but also with the workers.If each trade could be found out we might appeal to the brother trade union in London. I therefore hope you can suggest a way how that can be achieved. Shortly before the collapse of Barcelona I had a letter from Vazquez with a letter of the sexrt of the Iron and Steel Federation in Barcelona to the secrt. of the similar Unionxixxxxxkxxxxxxxxxlistxofxxxxxxx1000xx xxxxxxxxxingxforxfoodxprxxxxxxxfxrxxxxx trade union in London with a list of thousand names of the members of the Spanish syndicate. Unfortunately the letters arrived too late. Well, I have now writ en Vazcuez to try and locate at least some of the people of the list or the Secrt of the Iron and Steel Federation whose name is F.or S. Lopez.He signed for the FEDERACION NACIONAL DES LAS INDUSTIRAS SIDERO_METALURGICAS . It made me want to weep when I reread the address of this syndicate,Rambla del Cenbro. What a tragedy. Anyhow you see what I am driving at. If you can help in that something might be eone here.But you will have to hurry to get me the names because I am planning to leave for Paris the 20th of this month and I would like to get the matter started before that time. I would also like to get names of musicians refugees . We have musical connections here who might help us for their collegues in the camps. I had a talk with our comrade Sonia Edelman and someone else and they thought it might even be possible to get asylum for the intellectuals here. So you see how important the matter is. Better begin with the comrades in BOULOU as quickly as possible. Lets try to save them out of the HELL HOLE in the Camps and as many others as we can. No, I have not yet received words from LOpez Aloncon or any of the others. I decided not to wait until they write as it may take ages before their letter reaches me.

You will see that I plan to go to Paris fro ten days to see some of our Spanyxxx boys but unless I can find them in Paris there would be no good going there.So I will have to ask you dear Augustine to let me know by the 20th who expects to be in Paris by the 27th,Vazquez,Montseney, Esgleas if he is already free from the camp. Hererra, Santillan xx Escorza and some of the rest. I shall hav have to have your hlep in takking to those who do not know French. Bear all this in mind please.

I should say the kid is a prblem in your case. It would about overflow your bucket of misery if T would get hold of the un fortunate kid. Still it would have been cruel to leave her behind. If I were not sailing for Canada I would try to get her in here as a demostic servant, the only onese that have a chance to get in and work. But I am difinitely sailing and I know no one whomight be

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willing to guarantee for a perfectly unknown Spanish refugee. Perhaps she will soon find a lover who in the terms of Shawa Mrs Warrens Profession, can afford to be "good to her". Forgive me dear Augustine for this cynicism, but If I did not have that I should die from the misery in the world and still more from my helplessness to help.

I am making the check for £9 one pound is my own which please give the kid as a small gift from me to buy herself some thing she needs most I don't care whether it will be silk stockings lingery or chocolates . Give her my greetings.

Please send me a recipet for the £8, simply saying I have received the amount of £8 from comrade Ethel Mannin from SIA fund for comrades ..... in Camp Boulou and sign your name.

The inclosed copies of letters between Vazquez and myself will interest you. Of course I do not want him to know I have sent you a copy. Naturally I would not send it to the opponnets of the CNT, I can do it with a clean conscience to you who have steadfastly stood by them. As you see V thinks they have not "compromised enough" Poor Variano seems vernagelt.

I am sorry I lost a chance of getting your long letter, but of course you did right in destroying the letter.

Write me soon again dear Augustine.

With love.

Give my love to Thérese and the boy.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 5, London [to] Herbert Read, [Beaconsfield, England] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.

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S · I · A

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Hon. Secretary

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

Telephone: GERrard 2636

Dear [illegible]

I found your letter on my return from the Office Friday. Thanks so much for the invitation to lunch with you the 10th or 14th. If possible I should prefer the 14th. I will wait for you in the office, or if you know of a restaurant in Soho where you want to eat it would be better to meet you there at 1, or 1,30. Let me know please.

I forgot to tell you Friday that a sort of fare well meeting for me was decided upon, the intention being to use this occasion to plead for the martyred exiles in the harrowing French Camps. I inclose copy of a letter from the comrade who has been at the head of the International Counsil of SIA in Barrelona. She is a poet of great talent and one of the most outstanding figures in our Spanish ranks. You can see the imperative need of doing our ut most to raise funds and bombard the public about the frightfulness in the French concentration camps. The meeting March 24th in Memorial Hall is for that purpose.

I know how adverse you are to speaking at meetings yet I must ask you to consent to say a few words, please do not refuse. Ethel Mannin will preside and I have also asked Dr Stella Churhill to say a few words. Let me know by return mail if we may announce you as we must proceed with our handbills and posters.

Yes, you are right the quotation you sent me from Ciliga's book. ~~[illegible]~~ The words express exactly my attutude all through my fifty years of activity in our struggle. And they do express in a more intense manner my attitude to the "present dark days." It is unfortunate that some of the finest people and devoted friends to Spain should think otherwise. For example our friend Ethel Mannin who is one of the rarest creatures stated at the meeting of the Peace Ballot Union Friday in Friends House that the "workers in Fascist ~~xxx~~ Germany and Italy are better off than the people of Spain have been during the frightful civil war". She laments the loss of so many lives and she suggests that any government, fascist, Nazi or fr ree is preferable to that. If I had not already known her attitude since she became a Pacifist I should have been terribly shocked. But [illegible] prepared for her mad stand it made me ill to hear her point of view expressed in the hall. I am sure it made a depressing impression on some of the Pacifists present. It is very sad indeed.

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You will find me at [illegible] Avenue N.W.11, Telephone Speedwell 71[illegible] all day tomorrow. I [illegible] you will be good enough to call up about your presence at the meeting March 24th, or you might drop me a line.

Thanks so much for the article for VANGUARD. When I get it I will send it on with a few lines. I have written them at length saying I would ask you for a contribution.

I was [illegible] to hear that you are writing a brochure on Anarchism. I hope you will treat it in the light ~~als~~ of the Spanish struggle and point out the sorry part played by the various Marxist shades. It is very necessary to do that. Forgive me for taking the liberty to make this suggestion. I hope the pamphlet will be ready in time to ship it to Toronto. And I would also like to know about the arrangements for POETRY AND ANARCHISM.

Yours fraternally

Emma Goldman

I enclose a copy of a Spanish letter I have received from the Secret. of the ITA Council. The is a piece of note and altogether a marvellous personality. You will see how urgent it is the help we might give the indefatigable Mariano Vázquez, who is about some months ago when we thought of going to the States, because wanted to withdraw his name from ITA

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[Letter, 19]39 March 5 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 21 × 16 cm.

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March 5th 39.

My dearest Ethel. Thank you for the beautiful spirit that permeates every word of your letter. It is your beautiful spirit which appeals to me so powerfully and always will no matter how far we may drift apart idealogically. I should hate myself if I permitted anything to diminsh one iota of our friendship and the comraderie that has grown stronger and stronger between us as time went on.

I admit if you had not already written me your new point of view as regards the preference for condition under Nazism Fascism and Francoism to the active struggle for a new social life it would have effected me more than it did at the meeting. I am certain that even some of the Pacifiets in the audience were disturbed by this statement. Not that this should have prevented you to gloss over your new attitude, indeed not but because it is a devastating idea and one to prove very agreable to the dictators. Now, I would understand Ponsonby to advance such an argument. He is after all a governmentalist and an adherent of our present system. He therefore cannot realise that there is no such thing as peace in a society ever institution and breath of which is force, coercion and viloence. But you are a Socialist, indeed the most Lebertarian of Socialists I have met. You know the nature of the capitalist and imperialist beast, you know its ferocity, you know that it daily exterminates thousand of lives in factories, shops and mines, and that those who are permitted to survive lead a drab, colourlous exitance, without light, without purpose without joy. How then can you say that the common man is better off under Fascism, Nazisim or Franosim than they have been during the struggle in Spain. If I did not know you so well I should conclude that you have lost faith in the ideal of freedom and welbeing for which the Spanish workers and peasants fought because they considered nothing so hidious, so demoralising, so degrading as the drab existance under slavery. What then makes you say such a thing as "the better off of the common man in Germany, Italy, Russia or the present state in Francos Spain. I should think that apart from your social ideaology your artistic vision should make you see that liberty and welbeing in society mean life in the fullest, whereas the other means death, worse than death . It means slow stagnation, the perpetuation of a race of craven soule, or moral and physical decay, indeed of a complete standstill of individual and social growth, or desire for anything new and worth while. Truly the Spanish people have paid rfrightful toll for their gloirous ideal. But they would have made the same price in their ord

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inary daily economic pursuit. The first at least held out the hope of the realisation of their ideal, the latter only cringing, cowardly acqiescence to the deadning daily routine from the cradle to the grave. I cannot believe you have given thought to the last consequence of your new stand, it seems incredible to me from one who loves liberty and who is a socialist and longs for some fundamental changes that would do away with the present criminal system.

I understand how you now see that pacive methods might be preferable to active resistance. But I cannot see how you can believe that slavery, dictatorship and all their resultant horrors can be preferable to the struggle for something better and higher than these dreadful political systems have imposed on the world. As to war, darling you cannot loath more than I or have worked against it more intensely than I. Much as I also loath Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and Franco I would not support a war against them and for the democracies which in the last analysis are only fascist in disguise. If I have supported the civil war in Spain it was only because the social Revolution in Spain was at stake, if Franco wins the war, and because I knew that fascist victory in Spain would spread fascism in the rest of the world and spread it like wild fire to every part of the world. It was not the war that helped Franco to his "victory". It was the indifference of the International proletariat that has helped Franco and, of course the deliberate barter engaged in by the democracies.

I wish I could make you see the vast difference of war in defense of the Revolution and war for loot and conquest. For me it represents a profound difference thats why I would assist the German, Italian Russian and all other people who would rise against their dictators, but I certainly would not lift a finger to help the dictators in a war against each other. I am simply amazed that you fail to differentiate between the two that are worlds apart. I had not intended to write you all that if you had not raised the question. I feel there is no use and my sense of freedom of thought and action is too pronounced to change my feeling for you in the least because of your new turn of mind.

Please dear make the check for the meeting out to Ralph Barr, he is look ing after it. I have asked Stella Churchill and Road to speak. I hope they do.

I inclosed a copy of the letter of Lucia I had written you about. The reference to you applys to the time when you thought you would leave and could do nothing more for SIA.

Liza and I are delighted to come to you Saturday. Either luncheon or tea is alright for us. Just say the word. And let me know once more what bus to take from the station.

With love.

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March 5th 39

Dear Frodrick

When I returned to our office I f und a circular as per inclosed which must be the organisation you referred me to when you said ~~they~~ it was non-Communist,or perhaps I am mistaken. In any event most of the sponsors in this circular are either out and out Communists,those who are with them or those who do not know that every Communist organisations is politically so biased that it has not and will not do anything for those who do not adhere to their simon pure creed. So unless you can suggest if only a small number of the intellectuals who a e big enough to help the martyred men and women in the French concentration camps,to help thsoe belonging to similar profession as they,it will not be worth while to call a gathering in your flat. That does not mean that I do not appreaciate your willing ness to let me make use of your quaters.

I admit it is hard for me to believe that the Communists have so successfully blindfolded the entire British intelligentsia as to prevent them from ~~seeing~~ how neatly they are being duped iin giving and helping the Spanish struggle in the belief that no one is being discriminated against. I am absolutely certain that Havelock Ellis for instance,or Julina Huxley would lend their names to such deliberate discriminate as the various Spain Relief societies have ~~practiced~~ maintained. In point of truth there is only one body that is moved by humanitarian motives alone, and therefore has been fair in the distribution of relief, that is the FRIENDS SOCIETY.Not one other. It is for this reason that I had hoped you would help me reach those among the intelligentsia who have remained free from the fanatical Communist attitude.

I inclose copy of a letter from the Secrt.of the International Sections of Anti Fascist Solidarity.You will see the Calvery she and the others have gone through because they would not forsake the care of the refugee children whom they succeeded in evac uating and getting into France in danger of their own lives. Lucia Sanchez Saornil is a poet of very considerable talent,she gave up writing poetry when the need of the hundreds of thousand children became so imperative for action.Is there no poet in England who could be appealed to in her behalf and the work she is doing? I mean a

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whose mind and vision are not scrippled by a political creed, to whom life itself is the source of inspiration? I cannot believe England is so barenof human compassion. I wish you would write me.

I should like to know what discount you intend to give me on a hundred lot of ANARCHO SYNDICALISM. I am very eager to get the book in circulation in Canada but unless I will be anabled in selling it at a very low price I fear I will be stuck with the book. Please let me know the rate on fifty copies as well as on hundred.

Sincerely.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 5 [London to] Stella [Churchill, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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March 5th 39.

Dear Stella. Forgive me for rushing in on you directly you have returned from your holiday. You have yourself to blame for it my dear because you have been among the very few to show interest in my efforts for Spain and to be of such help and assistance. Soon I will not burden you as I am difintely sailing for Canada April 6th. A sort of farewell meetings is being arranged for me, but the main purpose of it is to try once more to raise some money, this time for the martyred refugees in the frightful French concentration Camps. I am especially keen on helping the women who belonged to the Mujeres Libres, a group of intellectual women who have done such magnificient work for the Spanish women and have published a Magazine with powerful illustrations and drawings druing the thirty months of the struggle. Also we have located a group of intellectulals in on of the camps, BOULOU, writers, dramatists, actors and poets whose plight is appalling. I therefore want my last meeting in England for a long time to come to help save a few of the refugees at least.

I would be very happt if you would speak if only a few minutes at this meeting about our work for Spain. I feel suggestified in saying Ours, because without your help and Ethel Mannins I should never have achieved what I did. Please do say you will say a few

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words,either about the campaign for SIA,or about the refugees,or anything you like. Your pr sence would help us enormously. I would like to hear from you by return mail if possible so we can go ahead with our printing.

I hope you found our Aunite in failry good condition and that you have enjoyed your holiday even if it was short.

With love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 5, Paris [to] E[mma Goldman, London] / [Mariano R. Vázquez]. – 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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Roc

Paris 5th March 1939

Dear E.,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st inst.

The report which I have sent you is not for publication.It is only meant for information among ourselves.The materiel for publication to the public will be forwarded in due course.

As regards your enquiry about the letters which I also sent to you,I am sorry that nothing can be done at present owing to the difficulties in tracing our comrades scattered about the concentration camps.

Now I will deal with the other part of your letter. I must start by saying that never have I doubted for a moment in your enthusiastic readiness to defend us"in spite of our many errors".I know that you really like our movement and I am more than glad that you still think well of it notwithanding what has happened.

There is no contradiction in my saying that"nobody betrayed anyone" because at the same time I explained that one thing will be what we shall know among ourselves and another what is convenient to tell to the public.

The most important part of your letter is that in which you show wrath at my words that "because we were too revolutionary we frightened capitalism".I am ready to argue this out with anybody to demonstrate the truth of my assertion. Yes,my dear E.,I repeat what I said in my last letter:perhaps if we had not been so revolutionary the war would not have been lost.Let me put it in another way:If on the 19th of July,instead of the collectives and the Revolution,we had concentrated on a bourgeois Republic,international Capitalism would not have been frightened and ,instead,would have decided in aiding the Republic,and then the war would not have been lost,because in any case I shouldprefer a bourgeois Republic to totalitarian Fascism. And this,dear E.,cannot be disproved.Precisely what was needed was not to make the Revolution before winning the war. Do you understan Once having won the war things would have been different.

You speak of the intuition and ideals of the people which to my way of thinking are not so called ideals,but purely and simply class egoism.The masses,the proletariat as a whole,have no lofty ideal They are only possessed by he select minorities.The masses have for their ideals the improvement of their immediate necessities,and this is not a lofty ideal but egoism, very human and very just,if you like but nevertheless an egoism inspired by nothing else save the stomach. You state that the workers know that Democracy is nothing but Fascism under a mask and this cannot be sustained if we pretend to know anything about the different regimes and social orders. The truth is that WE are,when we speak in the name of freedom,the most recalcitrant sectarians on earth.We carry opposition to exaggeration,eitherwith us or against us,we say,and after saying it we seat back quite unconcerned,maintaining that those who do not think as we do are enemies of the working class or fascists.Yet how many systems and differences there exist among the interminable organisms of social life.

But going back to the theme,what do I care for the so called sympathy of the working class for the Revolution if all it does for

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Roc

it is to watch events from afar,awaiting ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ that it will be served to them in a salver ready to be cooked? To be more precise,what do we care,we Spanish Revolutionaries,for the platonic sympathy of the world proletariat,incapable of helping us. With sympathy alone battles are not won.With theories one cannot triumph in a war.With words trenches are not stormed.And with literature ~~xxx~~ cannot defend Liberty against the attacks of tanks and aircraft.And since such is the case,by being revolutionaries at home and only preaching the Revolution abroad,a great deal of harm has been done to us,because the proletariat did nothing practical in our aid,and Capitalism,confronted by the Dilema of Revolution or Fascism,opted for the latter.However,if given the choice between the Republic and Fascism,I am sure that it would have been on the side of the Republic.

You recognise that I am right in my assertion that the R Revolution cannot triumph in any country if it is not backed by the solidarity of the proletariat.That is precisely the whole point and towards this end it is necessary to devise a way whereby no more isolated revolutions are attempted to avoid sterile sacrifices.We must be capable of preparing conditions so hat at least it will break out in two or three countries~~at~~ once.And that when the proletariat gains power in those countries it will be not only in a ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ position to defend their Revolution but also to propagate to other lands.This is the idea under which we must base our future activities.And we can do it and even triumph without loosing time or even wasting ~~xxxxx~~ energy.I think I can say that our own experience give us the right to feel that we are in a position hich enables us to lend new light towards the revolutionary road.

I must now close as I think that I have given you enough material upon which to base your arguments against my thesis. Discussion is always good when carried with noble intentions, because it purifies arguments and makes it easy to extract good consequences.

Before closing I will remind you that I am still an optimist,aspiring to the triumph of the proletarist over its enemies.

Fraternally

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 6, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin [Souchy]. — 2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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Paris den 6 Maerz 1939.

Liebe Emma!

Vor einer halben Stunde erhielt ich Deinen Brief. Ich haette Dir eigentlich erst heute Nachmittag schreiben wollen, nachdem ich die Angelegenheit mit BOULOU erledigt habe. Ich werde das also heute Nachmittag erledigen und Dir sobald ich Antwort habe von ihnen dort zurueckschreiben. Die werden sich koeniglich freuen, wenigstens etwas zu bekommen. Sag nur den Gebern, dass ich ihnen schon im voraus im Namen der Genossen danke. Ich lege Dir eine Liste mit Namen und einigen Angaben von wenigen Genossen bei. Ich werde mich bemuehen, eine oder mehrere Listen zusammenzustellen.

Der Grund, weshalb ich Dir jetzt sofort schreibe, ohne bis zum Nachmittag zu warten ist folgender: Eben kommt Marckwald zu mir und klagt mir sein Leid. Seine Noete sind folgende. Er hat einen Pass, der noch zwei Wochen laeuft. Ich habe schon vorher fuer ihn nach Schweden geschrieben und John Andersson hat sich bereits erklaert fuer ihn und seine Frau - uebrigens eine Spanierin - die Garantie gegenueber den schwedischen Behoerden zu uebernehmen. Die schwedischen Genossen haben sich auch bereit erklaert, Marckwald die erste Zeit zu unterstuetzen. In Schweden ist also seine Lage fuer die allernaechste Zukunft sichergestellt. Was aber noch nicht geloest ist, das ist das Problem des Reisegeldes. Das juedische Hilfskomitee hat anfaenglich versprochen, Marckwald das Reisegeld nach Schweden zu geben. Auch Chapiro, der ja wie Du weisst in einem der juedischen Komitees arbeitet, hat sich dafuer eingesetzt. Leider wurde nachtraeglich erklaert, dass kein Geld vorhanden sei und Marckwald koenne vorlaeufig nicht damit rechnen, von ihnen die Fahrkarte nach Schweden zu bekommen. Nun steht er da; in Frankreich erhaelt er natuerlich keine Aufenthaltsgenehmigung und weiss nicht, was er machen soll. Ich weiss nicht, ob es Dir moeglich ist, in diesem Falle etwas zu machen. Vielleicht kannst Du einen Philanthropen ausfindig machen, der etwas dazu beitragen kann. Er benoetigt 2.000 franzoesische Franken.

Um Dir die Moeglichkeit zu geben, ueber ihn etwas mitzuteilen, kannst Du folgende Angaben ueber ihn zur Kenntnis nehmen:

W.Marckwald, Beruf Regisseur, in Deutschland ueber 30 Inszenierungen in verschiedenen Provinztheatern. Besitzt gute Presse ueber diese seine Taetigkeit in Deutschland. Als die Nazis die Macht ergriffen war er als Schauspieler am Staatstheater am Gensdarmenmerkt in Berlin. Von da musste er weg, weil er Jude ist. Er ging nach Barcelona. Dort arbeitete er zuerst im Film und waehrend Barcelona in unseren Haenden war hatver Steinbergs Stueck VENCISTE MONATKOF mit unserer Hilfe inszeniert. Seine weitere Taetigkeit kennst Du ja und Du kennst ihn ja auch persoenlic Vielleicht kannst Du auch an Steinberg anrufen, moeglich, dass er fuer den Regisseur seines Stueckes in Spanien etwas machen kann. Bei Steinberg koennte man ausserdem betonen, dass Marckwald Jude ist.

Das ist alles ueber diesen Fall. Wenn es Dir moeglich ist, etwas fuer

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ihn zu tun, dann kannst Du mich davon in Kenntnis setzen. Er fürchtet, dass die Sache schlimm ausfällt, wenn sein Pass (in zwei Wochen) abgelaufen ist. denn er kann natürlich keinen neuen erhalten.

The kid would be very glad to see that somebody is thinking on her. I think you are write in your manner to think about that. But until now I have to take care of her.

Ich will, wenn ich Zeit habe, Dir in einem längeren Briefe noch einmal schreiben, was ich Dir im ersten Briefe gesagt habe.

Mit meinen herzlichsten Grüssen

Augustin

P.S. Ich werde heute nachmittag die Spanier sehen. Peiro ist hier, vorgestern traf ich Torres, den Bürgermeister von Valencia, ein ausgezeichneter Genosse, Hafenarbeiter von Beruf, Er kam von Amerika zurück, kann aber nicht nach Valencia zurück, denn es gehen keine Flugzeuge.

Eine Nachricht, die Sich interessieren wird: Vallejo befand sich in Toulouse oder Montpellier (ich weiss nicht genau wo) Genossen baten ihn um Geld. Er sagte, er habe keins. Während er im Restaurant sass und ass gingen diese Genossen in sein Hotelzimmer erbrachen seinen Koffer und fanden darin 300 000 Franken. Vallejo erklärte, das sei Geld von Taradella und nicht seins. Er gab die Sache der Polizei an. Natürlich hat das Staub aufgewirbelt.

Natürlich gibt es jetzt viele Klatschgeschichten, unwichtig zu erzählen. Aber die Sache mit Vallejo ist ziemlich ernst.

A. S.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 7, London [to] Milly [Witcop Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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London, March 7th 39

Darling Milly. The day after I mailed my letter yours arrived. I am sorry I cannot make out the date. I felt ashamed of having lost patience with you and Rudolf, but I missed hearing from you so terribly and when nothing came I thought it was useless to keep writing.

Dearest the tragedy of our Spanish comrades grow more appalling everday and there is no escape for our unfortunate people. The papers here are filled with discriptions of the gruesome condition of the concentration camps. And I have personal reports that make my blood congeal with horror. Thus Augustin Souchy wrote a few days ago, he writes "die Lage der Genossen ist furchtbar. Die Zeitungen schreiben so als ob alles jezt gut geht. Aber immer noch schlafen Menschen auf blossem Schnee. Die Berthe Ascasio hat es mir er mitgeteilt. Unter diese Genossen sind die von der 26sten Division (This is the Division that has played a most heroic part at the Ebro) its leader was Sanz a marvelous man.) Immer noch sind die Genossen in Argeles ohne Zelte. Das Elend ist unbeschreiblich. Lebensmittel werden roh geliefert. Stell Dir vor, die Leute mussen warten bis jemand sein Futter gekocht hat, da es nicht genügend Töpfe giebt. Vuele schlafen noch auf dem Sand des Meresstrandes. Wer keine eigene Decke mitgebracht hat muss ohnen Decke schlafen.

"In Boulou traf ich sieben Genossen die zur Spanischen Intellegenz gehoren, Schriftsteller, Maler, Dramatiker und andere. Sie leben unter haarstreubende Verhältnisse inklusive Hunger." and so on and so forth. The same discription I have received from Lucia Sanchez Saornil who was the Sect. of the SIA in Spain and still is. She writes that they had succeeded in placing the children in French workers home, but the French government has taken the work out of th their hands and has sent the children to Catholic institutions. In point of fact the rotten French government has refused to admit to the camps english doctors and nurses, and representatives of various organisations. It is plain to every body who can see that the damnable Deladier, Bonnet gang are determined to starve, freeze and torture all our people to drive them back to Franco. Let no one again speak to me of French liberty and revolutionary or humanitarian feelings. They are like old harlots who boast of their youthful beauty and charm. It is true, our people are not beaten in the French camps as they are in Hitlers, but in everything else they are the same brutal and dehuminised condition.

Then, there are our comrades who succeeded in escaping the camps, they are illigal, pennyless and in tatters and every day I receive heart breaking appeals for money. If only I could raise any. Our last appeal brought only forty six pounds. Of that I have already sent £35 for a number of individual cases. It is

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a piffling sum when you consider that it had to be devided between 8,members of the Ruberas Libres, a comrade who takes care of thrity children and the seven Intellectuals Augustine discovered. But one cannot out it out from ones flesh. Frankly, I am at my wits end. I had a letter from Rose Pessotta that "we ought to organise a new Anarchist Red Cross" Yes, but that will take time and meanwhile hundred of our comrades will perish. If you can raise some money wire it to Molly she will distribute it fairly.

Dearest mine more and more I come to see that Chapiro was right in his criticism of our comrades and not we. Everything turns out as he predicted. The comrpomises our people have made have only helped to defeat them. It is true our comrades in Madrid have now realised this, they have realised the betrayal the Comminists and the Negrin government have practiced against the CNT-FAI. I only fear it is too late. Now the damnable gang will start a capaign of villification and lies, of the worst kind of mud slinging which will make the tragic lot of our comrades in the concentration camps harder to bear. What a harrowing mess and how unnecessary, if only the the N.C. of the CNT had come to its senses at least at the time when the FAI did. The situation could still have been saved. But it is useless to pour acide on the open wounds of our Cataln comrades, they are bleeding profusely as it ie. Now we must estrain every nerve to bring them relief and help them find some spot on this blood stained earth where they can come back to health and peace of mind to revalue their values. So do what you can and quickly.

As if the Spanish tragedy and horros were not enough I also received a wire last Friday from a Doctor friend of ours to the following effect, " E. will day Saturday or Sunday Stop. Willing to arrang everything but have no money. Wire please." I could not understand how any living being can say with certainty what day or hour anyone is going to die. I ascribe this blunder to the limited knowledge of English of the man. Anyhow, I had to send on money $15 which was like cutting out a chunk of flesh now that every penny is so desperately needed. The Sunday I received another wire "still a faint glimmer of hope". Nothung since. So I do not know whether E is improving or getting worse. As you will remeber I told you that every competant surgeon insisted that operations will be E's death. After the first in Paris which E, sprang on Sasha just before she entered the hospital he held her in an iron grip to stop her from carrying out her obsessen for operations. After Sashas death there was no holding Emmy. She went to Nice and submitted to four more operations, the last seems to have been the worst. Some time ago I had a letter from a German she picked up, a refugee who supported her in her madness and who evidently gave her some money. He wrote me the operations had already cost 20,000 francs and there is yet the fee of the surgeon to pay. You can imagine that I have no money for some thing which I had never believed in, and if I had it would go to our heoric Spanish refugees and not to the medical men who only experimented on that poor fool. You can see that life does not spare me in any way.

I am difinitely sailing April 8th for Canada. I wish I knew whatfore I am going there. From the [illegible] appeals from our people in Montreal and Toronto [illegible] that one

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ouraseing.One thing I do know,I must get away from here. I cannot stand the frigidity of the English any more,and the poisoned atmosphere the Communists have created. One suffocates in it.

The 24th we will have one more meeting, the last which I will address here,I wish I could say for good,or at least for a long time. The appeal will be for our people,but I am not expecting much, The last appeal we made couple of weeks ago brought only about £46. I expect to go to Paris for a week or ten days between the 26th of this month and the 6th of April. I must see the comrades once more I mean those who have escaped the purgatory of the camps. I may never see them again. They are trying to find asylum in some South America country. I dread tothink what will become of them if they fail.But if they succeed I will never see them again these men and women whom I have seen at their glorious heights.To know them in such harrowing depths is more than I can endure,yet I must,I must see our comrades again,wonderful inspite of the many blunders they had made.

Yes,Mersedes is in Paris,so is Santillan,Hererra, Peiro Federica,I suppose with her father,her children and the people who had belonged to the Urales household,among them a young woman who gave birth to her child in Dec. I must say I was most impatient with Federica and the young mother for bringing children into harassed Spain in hourly danger. A number of other comrades are also in Paris but their life is pitiful,no papers,no money,in tatters. I also got the names and camps of seven other members of Mujeres Libres and the names of the seven intellectuals. I am going to send out a letter to some womans rights women and to some of the intellectuals for help.The trouble is they are all under Communist influence or Communists themselves.Every Spain Relief organisation under whatever name is Communist managed and controlled. So there is no chance or hope to move them for our people.

Helmut and Dora succeeded in getting a Danish transit visa and our Swdish comrades got them permission to come to Sweden so they are leaving Paris to day Helmut wrote me. I had hoped they would come via England I wanted so much to see themagain, I have grown to love Helmut as my own child. He is a fine character.

As you will see by Vazquez letter to me he insists that the CNT had not compromised enough. It is to weep.

With love to Rudolf,Polly and Fermin and lots of it to yourself.

With a heavy heart.

Emma

The last news about Abe [illegible]

[illegible] comrades [illegible] in Paris

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21 FRITH STREET
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March 7th 39

Dear comrade Steinberg.

I have just received a letter from Augustine Souchy about the terrible plight of Markward, the man who has produced you play in Barcelona. He succeeded together with his young Spanish wife to reach Paris without going through the frightfulness of the French concentration camps. Of course he had to live in hiding and both he and his wife were literally starving. Now Markward has a passport which will expire in two weeks. Souchy succeeded in persuading our Swedish comradew to get him a viwa to come to Sweden and there they will help him in very qway possible. The drawback is the fare from Paris to Stockholm which amounts to 2000 francs. Souchy writes that the Jewish Relief organisation for which Chapiro works had at first promised to give Markward the money. Chapiro urged it very energetically. At the last minute, as it happened, ward was notified that they organisation had no money. In other words, the man and his wife are left in the most critical situation because their pasports will soon expire and then they will not be able to get away from France, to remain there, or to travel to Sweden.

Now Augustine Souchy begged me to turn to you and others who might be able to help. Marward is a Jew, that alone should entitle him to assistance from Jewish bodies. In addition, he is intellectually a very brilliant man. The advent of Hitler found him in the State Theatre where he produced thirty different plays, he also appeared in a number of plays himself. Natrually he lost his position and had to get away from Germany. He went to Spain where he produced [illegible] with much success, and also other plays. Apart from any [illegible] consideration it seems that markward is entitled to [illegible] therefore appealing to you, dear comrade, to raise the [illegible] which amount to about £12. If it were not for the fact [illegible] fund is nearly exhausted because I had to send £25 to [illegible] immidiate needs of members from Mujeres Libres still in [illegible] ion camps, and a group of intellectuals in the camp Bou[illegible] have asked Ethel Mannin to let me have part of the 200[illegible]

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it is impossible now. We are arranging a last meeting fo
24th in Memorial Hall which is to be devoted to an
refugees. If the response will being some money I will
pounds are contributed to Markwards fare. Unfortunately
wait so long. It is for this reason that I turn to you. Pl
try your utmost to help the desperate man. The money is
to Augustine Souchy 113 Boulevard St Michel Paris. as Mar
under cover. Let me know please what you can do, whatever
be done quickly as there is no time to lose.

I am at my wits end from the daily letters of
and suffering of the refugees, men, women and children. I
get into the States I could do a lot for the martyred Span
but here I can reach no one. Never in my life did I feel su
Perhaps it is all my fault, I do not know how to get under
English people. I wish you would tell me your secret of
acted so well. I congratulate you.

Please dear friend send me back the le
you have, especially the Spanish letter of Hererra. I mus
~~back~~ back.

I am home all day and evening to day and un
Speedwell 71 35, or in the office in the afternoon and
evening tomorrow Gerard 26 36. Please phone me as I
whether you ~~xxxxx~~ will help.

Fraternally.

Emma G

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SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON. W.1

Telephone: GERrard 2636

7th 39

[illegible], own Fitzi. [illegible] will be your [illegible] very i[illegible] day to me, for if you had not come into the world and into my life I would have felt the poorer for it. No matter our present void, yours and mine, the years we were together and did our work were richer and colorful as that of few lives. So I am selfish enough to be exceedingly glad that you are in the world, one human being one can turn to for understanding and for love. So you see darling Fitz I could not forget the 17th of March as your day of birth. I wish I knew of something that would bring yous cheer for this day. But I am poor in worldly goods to send you a gift, and wishes are hardly of use unless ~~substantiated~~ one can carry them into effect. I can only hope that your friends who are within reach of you will make the 17th a pleasant and gratifying event for you. I can only add that I hope for you a rich and eventful year to heal and soothe some of the wounds the past has caused you.

The 16th is Stellas birthday, I always used to make my birthday greetings for you and Stella as a communal affair. Now my stricken child is probably unable to remember her day or yours. I am writing her to day, the first time since her tragic breakdown. I shall have to send it to Teddy for him to show my note to the doctor. I just dread to do anything that might make her condition worse than better. You can imagine it will be extremely difficult and painful to choose the words. But I will write her.

Dearest I wrote Pauline after I had a long talk with Ian, and I asked her to let you read the letter. I can only repeat that I had written you several times, it never was and is not now a question of money to bring Stella out of the darkness. Ian assures me solemnly that his grand mother and Harry B. had told him if money is needed Teddy has but to cable, and he would, I am sure, if that were the deciding factor. What is important is whether to transfer her from the Center to Bloomingdale. It is a great responsibility because, if the latter does not improve Stella's state of mind the

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[illegible] may not [illegible] and [illegible] extraordin[illegible] to [illegible] Stella [illegible] [illegible]er. I understand [illegible] largely because Dr Lib[illegible], [illegible] had saved the life [illegible] child of one [illegible] on the board of [illegible], there can be no doubt that he and the others would [illegible] Stella back if Bloo[illegible] fails, [illegible] there is nothing [illegible] two institutions ex[illegible] institution [illegible] it would [illegible] Stella for life. It [illegible] Sa[illegible] and Teddy are [illegible] so. That's why the [illegible] consideration should be given [illegible] for a chance. I suggest [illegible] and Teddy to get [illegible] with [illegible], yourself [illegible] several [illegible] [illegible] decide [illegible] is best [illegible] Stella. Meanwhile [illegible] of the idea that the [illegible] are not willing to c[illegible] handsomely [illegible] for Stellas [illegible] cure.

Not enough the misery about Stella and the [illegible] condition of the hundreds of thoudands of our Spanish comrades in the hellish French concentration camps, I had also the news that [illegible] was dying. I do not remember whether I wrote you that after Sasha's death there was no holding her from operations. It was a [illegible] idea fixe with her inspite of the fact that every known surgeon in Paris, Prague and Vienna in diagnOsing her case said operations will be her death. Well, after the one in Paris some years ago, she underwent ~~two~~ three operations in Nice. A Gorman she had picked up and who evidently helped her with money wrote me she had gone through frightful suff ering, and that the operations had already cost 20,000 francs not counting the surgeon's bill. If it was meant as a hint I had to ignore it as I have no money to pay for something which I knew will bring E. to her grave. But when the wire came though stupidly worded, "~~that~~ E. will die Sunday or Monday" (as if anybody can fortell the moment) I sent £15 which I could ill afford. Sunday I received another wire that there is still a faint flicker of hope. And to day asking me to cable Stein who has been used as a milch cow ever since Sasha's death. I hate to be suspicious of anybody, but I am beginning to think that perhaps the money is to pay the surgeons and not to lay E. to her resting place. In any event it is an uncanny thing to write for money for funeral expences while the person is clinging to and struggling for life. As you see misfortune never rains down on me, it fairly pours. But nothing has so shattered me as the tragic fate of our Spanish friends. Men and women who have fought so gallantly for thirty months and have sacrificed so much are now treated worse than beasts, humiliated and degraded by the French government, of the country that had been the cradle of liberty and the symbol of social and political liberation. The condiations in the camps are beyond words. Every newspaper, even the most reactionary, have hair raising discriptions and I am receiveing daily account from some of the comrades I know that haunt me day and night. The few pounds recently raised for the SIA is a mere drop in the ocean. Worse luck, our people are known as anarchists, who will help them or permit them to find asylum? Yet there were the heros of the Spanish struggle, the first to drive back the Fascists July 19th 37. Oh, I know they have made grave blunders, they have compromised, they have allowed the damnable Stalin gang to wind them around their fingers, and Negrin the worst counter revolutionist to take the power out of the workers hands. But also ~~they~~

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[illegible] have shown a valor, [illegible] a capacity for sacrifice unknown [illegible] the world before. And now they are wanted by no one, helped by [illegible] one, and soon the Stalin[illegible] will also see that they should be [illegible] cerned by everybody. I have heard words, but I can do nothing, not [illegible] that might ameliorate the [illegible] of the [illegible] of our comrades, men, [illegible] children. I can achieve nothing, not even enough to help a few [illegible] miserable, beautiful friends I have made among the Anarchists [illegible] Bolshevists and the Anarchists. [illegible] mouth gladness for a birth [illegible] Fear. Forgive me please.

I am definitely sailing for Canada April 8th, I have already given a diposit for my reservation. The 24th I will have my last public meeting in England. It will be for the refugees of course. The 26th, I am running over to Paris to see the few who have escaped the hellish French concentration camps, perhaps for the last time. They are trying for asylum in South America. If they succeed in being accepted there, I will be completely cut off from them. So I must see them once more. I will only remain in Paris until April 5th when I will come here ~~here~~ to sail the 8th. You can therefore write me here, letters will be forwarded while I am in Paris, or kept for me if they should arrive shortly before my return., I really do not know why I sail for Canada. But I do know definitely that I must get away from here. I have heard nothing from Jo Coffin, not a word in reply to my letter. And I have lost all hopes for my return to the States, but being nearer, a few friends might come to visit me, above all others, I hope you will be given a lift by some of the friends from N.Y. who might want to come. I long terribly to see you again darling Fitzi.

I embrace you with love.

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 7, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, London / John Andersson. – 1 p. ; 31 × 25 cm.

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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE des TRAVAILLEURS
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER-ASSOZIATION
ASOCIACION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES
ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORETORI

ADRESSES:
Secrétaire Général John Andersson, Box 415,
STOCKHOLM 1, Suède

Stockholm,den 7.Marz 1939.

Genossin Emma Goldman,
LONDON.

Erst gestern hatten wir die Gelegenheit,Dir das Geld fuer den Manifest zu senden,der in London bestellt worden ist.Die Summe ist also jetzt unterwegs.

Aber eine andere Sache. Du wirst ja bald siebzig Jahre alt werden. Ich beabsichtige in der syndikalistischen Presse davon zu schreiben.Eventuell auch in unserer Presse in anderen Ländern.

Ich will Dich hierdurch auffordern,mir enige kurze Auskünfte ueber Deine Tätigkeit in diesen Jahren zu senden. Auch ungefährliche Angabe Deines Geburtstag. Du verstehst,- ich brauche einige Detailauskünfte,auf denen ich einen Artikel aufbauen kann.Das Ereignis sollte nicht ganz unbemerkt passieren.

Mit solidarischem Gruss

John Andersson

736

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 7, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. – 1 p.; 29 × 20 cm.

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Vence
7/3/39

Dearest Emma,

Your later received this morning gave me a real shock.. It was only yesterday I started a letter to you but was prevented finishing it..... It is no use my commenting on the ghastly business.... and I have seen Dr D'Eck.... It is all too awful and has made me like a contemptible rotter..... The poor soul being in hospital all those months... I knew nothing of it. The Emmy problem you know too well for me to go into long tales trying to excuse myself for not seeing her. As I have said so often before... ~~Emmxxx~~ I was incapable of doing her any good and she could do me infinite harm..... But the suffering of the poor creature... D'Eck's story knocked me all to pieces.... And none of us may go to see her. It seems, despite her hopeless condition, she is conscious of all that happens. D'Eck has bo[illegible] her up, not wanting her to realise that her end was near... and, he says, now for all the people who have neglected her during the time she has been in hospital to suddenly turn up with flowers... would make her realise immediately. He told me today, he had to prevent Ellie going there yesterday... he argued, but D'Eck pointed out to her that her visit would only put the poor thing in a state of terror. I had got on to the Parsons, and Sedgwick is with them just now. So they all turned up to go down to Nice to visit her, but when the position was explained, like m[illegible] realised it would be cruel..... I will do all I can Emma dear to help you.... the poor girl is past aid. You, I dare say will have heard from D'Eck of all that has happened and that Prat at the end of week, when the had complete stoppage, made another opening which gave her momentary relief. She has now, as D'Eck said 4 anus' and whatever goes into her mouth passes out of her immediately. She must die of starvation..... More details I wont give you.... I cant bear to repeat them... God help her..... When the end does come, you can rely on me to do all in my power, but until then we are useless. D'ECK had got the money.

What else can I say to you Emma dear?..... I had started to write to you about Spain and what had happened in these parts. All the time a few of us are doing all we can to help and send necessities to the camps. People are going backward and forward all the time..... Later when I feel more used to the shock of this morn, I will write you a long letter... Now I will close with my love. Emmy's is the strangest case of human passion for self destruction I have ever heard of. D'Eck told me today she had the constitution of a horse... She never should have had the first operation... But what's the good of saying what she should have done.... Poor, poor mad creature.

Bless you dear. I will write again soon.
Affectionately as ever.
Aunt Ri

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 8, London [to] Luc[í]a [Sánchez Saornil, Paris?] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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20518

Londres, 8 de Marzo de 1939.

Querida Lucia,

Ya sabia lo ocupada que estabas desde la cruel necesidad de vuestra evacuacion y tu llegada a Francia. Fue solo porque no encontraba preocupadisima por ti y los chiquillos y deseaba saber de vuestra suerte. Podras imaginarte, por tanto, mi contento al recibi tu carta del 25 de Febrero.

Mi que decir tiene lo mucho que siento la brutalidad de Francia - la que llaman la cuna de la Libertad, el modelo de todas las ideas modernas y sociales - Verdad, nunca me engano la cualidad libertaria de los franceses. Mi experiencia personal me ha ensenado que no fue el amor a la Libertad lo que indujo a los franceses, el no invadir ni meterse con los asuntos ajenos. Fue indiferencia pura. A todo que se encuentre fuera de su propia esfera no pueden ensenarle hospitalidad ni tampoco generosidad. El mero echo de que los franceses nunca invitan a uno a sus propias casas, y si invitan a uno a ir al cafe le dejan pagar su propia bebida, expresa ampliamente sus caracteristicas. Pero unque conocia la falta de calor en el frances, nunca espere tal indiferencia como la que han demostrado en los campos de concentracion. Ello me subleva.

Me entero el otro dia que las autoridades no permitian a medicos y enfermeras ingleses en los campos, ni a representantes de organizaciones, y entiendo que nuestro camarada Chasess dijo a nuestra camara Mollie Alperine lo mismo. Naturalmente que representantes de organizaciones de ayuda y enfermeras se daran pronto cuenta de la condicion en los campos y enviaran descripciones a la prensa inglesa, mientras que nada tendran que tener de individuos que no tienen conexcion con la prensa. Prueda de esto es que la hija segunda de Carlo Berneri pudo entrar en un campo, encontro a los refugiados italianos; procuro enterarse de lo que precisaban y pudo atenderles al mismo tiempo que establecio un cambio de correspondencia. El camarada Souchy tambien pudo visitar los campos, y en uno de ellos, el de Boulou, encontro a siete camaradas, intelectuales, con sus familias; entre ellos a Lopez Alonson. Como podras ver es posible co seguir entrada en los campos, y por tanto me permito sugerirte que se encuentre a un camarada, frances, bien hombre o mujer, que no sea conocido a ninguna de las organizaciones, que logre entrar en los campos a fin de localizar a los refugiados y enterarse de sus condiciones, nombres, etc. y estoy segura que de esta forma podriamos hacer algo positivo por estos refugiados. Escribo a Souchy en estos mismos terminos.

En cuanto a los ninos. Espero que puedas encontrar a que sitios el gobierno los ha mandado. En este caso tambien, sus nombres, bien sean huerfanos o no, facilitaria nuestras actividades en pro de conseguir ayuda para ellos entre los elementos liberales de aqui. Deseo hacer constar que tenemos aqui un matrimonio espanol que se ha ofrecido a adoptar a un nino espanol y estan dispuestos a partir al Sur de Francia a fin de ver al nino y traerlo con ellos. La esposa fue a Espana y estuvo de enfermera en el frente varios meses en 1937. Puede

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garantizar su sinceridad y que el nino que ellos adopten encontrara un buen hogar. Tal vez se puedan conseguir otros entre nuestros camaradas que hagan lo mismo. Pero es necesario seleccionar el nino que sea. Dime si te sera posible suministrarme una lista con los nombres de los ninos que deseen ser adoptados. Escribeme pronto sobre esto.

Nuestra peticion por la S.I.A. hasta ahora solo ha producido 50 libras. De esta suma hemos usado 30 para las necesidades de las camaradas de Mujeres Libres, los camaradas en Boulou, camarada Emilia Roca, que se encuentra a cargo de los 30 ninos de la colonia de Mon Ou y otros camaradas que precisaban ayuda inmediata. Creimos que podiamos adoptar esta resolucion porque parte del dinero contribuido fue para hacer con el lo que creimas mas perentorio y no podiamos esperar a vuestra conformidad. Sin embargo, creemos poder recuperar esta suma o algo mas ahora que nuestra amiga Ethel Mannin ha escrito haciendo una peticion de ayuda en Reynolds y el Daily Herald. tra oportunidad que tenemos sera la ultima vez que hablo en publico el 24 del presente, cuyo mitin estamos preparando actualmente. Confiamos poder conseguir lo bastante para cubrir los gastos, de forma que podemos enviar a la S.I.A. sin deducir nada de lo que sea contribuido como auxilio.

No comprendo como es que tu escribistes a Ethel Mannin pidiendole que el dinero fuese enviado a la S.I.A. francesa, mientras que a mi no pides que lo mande a Camara, en Marsella. Ruegote me aclares esto, diciendome a que sitio hay que mandar las contribuciones que recibamos. El 26 de Marzo saldre para Paris en donde pienso estar una semana o diez dias a fin de ver por ultima vez a varios de los companeros espanoles. Digo la ultima vez porque tal vez no vuelva del Canada, por lo menos dentro de un ano, y segun tengo entendido los camaradas tratan de encontrar asilo en alguno de los paises de sudamerica, que estan muy lejos para yo poder visitar. Si pudiese ser posible ire por el pueblo en donde tu estas. No quiero ni pensar que me marche sin verte de nuevo, mi querida companera. También a Cristina y Baruta. Presentales a Cristina mis carinos y dile que recibi su carta. Igualmente un cordial saludo a Baruta. El 8 de Abril embarcare para el Canada. Sera un dia de luto el tener que dejaros a todos vosotros, pero si puedo conseguir mejores resultados en el Canada que aqui, mi viaje no sera en vano. Asi y todo ello no disminuira mi amor hacia vosotros .

Carinosamente,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 8 [London to] John Andersson, [Stockholm (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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March 8th 39.

Genosse John Andersson.

Ich habe Dein Schreiben vom 24sten Feb erhalten,so wohl wie das Manadat. Ich danke Dir und die andere Kamaraden fur den selben. Ich weiss es geht Euch wie mir,Ihr seit mit Arbeit and Sorgen fur unsere Spanische Genossen uberwaltigt. Ihr habt amwenigstens die Genugtung dass Euere Muhe ervolgreich sind. Leider ist es bei uns nicht der Fall. Es ist direckt zum verzweifeln die Masse von Schwrrigkeiten die einem hier uberall treffen. Die erbarmlich Kommunisten Bande habe eben die ganze Ehglische Intelligenz versaucht,und die Arbeiter in totlichen Bruderkapf hineingetrieben. Die ganze Mache der Cripps Kamagnie wird von den Kommunisten gehezt. Nich dass ich fur die Englische Arbeiter Partei bin,weiss der Himmel sie ist stock konservative. Aber die Cripps Bewegung ist es auch,nur pretendiert sie militant zu sein. Es ist kein Zweifel dass die Slain Bande die ganze Geschichte eingefedelt hat und dass sie die ganze Arbeiter masse vollstandig unfahig gemacht hat selbstandig zu urteilen oder zu handel. Ich gebe dieses als Beispiel damit Du siehst wie verzweifelt schwer wir es hie haben.Denke Dir nur unser lezter Appel fur SIA hat nur £50 lumpige Pfunde herien gebracht,und da wir davon £20 für die Hilfe von Einzelfalle von unsere leidende Kamaraden in die grauenerregende Lager nach Paris schickten so bleibt fur SIA blutwenig.

Jeden Tag bekomme ich herzbrechende Briefe und Verzweiflungsschreie von Genossen,so wurden endlich sieben Kamaradinen von Mujers Libres in verschieden Lager gefunden. Sie verhungern,elieen Kalte und Elend,wollen von die Tortur Holle die Frankreich den Fluchtlingen bietet weg. Andersei's hat Augustine Souch eine Gruppe von unsere Intellectuelle in einem Kamp gefunden,Schrifsteller, Dramtikaer,Journalisten,Poeten,Sgauasspieler diein BOULOU sind Ihree Not ist unbeschreiblich. Ich habe mit einige Bekannte Schriftsteller hier gesprochen was man tuen konnte. Ja man solte sich an die verschiedene Organisatzionen wenden sagten sie. Nun ist es unbestreitbare Tatsache adss alle ohne Ausnahme ganz gleich unter welche Maske von Stalins Trabanten geleitet werden und dass die thausade Pfunde die gesammelt werden nur zu ire eigene Zwecke verbraucht werden. Immerhin habe ich die Hoffnung noch nicht aufgegeben dass man etwas fur unsere Kamaraden in BOULOU und auch fur die Frauen erreicht So hat es unser sehr begabte Genosse,Schrifsteller und KunstKritiker Herbert Read unternehmen den PEN CLUB zu veranlassen fur unsere Freund einzutraten. Unsere Genossin Sonia Edelman wird heute den Vertrater der QUAKER sehen der den Lord Baldwin Fund Leitet,vielleicht wird

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dieser Mann der selbst quasi Anarchist ist fur unsere Leute etwas tun Schlisslich werde ich mich auch an verschiedene Fraune Vereine wenden fur die Mitglieder des Mujeres Libres. Alles dieses nimmt unendlich viel zeit und venig wird erreicht.

Ich bin sehr froh dass die SAC der I.A.A helfen wird hier den Boden zubearbeiten. Ihr musst Euch aber keine grosseen Hoffnungen machen, jedenfals durfte es lange und systematische Arbeit benotigen hier Fuss zu fassen. Da ich difinitve beschlossen habe nach Kanaea zu reisen une die Genissen sowohl in Kanada als die Spanier wollen dass ich dahin reise so mochte ich im Stande sein hier alles zu organisieren fur die I.A.A ehe ich abreise. Nun muss ich uch aber sagen dass das Unternehmen wenn auch not mit viel Kosten verbunden sein wird, so doch immerhin etwas. Ich habe Dir chon schon von Genosse Barr geschrieben, er ist der einzige geeignete Kamarad der die Tatigkeit übernehmen konnte. Er ist leider Arbeitslos und obgliech er keinen Lohn erwartet so musste er doch eine gewisse Summer zur Verfugung haben die seine Kosten, wie Bahnfarten und derartige ahinl che Ausgaben decken wird. Dann ist die Frage von unserem Burau, fruher hat die CNT-FAI die Miete bezahlt, dann haben wir einige Zimmer aufgegeben und die SIA hat bis jezt die veringerte Miete bezahlt. Ich furchte aber, dass die SIA wenn ich wegfahre nicht lange weiter existieren wird somit musste die I.A.A die Miete bezahlen, die aber nub ein Pfund per Woche ist. Dann naturlich Telephone und Licht. Aussedem die Ubersezung Euerer Manifeste die hier verbreitet werden sollen. Ich habe mit unsere alte Kamaradin Doris Zhook geschprochen, sie ist gerne bereit nicht nur zu uberzetzen sond auch die Proofs zu lesen was leider unser Genosse Barr nich gut macht. Sie hat zwar nichts von Honorar geschprochen aber da sie nicht mehr jung ist und schwer fur ihre Existenz arbeiten muss so glaube ich es wird notwendig sein Doris fur jedes Manifest vielleicht ein Pfund und 10 Shillings zu geben. Also wenn Ihr beschliesst die Sache hier im Gang zu bringen dann werdet Ihr schon damit rechnen mussen dass ausser dem Druck und Postversendung mindestenz fünf Pfund mehr zu rechnen fur jedes Ausgabe.

Im Bezug auf due Brochure, ich hoffen Ihr werdet Anderungen vornehmen, denn der jeztige Tex ist seit der Tragodie in Barcelona und der Zusammenbruches von der Spanischen Revolution vollstandig veraltert. Wenn Ihr dieses tut dann wurde ich vorschlagen dass Doris Zhokk die etwaige Anderungen ins Englische ubersezt. Ihr kennt Euch nicht vorstellen wie notwendig es hier ist ein korecktes Englisch in alle Drucksachen zu haben.

Ich bitte Dich mir so schnell wie moglich auf dieseh Brief zu antworten. Ich reise zwar erst den 8.ten April nach Kanada aber ich will den 26sten d.m. auf 10Tage nach Paris um dort die Kamaraden zu treffen, Ich mochte aber zu all rerst die Angelegenhiet der I.A.A in Ordnung bringen, muss also Euere Instrucktionen schnell wissen. Wir haben den 24sten d.m. noch eine Massenversammlu ng wo ich zum lezten Mal hier sprechen und fur unsere leidende Genossen appelieren werde. Soltet Ihr noch etwas dzuer Verteilung haben wollen dann schickt den Text sofort damit wir ihn anfertigen konnen Leider musste es wieder auf Kosten der I.A.A sein

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 9 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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20509

March 9th 39

Dear Augustine.

First about Markward. I wrote Steinberg about his plight.He called me up and assured me he would do his utmost to raise the amount nedded,ior as near as possible. I begged Steinberg to hurry because Markward had no time to lose. I will go after Stein berk again Monday and see what he has achieved. Please telb this to M.

About our friends in Camp BOULOU. Have just spoken to Sonia Edelman.She tells me the man of the Quakers sent her a letter of introduction to an organisation for relief for Spanish intellect uals and she would go to them.I am af aid they are Communists,in the majority anyhow and now less than ever will,they do anything for our people. Still Sonia will test them. On the other hand I am writing to some of the writers and dramatists I know here,perhaps they will help. It is all one can do. At the same time we are arrang ing a big meeting and if we r alise some money I will see that part of it goes to the comrades in BOULOU.

While I am on the subject of intellectuals, do you know what has become of Dr Feliz Marti Ubanez? And Prof.Juan Paulis? I am most concerned about them. Ibanez arrived in Barcelona from America about two weeks before the collapse.Some rotten luck. I wonder what has become of him? Paulis was at the head of the Maternity Hospital in Barcelona. He wrote a marvelous appeal to the Scientists of the Worl which we reprinted in our Bulletin. I canot bear to think that he did not leave in time and might now be in the hands of Franco,or that Ibanez did not get away. Please try to find out what has become of them.

I wish you would let me know by return mail what you make of the Madrid situation. I would like to believe that our people have finally done what should have been done during the May events get rid of that damnable,criminal and treacherous Communist gang. A thousand tume rather work with the Socialists and even Left Republicans than with the Stalin satraps who have brought Spain to its present debacle. Please let me know your view.

As you know I long terribly to run over to Paris for a week or ten days to see our people once more,especially Santillan

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 9 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Herrera,Esgleas,Fedrica and a few others from the FAI and the Youth. Yes of course also,V though he is growing more conservative as time goes on. I inclose copies of his letter and my reply.I have since recee ved an answer wherein he actuall maintains that if on the 19th of July our people had not begun to collectivise and had not stress the revolution the fears of world Capitalism would have been appeased and it would have helped Republican Spain to win the war. And then of course the miracle would have happene d. Talk about Kerensky reformism. It is a thousand times worse. I realise now is not not the time to settle this question nor does it any good to try a d convince V. But it makes it hard to deal with a man who has rennounce fundamental principles to such an extend. However I have no desire to add to V's misery so I must ask you to keep the inclosed to yourself. But to come back to my visit to Paris,unless it can be ascertain if the comrades I mentioned will still be in Paris by the 27th of this month I will not make the trip. I will rather use the cost of the return ticket for some of the most needy cases. Of course I/,hate to go away from Europe for an indifinite time and perhaps never see our people again.Besides I ought to know what line of action they have decided upon if I am to achieve something for them in Canada. Yes,I know the three bodies have become one and they call themselvesLibettarians. That is unfortunately very mislead ing for the American Continent as ever so many middleclass people call themselves Libertarians. I know it has a different meaning in Spanish and for Spaniards. However,I must know more particuhars of their new aim and purpose before I sail,and I would come to Paris if I could see the above mentioned comrades to have a talk with them. Please fine out as nearly as you can ane let me know at once.

I had a letter from Andersson in which he asks me for some data about myself for something he wants to write for my 70th birthday. I wrote back it is all reg ster d in LIVING MY LIFE and I suggested you or Rudolf to write something about it,adding es pecially the effect of the 19th of July on me after our irreper able loss of our Sasha. You know about these last three years and of course Rudolf knows. So its up to Andersson to ask you or Rudolf. If the tragedy of Spain did not absorbe all our energies and efforts to help our stricken comrades I would have asked you to tell the comrades to raise a fund by private subscripion to enable me to retire for the last few years I still have to live so I might do some writing,perhaps a third volume of Living MY Life or a biography of Sasha. With all my hopes for the Spanish revolution crushed I have no spirit left to keep on talking in meetings or eating my heart out appealing to everybody for help for our Spaniards.And of course I have nothing in wordly good after fifty years in the movement. By the way in writing about me the act should be stessed that the 15th of August of this year it will be fifty years since I entered the German Anarchist ranks in New York,my English actitvites did not begin until I came out of prisin in 1894. Just now I am fortunate in still having good health.But I have no idea what I will do if that should leave me in the next few years without mans and without being able to earn my livelyhood. It was this fear that drive Sasha to his last act.He could not stand the thought of dependence in hiw old age.And I admit the same thought worrys me very considerably. But as I said the need of our Spanish comrades is now so great I don't see how our Swedish or any other comrades could do anything to secure me.

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[Letter, 19]39 March 9 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.
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the logic of it is one should not live to an old age. In any event I would rather end in the poor house than have any public appeals made for me. I rely on you not to permit any such a humiliating thing when you write to Andrrason. I had to stress the same with some of mynfriends in America who plan to do something for June 27th.

I am awiting your promised long letter.Do not keep me waiting too long.I amfrightfully anxious to know some details especially about the new scheme of our people. And still more eager am I to know what you and the others think about the situation in Madrid. Lastly also about my coming to Paris and who would be there to see and talk to.

Affectionately

Kind greetings to Therese and Poike,or what is his name now?

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 9, Marseille [France to] Emma Goldman, London / Jesus Perez.— 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Marsella 9 de Marzo 1939.

Compañera Emma Goldman

Sneath Avenue

L O N D R E S

Compañera: Lamento profundamente el tenerte que molestar y máxime teniendo en cuenta tú interes y cuidado con mi hijo,quien ha de agradecerte tu orientacion social y psicologica.

La presente carta se la dirijo ante el desamparo asolador que desde que le de pidieron a mi hijo vivimos los tres. Jamás conoci en nuestro movimiento una dejacion tan grande del principio mas sublime que le informa La Solidaridad Humana y sin embargo hay que rendirse a la evidencia. Que solos nos encontramos ! Marsella para todo el emigrado es una penitenciaria donde ni en la calle puedes hablar para no caer en manos de la perrada que no hace mas olfatear.

Con la presente acompaño otra carta que dirijo a la Comisión de Evacuación formada en Paris y que sin duda representa a las cuatro ramas de nuestro movimiento,ya que yo escribi al Secretario General de S.I.A. como Administrador del Consejo Regional que yo era,y no teniendo mas que una contestacion de esta Comisión de Evacuación que me manifiesta que nó puede entretenerse en cosas particulares.Bien !Pero mi familia donde va ha comer ?Donde ha de pernotar ? Es esto resolver lo de uno solo ? No! Es la ayuda moral que uno necesita.Como se conoce que quien asi contesta tiene cama y mesa puesta,y digo mas; No puede ser anarquista ! Y no lo digo con d desesperacion,lo digo conciente y seguro de mis nervios.

Que quieren que nos entreguemos a los llamados Campos de Concentracion ? No ! Antes la muerte en manos del fascismo Español.Y si se nos quiere entregar por hambre,hay una puerta abierta. La Sinceridad ! Que lo digan.

Que diferente concepto de la Solidaridad tiene Hem Day, al de nuestros Comites! Al Comite de Evacuacion le mando el manifiesto que al mundo ha dirijido Hem Day para que vean la distincion que existe entre dos concienoias.

No pido nada:Comida y albergue solo! Control para si podemos ir a otro pais donde podamos trabajar,no quiero pedir nada a nadie es una humillacion y despues.....el desprecio.

En espera de una orientacion y rapida contestacion de tu parte,fraternalmente te saluda

Jesus Perez

Chez Mr.A.Aclan-98 Bv.Boisson MARSEILLE

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1939 March 9, Marseille France to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Jesus Perez]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 18 cm.

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20585

Marsella 9 de Marzo 1939.

A la Comision de Evacuacion

rue Crussol - 26

PARIS

Compañeros: Siento el molestaros pero el hambre y la persecucion rabiosa y estupida de la policia me obliga.

He recibido hoy vuestra carta de fecha 3 y digo: si no puedo pedir orientacion al movimiento al que pertenezco años y años, a quien se lo he de pedir ?

No he creido jamas; ni creo hoy con lo que me pasa, que la solidaridad era un mito. Como humano, me creo con derecho a pedir para los mios y para mi, un sitio donde poder albergarme. Creeis conveniente que me entregue al fascismo oficial Frances ? Decidmelo: si la Comision de Evacuacion no tiene ninguna casa de asistencia, decirmelo tambien. Pero los hijos de la lucha Social de España, no debemos ser abandonados tan friamente cual guiñapo cuartelero que azota el aire de todas las latitudes.

No he pedido ninguna goyeria. Es un delito el pedir comida ? Al estomago no se le puede decir "Espera a mañana" y si vosotros no teneis nada montado; es una razon convincente el decirnos: Compañero, nosotros carecemos de esas pequeñeces; todos los compañeros que habeis desempeñado cargos ESPECIFICOS Y SINDICALES, pasarlo como podais, dar ejemplo !!!, pero dentro del tiempo preciso habra un baroc, una carta de trabajo, algo.... que os devuelva la personalidad de productor para volver con mas brios a la lucha. El hambre no hace revolucionarios, hace delicuentes y nuestro deber es hacer revolucionarios por que seran hombres mañana.

Salud, y espero vuestra ultima respuesta que sera abradecida con fraternidad libertaria.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 9, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / Lucía S[á]nchez Saornil. – 2 p. ; 24 × 17 cm.

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1939

SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL
ANTIFASCISTA.

Circular nº. 24

Paris 9 marzo 1939

A TODAS LAS SECCIONES NACIONALES

Cada día que sumamos a los que llevamos de exilio o refugiamiento, aumentan las dificultades y obstáculos a nuestro movimiento solidario y de ayuda hacia nuestros camaradas que sufren la penuria del destierro, ya sea en los Campos de Concentración, ya en los refugios, ya en las carceles, ya en sus residencias forzadas.

Estas dificultades,materiales, son hijas de la atmosfera de frialdad que deducimos se debe de respirar en todas partes hacia nosotros en estos momentos.

La crudeza de la realidad española ha dejado desconcertados, por completo, a todos los partidos y organizaciones liberales, demócratas y antifascistas de Europa y América. Comprendemos perfectamente la estupefacción de los primeros momentos. Pero esperábamos rápidamente la reacción necesaria, para que nuestra renuncia voluntaria a la patria -este acto significativo de medio millón de españoles- no quede completamente incomprendido, con todo el valor y con toda la grandeza que supone.

Para Franco, la huída fulminante de tanto español, es una acusación constante, que pesará continuamente sobre él. Para nosotros, la expatriación es el repulsivo que mantiene en tensión el espíritu de libertad. Para los países fascistas o de tendencias fascistizantes es un episodio doloroso y acusativo que los zahiere. Para las democracias es una acusación constante que recuerda su equívoco y sus culpas, sus cobardías, sus traiciones, sus fracasos....

Para todos, para Franco, para los paises totalitarios y para las democracias, interesa solucionar rápidamente el problema de los refugiados españoles. Y todos son coincidentes en una solución; la vuelta a la España de Franco de los exiliados.

Para lograr ésto, se han inventado mil formulas, todas aceptables para ellos, que nó son españoles, que no son refugiados y no son antifascistas.

Conscientes de nuestros actos no queremos regresar a los dominios franquistas. Es muy comprensible. Nosotros sabíamos lo que hacíamos cuando pasamos la frontera francesa. Huíamos del fascismo y queríamos vivir de nuestro esfuerzo, de nuestro trabajo, lejos del fuero de la bota fascista. Estamos dispuestos a que sea una realidad aunque nos encontremos solos en esta empresa. Decimos que a viva fuerza no entraremos en España franquista aunque se conceda una amnistía sobre el papel: sabemos que todo lo escrito sería un escarnio más.

Dentro de las dificultades que se nos oponen, el espíritu de los antifascistas es admirable. Aunque no se sepa nada de la situación de los familiares, aunque no tengan donde dormir ni donde cobijarse en los campos de concentración, aunque no tengan ninguna relación ideológica con el resto de sus compañeros y con sus organizaciones, aunque las mujeres no sepan nada de sus compañeros, aunque los niños estén en Colonias con gentes desconocidas, aunque se encuentren con todos estos inconvenientes de orden moral, a los antifascistas españoles nadie ni nada los hace optar para el paraiso de Franco.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 9, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / Lucía S[á]nchez Saornil. — 2 p. ; 24 × 17 cm.

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Nosotros somos un pueblo digno que prefiere perder su patria natural extranjerizada y amordazada para atreverse a construir una vida digna que sea un ejemplo y una afrenta a aquellos que hicieron correr nuestra sangre por tierras de Iberia.

Es necesario comprender que si ha terminado la guerra en España, continua el problema de los españoles sin patria, el problema de los españoles conscientes, el problema de unos trabajadores que lucharon por la libertad del mundo.

Necesitamos pues, el calor de las conciencias libres que comprendan nuestra tragedia. Inmediatamente,pues, se debe de reaccionar contra el abatimiento de los primeros días.

No olvidemos que medio millón de españoles fuera de España es una afrenta continua para el conquistador de nuestra tierra. Debemos de comprender que el desarrollo de nuestra capacidad constructiva y trabajadora, debe de procurarnos la admiración de todos aquellos que han procurado enlodarnos.

Es necesario, pues, hacer ambiente cálido hacia nuestro problema.Es necesario decir bien alto que, Franco, ha conquistado España; pero no a los españoles.

Si ayudais a hacer posible la vida de este contingente de refugiados, el problema de la libertad continúa. Sin vuestra reacción saludable que haga un clima propicio a nuestro problema,nos será dificilísimo contrarrestar los deseos conjuntos de fascismo y democracias que pretenden devolver hacia la España reconocida oficialmente, la inmensa mayoría de refugiados.

Preparad, pues, el ambiente que haga fácil nuestro desenvolvimiento. Que se permita a los refugiados el contacto ideológico. Organizad vuestra propaganda a base de que se nos considere mas respetuosamente, tanto moral como materialmente y que aquellos que llevan sobre ellos la responsabilidad de orientar a este pueblo exilado, asi como los que le prestamos solidaridad, tengan facilidades para desarrollar su labor.

Sin vuestra ayuda, sin vuestro concurso, nuestra situación se verá comprometida y dificultada. Esperamos, pues, vuestra actuación responsable a fin de galvanizar vuestros adherentes para que influyan en el ambiente general, de simpatía, hacia la causa común de la libertad que aun en estos momentos, defienden los antifascistas españoles.

POR EL CONSEJO GENERAL DE S.I.A.
Lucía Sanchez Saornil - Secretaria

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1939.

SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL
ANTIFASCISTA.

Circular nº. 25

París 9 marzo 1939

A LAS SECCIONES NACIONALES

Estimados compañeros:

Nos vemos en la necesidad de ponernos en contacto con todas las Secciones para prevenirlas sobre determinadas visitas y peticiones de sedicentes compañeros, que acaso, ya en estos momentos, estarán llamando a vuestras puertas.

Se trata, pues, de aquellos que, sin escuchar la voz común y solo guiados por egoismos particulares, han decidido buscar una solución propia a su problema, dirigiéndose a organismos y particulares de todos los paises, solicitando solidaridad.

Algunos lo hacen con el fin preconcebido de situarse rápidamente, otros, porque las circunstancias los han favorecido; pero en ningún caso atendiendo a voces orgánicas.

En Francia ha ocurrido algo desagradable. Aquél que salió primero de España encontró acogimiento en este pais democrático. Aquellos otros camaradas, que hasta el ultimo momento estuvieron en su puesto, se encuentran ahora, con toda clase de dificultades.

Estas actuaciones, personales, fomentan el desaliento en la gran masa que vé, solamente, aquellos casos que pueden presentarse como afortunados y piensa en imitarlos.

Es por estos motivos por los que nosotros estamos en desacuerdo absoluto con estos ventajistas de la solidaridad.

Por lo tanto suplicamos, encarecidamente, y de una manera rotunda, que no se atienda, orgánicamente, mas que aquellos compañeros que vayan avalados con nuestra firma, ya que de otra forma no podemos responder de la finalidad de vuestra intención.

Por otra parte, decimos que debemos obrar así, por convicción ideológica y solidaria. Nuestro problema es de conjunto y de organización. Todas aquellas soluciones particulares que se fomenten, vienen a agravar la situación general.

Vosotros lo comprendereis mas que nosotros prácticamente y sacareis la consecuencia de que la actuación particular e individual terminaría, prontamente con nuestra organización específica de solidaridad.

Remarcamos, pues, lo expuesto, y en la confianza de vernos comprendidos, os saludamos fraternalmente

POR EL CONSEJO GENERAL DE S.I.A.
Lucía Sánchez Saornil - Secretaria

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 10 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [Karfunkel Kaminski]. – 2 p. ; 23 × 29 cm.

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nosse sondern ein Bürgerlicher, aber ein anständiger Mensch. An dem Buch ist er mit 50 Prozent beteiligt. Wir wären sehr glücklich, wenn etwas aus der Sache werden würde, denn erstens könnten wir ein paar Dollars sehr gut gebrauchen, und zweitens wäre es für uns sehr wichtig, wenn wir endlich einmal mit Amerika in irgendwelche Beziehungen kommen würden, schon für die andern Bücher.

Also seien Sie lieb und schicken Sie uns die Empfehlung recht bald, damit er sie mitnehmen kann. Auf dem Buch wird übrigens nur unser Name als Verfasser stehen.

Nochmals vielen herzlichen Dank im Voraus. Fum lässt sehr grüssen, ich umarme Sie herzlichst

Ihre
Anitay.

Liebste Emma,

ich, Anita, liege seit vierzehn Tagen fast ununterbrochen im Bett mit einer blöden Grippe, die wiedergekommen ist, weil ich zu früh aufgestanden bin. Das ist auch mit ein Grund, warum wir uns so lange nicht gemeldet haben.

Der andre Grund ist der, dass wir inzwischen in ungefähr sechs Woche ein ganzes Buch geschrieben haben. Es heisst "Das dritte Reich als Sexualproblem". Die Anregung und XXX einen Teil des Materials dazu haben wir von einem langjährigen deutschen Bekannten bekommen, der nach USA emigiert und es dort unterbringen will. Er geht in ungefähr vierzhen Tagen herüber und nimmt das Manuskript dann mit. Nun hätten wir folgende Bitte an Sie: Könnten Sie uns für ihn (er heisst Fred F. Jackson) eine Empfehlung an Dorothy Thompson geben? Wir möchten gern ein Vorwort von ihr für das Buch haben und nehmen an, dass sie sich dafür interessiert, da sie in letzter Zeit sehr scharf gegen die Nazis Stellung genommen hat. Wir wären Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie uns dazu verhelfen könnten, denn wir glauben, dass ein Vorwort von ihr sehr nützlich für das Buch wäre. Im Voraus vielen herzlichen Dank!

Von den Ereignissen, die man aus der Zeitung erfährt, mag ich lieber garnicht sprechen. Es ist alles so entsetzlich -

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wenn man bedenkt, dass alle Opfer an Menschenleben umsonst gebracht worden sind, damit es in Spanien jetzt ein solches Ende nimmt!...

Ich kann mir denken, dass Ihnen genau so zumute ist wie uns.

Durch Molly, die ich heute telefonisch sprach, erfuhr ich, dass Sie bald, ich glaube am 20. März herkommen. Wir freuen uns sehr, Si endlich wiederzusehen und hoffen, dass Sie sich gleich melden werden.

Noch eine andre Tätigkeit hatten wir in der letzten Zeit, die uns sehr in Anspruch nahm. Die Eltern von Fum kommen her, und ich verbrachte meine Tage vor der Grippe zum grossen Teil, wenn nicht an der Schreibmaschine, in sämtlichen zuständigen Ministerien, um die Einreise- und Aufenthaltserlaubnis für sie zu bekommen. Jetzt ist von hier aus alles geregelt, aber nun sind noch einige Hindernisse von der deutschen Seite, so dass es doch noch ein paar Wochen dauern wird, bis sie herkommen werden. Sie werden bei uns wohnen, wir haben ihnen die erste Etage von unserm Häuschen eingeräumt und ziehen in die zweite herauf. Wir sind sehr froh, dass wir das Häuschen gehalten haben, in einer Wohnung wäre es sehr viel unangenehmer und unbequemer gewesen, so eng zusammenleben zu müssen.

Ich habe vergessen, Ihnen zu sagen, das dieser Fred F. Jackson bisher Fritz Jacobsohn hiess, aber dass er die Absicht hat, sich in Amerika Jackson zu nennen. Er ist der Bruder des verstorbenen Herausgebers und Begründers der Weltbühne Siegfried Jacobsohn, kein Ge-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 10, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, London / John Andersson. – 1 p. ; 31 × 25 cm.

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24082

ADRESSES:
Secrétaire Général John Andersson, Box 415,
STOCKHOLM 1, Suède

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE des TRAVAILLEURS
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER-ASSOZIATION
ASOCIACION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES
ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORETORI

Stockholm,den 10:ten März 1939.

Genossin Emma Goldman,
LONDON.

Ich habe Dein Schreiben vom 8:ten März und Deine Karte vom 9:ten März empfangen.

Was betrifft den Antrag,Geld nach England zu schicken um die Expedition dort aufrechtzuerhalten,so muss ich Dir leider mitteilen dass wir uns nicht dafür engagieren können.Wir haben keine Ressourcen dazu. Wir können nur den Pressedienst der IAA aufrecchthalten sowie die übrige Korrespondenz. Die Zentrale der IAA in Stockholm hat keine Möglichkeit.Lokalitäten zu schaffen.Wir haben nur die Lokalitäten der SAC zur Verfügung. Nun,wir brauchen ja auch kein besonderes Arbeitszimmer,denn wir können ja keine Mitarbeiter anstellen.

Ich seher dass Du nach Paris fahren wirst.Vielleicht werden wir uns dort treffen. Im Anfang der nächsten Woche komme ich dort an, von der SAC gesandt um gewisse Informationen zu holen.Ich weiss noch nicht am welchen Tag ich nach Paris komme,aber es wird einer der ersten Tage der nächsten Woche sein.Dann werde ich so drei oder vier Tage dort bleiben.

Mit Gruss

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS
SECRÉTARIAT

John Andersson

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 11, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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20536

London March 11th 39

Di Augustine.

I am in great haste and can only write a few lines. It is about Santillan. I want you to see him if at all possible and ask him if he wants that something should be done to bring him here. There is an organisation in th s city that is trying to get asylum for some of the Spnaish refugees. Now, Marie Louise Berneris daughter had word from her mother that something should be done for Sant. Our comrade Sonia Edelman is trying to achieve something fmx with the refugees society. But before she can go ahead we must know what Sant wants done if at all. I do not want to give you the impression that we are sure of results but we would like to try. So will you make it your duty to find Sant. I should think you will be able to do so through Eoise who lmx lives at 188 rue Vaugerard. And let me know as quickly as possible what S and she want done.

Herbert Read has sent me a letter he received from his friend whom you have met. He seems to be a nice sort but one who takes everything for granted. He actually wrote Read that the camps have improved and that the C.C.T is doing much for the refugees etc.etc. He also wrote Read that you told him you know 11 lnaguages and want to translate his poem into all of them. I did not know that you are such a linguist though I knew you had a smattering of quite a few. In any event I strongly suggest you should be careful about Reads poem. You know yourself that if one knows lmx the orginal language of a work and the languages into which he trasnlates it is yet a great difference between a liter

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 11, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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ary work and poetry.One must be a poet to do something with a poem I know it is not my business but I value Read for our movement as a great addition and I should hate to have him hurt especially in his creative work with an inadequate translation. Forgive me for telling you this.

I will write you early next week what we are trying to do here for the refugees. Now I only want you to go after Sant. By the way do you know what has become of Carbo?

In haste affectionately

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 11, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin S[ouch]y. — 2 p. ; 30 × 23 cm.

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23506

Paris, den 11. März 1939

Meine liebe Emma!

Deinen Brief von vorgestern, dem 9. März habe ich erhalten.

Ich der Sache Berckwald müssen wir eben warten, ich hoffe, es wird sich eine Lösung finden. Ich werde die Sache übrigens so ordnen, dass man ihn in Malmö vom Flughafen abholt, dann braucht er nicht bis Stockholm zu fahren und wir sparen gegen 800.- Franken, vielleicht noch mehr. Uebrigens erhielt ich heute einen Brief von Ilse für Berckwald, morgen wird er sich ihn abholen kommen.

Vor einigen Tagen erhielt ich den Besuch des jungen Robert Paine. Du wirst ihn sicherlich kennen, denn als ich ihn in Barcelona traf, in Gesellschaft von Ernst Toller und als ich ihn einlud, mich, d.h. die CNT und FAI zu besuchen, erzählte er mir, er habe von Dir Empfehlungen für Federica erhalten. Dieser Paine also hatte einen Brief von Herbert Read, mit dem er befreundet ist. Read schrieb ihm in dieser Angelegenheit. Paine gab mir 2 Pfund für die Genossen in Boulou, und er riet mir, ich soll an Read direkt schreiben. Eigentlich wollte ich nicht, denn ich weiss, dass Du mit ihm in Verbindung stehst, aber Paine bestand darauf und meinte, es sei besser, wenn man von mehreren Seiten schreibt. Ausserdem sagte er mir noch - wir waren einen Abend beisammen und unterhielten uns über unsere Barceloneser Erlebnisse - ich soll doch ein Buch schreiben über den Anarchismus und die Anarchisten in Spanien. So etwas gäbe es noch nicht in England trotz der grossen Spanienliteratur, und er, Paine, sei sicher, ein solches Buch würde in England gelesen werden. Wir entwarfen sogleich den Plan, und ich schrieb an Read. Der Plan ist: Geschichtliches über den spanischen Anarchismus (40 Seiten). Die Theorien, von Bakunin über Salvochea, Lorenzo, Mella bis Ferrer, 40 Seiten). Die Anarchisten am 19. Juli, 70 Seiten). Die Anarchisten während der Dauer des Krieges, die Bedeutung Durrutis zusammen 50 Seiten. Die Ziele und die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verwirklichungen der Anarchisten 40 Seiten.) Alles beiläufig und ungefähr natürlich. Ich habe das alles an Read geschrieben und teile Dir das gleichzeitig mit, denn Du musst darüber unterrichtet sein und ausserdem wäre es von Wichtigkeit, Deine Meinung darüber zu hören.

Ich habe die Abschrift Deines Briefes an Molly gelesen. Darin kommt eine Stelle vor, in der es heisst, dass Chatoff nicht in die Konzentrationslager hinein kann. Das war so. Heute kann er hinein. Chatoff sprach mit dem Innenminister Sarraut selbst, wie er mir sagte, und er erhielt eine Spezialerlaubnis. Er kann jetzt überall hin, sagte er mir selbst. Auch die Berta Ascaso, die ich [illegible] ging in die Camps zu Besuch, sie hat ihren Freund, [illegible] auch in einem Lager, in Saint Cyprien. Uebrigens [illegible] Genossen im Zuge nach Paris gefahren, die aus [illegible] fach weggingen, so ohne weiteres, und es gelang [illegible]

Ich möchte sehr gern etwas zu Deinem [illegible] Einiges weiss ich ja, anderes kenne ich aus [illegible] my Life, Aber ich habe kein Exemplar des Buches [illegible]

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[Letter] 1939 March 11, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin S[ouch]y. — 2 p.; 30 × 23 cm.

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Dich bitten, mir ein Exemplar des Buches, wenn nicht [illegible] weise, für einige Zeit zu überlassen. Es gibt natürlich in Amerika [illegible] Freunde, die berufener sind als ich, über Dich zu schreiben, z.B. [illegible] aber ich denke, es ist angebracht, wenn ich für Schweden den Geburtstagsartikel schreibe. In Schweden ist das immer so Sitte, dass [illegible] Sammlungen macht für alte Genossen. Das machen so die Sozialisten [illegible] auch die Anarchisten. Als Hinke Bergegren 70 Jahre alt war, wurde [illegible] ihn eine Sammlung veranstalte , an der sich alle beteiligten: Sozialisten und Anarchisten-Syndikalisten. Für schwedische Persönlichkeiten kommt da immer r cht viel Geld zusammen, für ausländische weniger. Aber ich halte das für eine gute Sache. Mittwoch kommt John Andersson hierher nach Paris, er bleibt einige Tage nur hier. Ich werde mit ihm über die Sache sprechen. Wenn er glaubt, man soll eine [illegible]lung für Dich veranstalten, so halte ich das für gut. Du kannst ja [illegible] immer, wenn Du willst, das Geld für Zwecke bestimmen, die Dir am besten erscheinen. Aber darüber werde ich Dir noch schreiben, wenn ich mit John Andersson gesprochen habe.

Sonntag früh.

Gestern war ich gezwungen, diesen Brief zu unterbrechen. Heute früh, ehe ich ihn fortsetzte, erhielt ich Deinen Brief vom 11. März, also von gestern.

1. Angelegenheit Herbert Read. Ich bin unschuldig an dem, was Paine an Read geschrieben hat. Ich habe auch nie daran gedacht, Reads Gedichte zu übersetzen, und ich bin bescheiden genug, um zu wissen, dass man ein Dichter sein muss, um Gedichte zu übersetzen. Ich bin kein Dichter, ich habe in meinem Leben etwa nur 10 Gedichte geschrieben, von denen zwei veröffentlicht wurden. Also die Sache kommt nicht in Frage. Ich habe erst durch Deinen Brief erfahren, dass von Uebersetzung von Gedichten gesprochen wurde. Aber Du kannst die Sache auf sich ruhen lassen, sollte Read sich an mich in dieser Sache wenden, dann werde ich ihm schon antworten.

2. Santillan: Heute habe ich etwas vor, aber morgen will ich mit Elise sprechen. Ich schreibe ihr heute eine Karte, in der ich sie bitte, mich morgen zu besuchen oder mich anzuläuten. Sobald ich mit ihr gesprochen habe, und sobald ich mit Santillan gesprochen habe, werde ich Dir das Ergebnis mitteilen.

Carbo ist all right, ich habe ihn zwar seit etwa zwei Wochen nicht mehr gesehen, aber für ihn gelten die neuen Bestimmungen über den Aufenthalt der spanischen Flüchtlinge nicht. Carbo war schon vorher hier, und sein Pass und seine Aufenthaltsgenehmigung sind in Ordnung.

Ich habe gestern mit Mariano gesprochen, ich hege die Absicht, eine Broschüre zu schreiben über den Fall von Barcelona und eine andere über die Ereignisse in Madrid. Ich glaube, es wird schwer sein, diese Sachen im Namen des Comite Nacional herauszugeben. Dann werde ich es auf andere Weise tun, aber natürlich im Einverständnis mit den Genossen und in Zusammenarbeit mit ihnen.

Mit meinen herzlichsten Grüssen

Augustin

Grüsse von Therese und Pójke, er heisst immer noch Pójke

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 11, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].— 1 p. ; 30 × 20 cm.

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23728

Paris March IIth 1939.

Dearest much beloved Emmotchka,

Received your letter and the seven pounds for the women of"Mujeres Libres" Enclosed you will find a receipt with a detailed account how the money was destributed. I thought it may be better for you if you can show to the sympathizer who donates the money,how it was used. All small expenses such as mailing the money and the correspondence with the refugees, I gladly donate of our own money so that the refugees should get to the last cent what is meant for them.

Those 7 pounds brought a lot of Relief to a lot of victimes (I gave you the names to whom it was sent, but in the Camps they naturally devided what they get among the other companions). In sending them the money, it isn't only material aid, it is at the same time great encouragement for those who believe (according to their letters) that they are forgotten by their comrades. Thanks Emma dear,a thousand times to you and to those who were kind enough to make the donation.

You will excuse me for not replying to your letter in detail. I am terribly depressed these days and if I write at all, it is because I feel that I must mail you the receipt which you need.

I cannot get reconciled to the idea that in May 1937 WHEN THERE WAS A POSSIBILITY of gaining the battle against the Communists, our leaders CHECKED the uprising at the highest possible price; only to start it now when it is 100% TOO LATE!!! I feel I am at the verge of getting mad for grief and deep shame.

Now to your questions: Berthe Ascase is in Perpignan. She is the one person who is doing great work there: helping the prisoners in various ways.Every body loves her there because of her devotion and disinterestedness.

Orelio Fernandez is under arrest. Criminal charge.

Your letter to Monchester, received. Yes, I read the news about Zenzl in the"P.Novosti" You see dear, I told Meta Kraus about the return of a letter for Z. from Moscou. and she told it to a friend who gave it to the Russian paper.

S'long, my dear. Another few days and we shall hold you in our arms.

Mollie

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 11, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. – 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Vence

Saturday

11/3/39

Dearest Emma,

Yours came this morning. I have received an intimation from the American Express saying a sum of money was waiting there sent in my name for Emmy. I will go down on Monday with my pass port and make arrangements about it. I think I will leave it there until it is needed. I quite agree with all you say about the doctors..... I will find out all I can when I am in Nice.... D'Eck seems to have made it impossible for anyone to seeher. Theoff called at the clinic but was told no one could see her. I told you that D'Eck said he had done this so she should not be made aware of the hopelessness of her condition. Poor, poor thing. If all D'Eck told me is true she cant last long. He said she must die of starvation..... I shall have to be very firm and tactful I can see about the money, that is any I am saying nothing to anyone it has arrived.... I consulted with Theoff about this and he advised me to just let it stay in the A.E. until it was needed. D'Eck has got the £15..... Emma dear, you know I have a great liking for D'Eck in many ways but at the moment he seems to have got himself in monetary difficulties..... He took a half finished house, only a small place... perched up on a rock on the route de Cagnes.. You must have passed it many times. It was built by a mad American artist, but never completed. I am told an old lady bought it for D'Eck and he started to make it habitable.... but the money has run out and he evidently cant get more, so the place, I am told is in an awful mess. He is living there with the little girl who used to act as servant whilst he was in Vence. He has evidently parted from his wife altogether. That part of it does not concern anyone but himself, but I dont think it wise knowing the privation you have to undergo to provide the money... how you need it so urgently for other things... also when Mr Stein, who has so nobly responded to all the demands made on him by Emmy.... well I dont think the money should be misused and I shall do my best to see that it is not. In this I know Theoff Persons will help me. Thw whole business is so tragic it gives me the blues..... So tragic [illegible] so [illegible] unnecessary. I have not seen Nellie.... this last week I have been doubly tied because my little girl has been away with 'flu and now, after months of doing nothing at all in the shop, people are beginning to come around and I must be on the spot. Still I promise you I will neglect nothing when the time comes that I and the money are needed. Nellie as you know had a miserable quarrell with Emmy..... My I just had to leave her alone.... there was nothing to be done... But one day last summer she did come to [illegible] and later sent a man friend to pay me a call..... [illegible] that visit I never found out. Poor creature [illegible] a pathylogical case... unbalanced and [illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 11, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. – 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
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treated for her mental state by the damned doctors instead of being cut to ~~xxxxxxx~~ mencemeat. It os unbelievable anyone can go on living in the state she is in, according to D'Eck.... unless he is exaggerating. The night after I saw him the horror of it kept me awake for hours.....

I will keep ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~you posted as to all that happens.... Now there is notbing to do but to wait.... I will 'phone to the clinique this evening and tell them to get in touch with me when anything happens.....

I would like to be at your farewell on the 24th.... I hope it is a big success....

Emma darling.... I am sending the copy of "Living my Life" you gave to to you to inscribe..... You sent it direst from the publishers and I would feel it is me complete if you ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ write your name in it.

My love... take care of yourslef.

as always, affectionately

Aunt Ie.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 12 [London to] Elisa [Kater?, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p.; 29 × 21 cm.
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23510

London March 12th 39

Meine liebe Elisa.

Ich danke Dir fur Dein Schreiben,ich horte durch Maria Luuise,Berneris Tochter dass S.bei ihre Mutter war.Ich hoffte daher von ihm zu horen.Leider keine Zeile.Und doch ist es notwendig dass Du oder jemand ihn sieht und ihn fragt ob er einverstanden ist,dass man hier etwas unternimmt fur ihn in England Asyl zu bekommen. Maria Louise sagte mir namlcih dass ihre Schwester dahin gehend geschrieben hat.Ich bin nicht sicher dass es uns gelingen wird Sant und Dich hierherzubringen,aber der Versuch solte gemach werden nur dann wenn Sant seine Einwilligung gegeben hat.Ich habe schon Augustine Souchy geschrieben er solter versuchen mit S.in Beruhrung zu kommen und ihn frugen xxxx ob er dafur ist. Ich dachte aber Du wurdest gewiss eher wissen wie S.zu erreichen ist.

Ausserdem ist noch ein anderer Grund,namlich da ich nach Kanada reisen soll muss ich schliesslich wissen was die FAI will in Bezug auf meine Tatigkeit dort um ihnen zu helfen. Die Kamaraden mussen doch irgend welche Plane fur die Zukunft haben.Es ist daher notwendig mit einige von der FAI,S.Hererra und noch einige zusammen zu kommen.Nun horte ich vor einige Tage dass der arme H verhaftet and von Paris ausgewiesen wurde.Ich hoffe er ist wie Lucia Sanchez nicht weit von Paris denn ich urde ihn dann besuchen,auch S. fals er nicht in Paris ist. Ich gedenke den 26sten,zweii Wochen von heut in Paris einzutreffen,nur auf eine Woche da ich am 8ten April von hier mit einem Englischen Schiff abreisen muss. Kannst Du vieleicht mir mitteilen ob es moglich sein wird S.zu sprechen.Hast Du eine Ahnung wo die Federica ist.Ich mochte auch sie sprechen und Esgleas ihr Mann. Schreibe mir bitte so bald wie moglich.

Wir werden den 24sten d.m. noch eine Massen Versammlung haben wo wir vielleicht etwas Geld aufbringen konnen.Es ist herz brechend wie wenig man hier lesitenxxxxx kann,aber man muss alles probieren.

Grusse Mollie und Senia recht herzlich,bitte unsere Kleine sie moge mir die Quittung senden fur the £7 die ich fur einige der Mitglieder der Mujeres Libres geschickt habe.

Fals S.doch in der Nahe ist grusse ihn recht herzlich
Un sei auch Du innig gegrusst von Deine alte Kamaradin

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 12 [London to John] Andersson, [Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].– 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24083

March 12th 39p

Liber Genosse Anderssonp

Dein Schreiben vom 10ten dpmp kam gestern anp Ich muss gestehen er hat mich sehr ubberascht pWie es scheint hast Du den Eindruck bekommen dass ich den Vorschlag machte dass diexxxxxx I.A.A. und die S.A.C. die Genossen hier die mit mir bis jezt tatig waren unterhalten sollen. Diese Idee war keinen Moment in meinem Sinn. Warest Du es doch der mir mitteilte dass Du einverstanden bist dass man in England eine Kampagne fur die I.A.A unternimmt und dass die S.A.C.evetuell der I.A.A. finanziell helfen wurde. Ich nahm daher an dass Du und die anderen Kamaraden begreifen werden dass immerhin einige Umkosten mit der Tatigkeit in England verbunden sein werden, vor allen Dingen fur einen Platz,Centeul gelegen wor Arbeiter kommen konnten um Aufklarungen uber die I.A.A und Orientierung zu erhalten. Auch dass die Übersetzungen nicht ganz frei zu bekommen waeren.Nur deswegen habe ich Dir all details geschrieben.

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Selbstverstandlich hat Barr oder irgend ein anderer Genosse darauf spekulirt von der S.A.C erhalten zu werden.Im gegenteil sie sind bereit Euere Manifeste hier zu verbreiten und alles zu tun den Englischen Boden fur die I.A.A. zu bearbiten.Leider ist Barr arbeits loss und kann nicht nur sein Zeit sondern auch noch allerhand Ausgaben,wie Farten und dergelichen aus seiner eignen Tasche zu decken Es ist dasselbe mit unsere Genossin Zhokk. Nur dieses veranlasste mich Dir offen zu schreiben.

Nun, es ist nichts verloren wenn Ihr hier hie und da Euer Manifest verbreiten wolt dann wird Barr die Sache machen wie wir es mit dem voriegen Manifest getan haben,aber die Ubersetzerin musste schon etwas fur ihre Arbeit bezahlt werden.Ich habe ihr voriges Mal aus meiner eigenen Tasche 15 shilling gegeben da ich zu beschaftigt war die Ubersetzung zu machen,ich habe nur die Korrecturegelesen Wenn ich nach Kanada resie wird es unsere Kamaradin tun. Nun wie gesagt Ihr musst sebbst entscheiden was ihr in England machen wolt Nur muss ich wiederholen niemand hat daran gedacht Euch irgend wie xxx auszunutzen.

Ich kann leider vor dem 26ten d.m. nicht nach Paris

761

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 12 [London to John] Andersson, [Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Da wir noch am 24sten eine Massenversammlung haben werden die
vor meiner Abreise in Kanada. Es tut mir sehr leid dass ich D
daher nicht mehr in Paris treffen werde. Ich bitte Dich aber
zu teilen was Du von unsere Spanier erfaren wirst und was ihre
fur die Zukunft sind so weit es ihnen moglich ist Plane zu ma
Denn dieses wird fur meine Tatigkeit in Kanada von Bedeutung
Ubrigens hat Vazquez mir schon geschrieben dass eine Kongressi
der Spanischen Krafte der CNT-FAI und Jungend vorgenommen wor
ist. Ich mochte aber naheres wissen und ich waere Dir dankbar
Du mir daruber schreiben wirdest wenn Du aus Paris schon zurück
oder schon aus Paris.

Ist Genosse Rudiger eingetroffen? Grusse
ihn herzlich und sage ihm ich mochte von ihm horen.

Kaparadschaftlich

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 13 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24080

March 13th 39

Dearest Auntie. I had intended writing you to day when your letter arrived. I knew Stein would respond I only wish her bitch of a sister woul do something. I am nearly crazy with the expences already E's unfortunate illness has cost an there is no end to it. I cabled a friend of mine in Chicago who knowsxE8s E.s sister to urge her to cable help. The cable cost 10/6 th the one to Stein was 6/6 I was called up just now by the telegraph Co and told that they could not find Mrs Jeanne Levey as she had gone to Florida . A new cable would cost another 10/6. I simply cannot stand it any more so I am going to write myxfrie frien an beg her to get some money from the sister and a woman who met E.in Paris through me and mightcon ribute something. Even if the money is delli it will still come handy. Besides I have a feeling that E.will hold out for some time. And in case of the end there will no oubt be ends and ends to pay for.

D'ECK writes me"Dr Prat must be paid". I cannot see why when the man had no right to experiment on her knowing full well that operations will be E's death. But I also wrote Deck if there should be any money left and Prat will not charge too much he will be paid only for D'ECKS sake because he recommended Prat, at the same time I would rather D'ECK should get something because I know him to be poor and because of his great kindlyness to E. So you will know what to do dear AUNTIE with the money Stein sent. As long as she is alive it should be used for her comforts and care. After the end the first consideration should be D'ECK and Prat only secondary. I repeat in my estimation he does not deserve a penny.

I had a letter from Nellie, I must say I was very angry with her. She knows my financial status as well as you no nevertheless she writes"D'ECK should be paid. Sasha will want him to be paid" Sure when anything will be left of the money I and Stein have sent, but if not can I cut it out of my flesh? Nellie knows I have sent E, money every month since Sashas death an in fact ever since she came to Sasha. Naturally I have done it for Sasha but she had the benifit of it just the same. So it is not a question of whether Sasha will want D'ECK paid, he would n't if he knew I cannot possibly do it. Oh, yes, Nellie also writes "the comrades"

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 13 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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24081

should help pay D'ECK. M^y god the comrades whom E.hated because th took Sasha away from her.In point of fact very few of Sashas comrades knew of E'S existance. A nd those he did grow impatient because she never took the trouble to acknole ge the ten dollars a month they used to send her. Don't think I am up the now digging into the past. It is only that people take it upon them selves to decide what you ought or ought not to do. T he needs of the Spanish refugees is heart breaking, their cry for help has near ly driven me mad. I tell youdarling Auntie if it were not for my comrades, and even more my personal friends in the States who sent my fare and a small sum to secure me for six months in the Canada I should now have to make appeals for my own living ex pences an before I ever get to that I will go Sashas way.

Please dear tell D'ECK there is a hitch with the cable so he may not hear from E'S sister so soon.

I guess D keeps everybody away because he feels he ought to keep E.in the belief she will recover. Nellie was there and wept at her bedside so she was all obset when D returned to the Clinic. It is all so frghtful because unnecessary an so very tragic.

Love.

764

870925366

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 13 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 21 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

March 13th 39

Dearest Ethel,

Ralph tells me we have £56/6 in our the SIA treasury so I took the liberty to devote another £7 to meet the desperate needs of a few of our destitute refugees. Two of the seven went to day to make up the fare for a very brillian producer, a German Jew who did wonderful work about a modern Theatre in Spain. Scouky invoked the Scotish comrades to get him a visa as he was not allowed to remain in France. He needed 2000 francs for his fare and that of his wife to Stockholm. Steinebrgs raised five, my German friend Ilse gave me one and I added two from the SIA. £3 went to Jover the real hero of the Levant offensive last year who has been arrested and is in prison in Perpignan. It is so little but it will buy him a little food and cigarettes. And two pounds I sent a comrade who lives in hiding and lives from scraps wherever he can get them. I have already sent him a few dollars of my own but I feel he should get a bit more. Perhaps if our meeting is a success we can send him a larger sum. It is all so horrible for people with pride to have to accept help. Want is an inexorable master isn't it?

I am rather busy this week, am lunching with Reed tomorrow am having tea with Whately tomorrow, am working with the secretary Weds afternoon and am having luncheon with C.W. Daniel my former publisher here, allthese engagements are connected with the refugees You said we might go out together some evening It might be Thursday evening if it suites you or early next week.

With love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 13 [London to Eleanor] Rathbone, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.
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23499

13th March, 1939.

Dear Miss Rathbone,

I have followed your work for Spain, your protests in the House of Commons and your splendid letters in the Manchester Guardian. It is this which gives me courage to address you on behalf of the desperate situation of the heroic Spanish men, women and children in the appalling French concentration camps. I cannot better describe what is going on there, than by the excerpts from a letter I have received from one of the most outstanding feminists, who was a member of the Mujeres Libres, and still is secretary of International Anti-Fascist Solidarity. Her name is Lucia Sanchez Saornil. Aside of these public functions, she is a great poet and a writer of considerable talent. She and a number of other women like her, nearly all college bred, started the organisation of free women long before the 19th of July. Since then they have worked ardently to emancipate the Spanish women who, as you know, were in a more backward state than many women of other European countries. They had achieved wonderful results, as I was able to see when I was in Spain. Now these marvellous people are themselves in concentration camps or harassed almost to distraction, but as you will see from the enclosed excerpts, they do not think of themselves, but only of those of their friends and comrades who are undergoing a Calvary which they have least deserved.

I realise that you are connected with many organisations for Spanish relief, the latest one being the Anti-Fascist Relief Committee. In view of this it almost seems like an imposition to trouble you. Unfortunately there is a terrible lot of discrimination among most of the relief societies that have sprung up like mushrooms in the last 30 months. I have had occasion to investigate each time I was in Spain, and as recently as the beginning of November of last year, and I found that at no time was a single penny or a tin of milk contributed to the needs of the children in the 19 colonies of S.I.A., and is not now contributed to the feminists and intellectuals in the French camps.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 13 [London to Eleanor] Rathbone, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.
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It is for this reason that I take the liberty of writing you on behalf of my friends of Spain, so valiant during the last 30 months and now dependent on whatever help liberty-loving and humane people will give them.

Have you any suggestion to make of how I might reach women in this city and men in the liberal professions? Surely they cannot be devoid of a fellow-feeling for their Spanish brothers in the same professions. I will be grateful for any such advice and act upon it. I feel that at this time of overwhelming human misery in the French camps, and the terrible tragedy that has befallen Spain, all political considerations should be set aside. For myself I can say that nothing means so much to me as to save, if not all the refugees, which is not in my power, at least a few who have sacrificed their all for the liberation of the Spanish people.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

767

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 13 [London to] Anita [Karfunkel Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 29 × 20 cm.
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24076

March 13th 39

Dear Anita. I just reached SL. office and found your letter o of the 10the inst. I suppose the delay was due to the office being closed Saturday noon until Monday morning. However I hasten to reply.

My dear I cannot give a letter of ijtroduction of anyone whom I do not know. All I can do is to write Dorothy Thmpson that Mr Fred F.Jackson is a friend of very dear friends of mine and that you are the authors of the book which you would very much like her to write a preface for. I know you will understan why it is impossible to intreduce one does not know. So here is the note to Dorothy Thompson.

The tagedy of Spain is a greater shock to me then the collapse of he the Russian Revolution and its ~~Stunle~~ debacle a far greater loss to the world. If it were not that I am as strong as a horse I should have been completely crushed as it is I am in a frightful ste of depression. But I am holding on with iron will so as to do a few little things for the martyred people in the hidious concentration camps in speude democratic France.Let no one again talk to me about the Liberty an generosity of France. It has shown itself what it was for many years a harlot b asting of her youthful exploits. How deceived old Peter Kropotkin was when he stood out for the last war because glorious France was involved. It is too appalling to think about the whole fake.

I am leaving for France the 28th right after our last meeting. I will only be able to remain a week and I will have an awful lot to do as I am going mainly to see a few of our Spanish comrades.But of course I will see you. Let me know if you still have your car and could meet me Sunday evening at the Gare St Lazaar. I will write the hour of arrival later.

In haste but/with affectionate greetings always to Fum and yourself.

768

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 13, London [to Jesus Perez, Marseille, France] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20584

Londres, 13 de Marzo de 1939.

Querido companero:

He recibido tu carta del 9 del presente y tambien copia de la carta que has enviado a la Comision de Evacuacion en Paris. Comprendo tu desesperacion muy bien, y fervientemente desearia el poderte ayudar, pero me encuentro completamente imposibilitada de hacerlo y ayudarte a ti y a los cientos y miles de otros companeros que se encuentran en la misma situacion y pasan hambre tanto dentro como fuera de los campos de concentracion. Me doy cuenta perfecta que el sufrimientro de otros no sera consuelo para ti, pero ello te hara ver que no debe amargarte con respecto a nuestro Movimiento ni tampoco contra aquellos companeros que hacen todo lo humanamente posible por ayudar a los martires de la tragedia espanola. Recibo cartas como la tuya todos los dias y todo lo que puedo hacer es mandarles pequenas e insignificantes sumas que apenas sirven para comprarles a los companeros en los campos un cambio de ropa interior y algunos cigarrillos. Pero asi y todo estos pequenos envios han reducido los fondos de la S.I.A., que nunca fueron muy grandes, a una suma de unas cuantas libras apenas. Por tanto, en lo que a dinero respecta me es simplemente imposible enviarte algo que pudiera resolverte el problema tanto tuyo como de tu familia en Marsella. No obstante, si en nuestro proximo Mitin recolectamos algo procurare que unas cuantas libras te sean enviadas, como representacion de mi interes personal por ti y familia.

Por lo que toca a asilo. Me duele tener que decepcionarte en este punto tambien, pero estoy segura que el Gobierno espanol, el que ha vendido a Espana, no va ahora a dejar entrar aqui a muchos espanoles. Lo siento en el alma el tener que escribir esta carta en tales terminos de decepcion, pero es la situacion.

Partire para Paris el 26 y mientras este alli pienso visitar a la Comision de Evacuacion lo mismo que a los companeros de la S.I.A. y te aseguro que les hablare de tu caso. No puedo sin embargo darte grandes esperanzas. No es porque nuestros companeros en Paris no deseen ayudar. Es debido el numero tan tremendo de refugiados y sus necesidades tan grandes que es fuera del poder y de las facilidades de la S.I.A. en Paris el poder ayudar a todos. Te interesara saber que los companeros de la S.I.A. que habian recolectado 500.000 para la lucha en Espana se encuentran ahora con un deficit y faltos de fondos para proseguir publicando su periodico. No creas que es falta de solidaridad de su parte si es que no van en ayudo de las victimas del fascismo.

Querido companero, no quiero ser tu juez para tomarme la libertad de decirte si debes o no volver a tu pais bajo Franco, pero sinceramente confio que no tomes tal decision, no solo porque esto seria un efecto desintegrante que produciria en la moral de Jesus, pero tambien en la tuya, ademas de poner tanto su vida como la del resto de la familia en peligro. Te propongo que hare todo lo posible cuando llegue a Paris y antes de que salga de Londres tratare por todos los medios que pueda reunir

en tu favor. Fraternalmente,

Emma

769

870929431

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 13, London [to] Mariano [R. Vázquez, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].– 2 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Londres, 13 de Marzo de 1939. 20639

Querido Mariano,

He recibido tu carta del 3 de Marzo con tus circulares No. 1 de fecha 25 de Febrero y 24 del mismo mes. También he recibido tu carta del 5 de Marzo.

Contestare a tu ultima carta dentro de unos dias, si bien he llegado a la conclusi:n de que no saco nada con polemizar contigo, puesto que estas mjy centrado en tus puntos de vista, los cuales, sin embargo, comprendo perfectamente. Habiendo estado en medio de la lucha no podrias formular el mismo punto de vista que aquellos que no han esta!-o dentro de dicho ambiente. Pero existe un punto en tu carta que me parece algo inocente. Dices que si el 19 de Julio la Revolucion y las Colectividades no hubiesen sido empezadas, las Democracias os hubiesen ayudado. Bueno, querido camarada, Checoeslovakia nunca pretendio ser revolucionaria o trater los cambios fundamentales en la sociedad que nosotros pretendiamos. Han ayudado las Democracias a Checoeslovakia? Seguramehte, el capitalismo internacional nada tenia que teremer del pueblo Checoeslovako. Sin embargo Checoeslovakia fue vendidad por las Demovracias. No puedo ver por tanto la logica en tus argumentos, que si no hubieseis puesto tanto empeno en la Revoulàion y en traer las Colectivas, Chamberlain y Deladier hubiesen hecho algo por ayudaros en vuestra lucha contra el Fascismo. Habieseis obtenido tanto de las Democracias como lo que ha obtenido Checoeslovakia. Por otra parte tu y los demas companeros o serian considerados ahore por todo el mundo como la fuerza revolucionaria mas fuerte y los luchadores mas valerosos que ha tenido la Libertad. Reconozco que la admiracion y simpatia expresados en todas partes deberia haberse expresado en una forma mas positiva. Sin embargo, nunca existio un grupo de hombres que simbolizo las esperanzas de las masas por un cambio fundamental de su situacion, como el pueblo espanol ha demostrado en su lucha contra el fascismo. Siento, por tanto, que no debe pesarte nunca el haber dispuesto el 19 de Julio traer la Revolucion y todo lo que ella implicaba. Lo que reconozco, es que la debacle de la lucha en Espana la antorcha de la Libertatad y ganancias revlolucionarias ha sido extinguido en Europa por muchos anos. Estoy convencido, no obstante que la antorcha sera encendida de nuevo y sera la unica que iluminara lo que hoy es un cielo obscuro.

Me guiare por lo que me instruyen en las circulares que me envias en lo que toca a la correspondencia. Tambien propurare colectar fondos cuando llegue al Canada . Aqui es imposible. Me gustaria tener en mi poder fondos disponibles de la suma que recibi de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. ultimamente, pero no solo no hay nada, sino que existe un deficit. Sin embargo, ello no importe, pues lo cubrire de alguna manera. Solo lo menciono para que sepas que si hubiesa habido algo en mis manos lo hubiese enviado al momento de haber vosotros llegado a Francia.

En lo que respecta a paises en donde podreis conseguir asilo. Con gran pesar he de decir que no se de ninguno. Si se tratara de unos cuantos refugiados, tal vez seria posible

870929431

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 13, London [to] Mariano [R. Vázquez, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

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traerlos aqui. Para ello es preciso tener los nombres completos de aquellos que pudieran venir, asi como su profesion. Se estan llevando a cabo gestiones ya aqui para poder traer algunos de los intelectuales. Souchy descubrio un grupo de estos en Boulou y he facilitado sus nombres a las organizaciones de escritores de Inglaterra y tambien una organizacion que se llama "Ayuda para Refugiados Espanoles". No estoy seguro si algo concreto se pueda conseguir, pero desde luego no se podra conseguir asilo sino para un numero muy pequeno de nuestros refugiados. Cuando llegue al Canada procurare lo que pueda hacer a fin de entablar una campaña encaminada a conseguir asilo, pero no quiero levantar esperanzas que luego no vayan a ser realidades.

Por el programa adjunto veras que vamos a celebrar otro Mitin en el que se procurara allegar fondos. Me gustaria tener el optimismo para mencionar la suma que deberiamos conseguir. Como ire a Paris el 26 de este mes ya te dire el resultado de este Mitin y al mismo tiempo tratar de otros asuntos. Mi fecha de embarque para el Canada ha sido definitivamente fijada para el 8 de Abril. Sera muy importante para mi trabajo alli que tengamos una conversacion mientras me encuentre en Paris.

Fraternalmente,

880726107

The Emma Goldman Papers

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23508

March 13th 39

Dear Augustine. Your letter of the 11th arrived at the very moment when I was about to begin this letter. I will therefore reply in rotations of your letter but I want to tell you about the money for Marwald first. The Steinbergs called me up to say that all they can raise is five pounds. Ilse gave me one pound and wihile I cannot see Ethel Mannin our treasurer to day I will take a chance on adding two pounds from our fund. In all £8. But as I have no punds in the Seligman bank I have to send you a check on dollars which according to the rate of exchange exchange will give you about 1400 francs. I hope the rest can be raised in Paris, and now that you say you might get him to be taken by plane from Malmö thereby saving 800 francs he surely wil have enough. Please greet him from me and ask him to give you two receipts, one for Steinbergs for five pounds, one for Ilse and for two pounds to the Sia. That means three receipts.

Can you find out if there are any musicians inthe camps and how many. Perhaps Berthe Ascasio can. I am asking because we have friends important musicians here who offer to make themselves responsible for a half dozen musicians and maybe more. I wish I knew Berthes address because I am sending couple of points for Jover who I uneerstand is in a prison in Perpignan and I am sending it to AY who is very dependable. I should however have preferred Berthe because she could talk to Jover and find out how he is and what had become of the others I had met on my visit to his Brigade. It is alright except that if she can visit the camps it is necessary to instruct her to find out the comrades musicians and to let me know at once. Also these musicians friends here want to know what had become of a friend of thereirs, a composer whose name is BAUTISTA perhaps he can be traced. Please see about it. Our friends are also going to adopt two Spanish children. So you see they are interested

Yes, Andersson wrote me he is going to Paris and hopes to find me there. Unfortunately I cannot get away until after the 24th of this month. I will leave Sunday morning on the New Haven Dieppe arriving in Paris about six o/c in the evening. I will let you know the exact time so you can meet me if possib le because I would like to sort of work out with you the schedule for every day for seeing our people. This is necessary not to lose time as I can only remain a week. And will you also arrange your own time so you can

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go about with me.

Yes, something ought to be written about Anarchism in Spain a as you propse. I hope Payne will help you get a publisher and someone who will do a good job on the translation. It is not easy to get books published. But Payne may have big connections.

The brochure on the events in Barcelona and now Madrid is desper ately needed but unless the truth can be told it will be worse than useless, merely a new deception as had been practiced all this time. Imagine saying in the statement Vazquez has issued r cently that the Negrin Government left in broad daylight when it actuall left in the dead of night and without the knowledge of the civil popul ation. What is the use of such lies? I must say I am beginning to be disgusted by this jesuitic method. So if you really want to have an effect with your brochure you must tell the facts and not gloss over. This is the more necessary because of the events in Madrdi. For everybody is asking the question now how can the loyalist forces shoot up the Communists? Have not the latter been faithful to the anti fascist struggle. The Daily Worker here as begun the old miser able clumny saying Gr at Britain and France are using the Defence Counsil, to destroy the Communists. In other wor s implying that the comrades in Madrid are working into the hands of the Fascist . About ten days ago the Manchester Guardian had a short article that the Anarchists will make common cause with the Falangists. Don't you see that the Stalin ba ids are already preparing the ground to attack the CNT-FAI and hold them responsible for everything? Thats why it seems to me the truth about the Communists and their vicious part in Spain. I hope dear Augstine you will insist on giving a true account of the whole terrible tragedy.

I will bring along a copy of LIVING MY LIFE for you. Outside of Rudolf now in America there is no one there who knows any more about my life and work as you. Perhaps Havel. I have written Andersson suggesting Rudolf and you. Since the Swedish comrades want to have something to my 70th birthday they can make a sort of com plete number out of it so that Rudolf Rocker, and you can have articles ane also Havel, or Kelly. Suggest that to Andersson. About the collections, dear I cannot consent to any public appeal. I do not mind if it will be privately done, but it makes me sick to my stomach to have public appeals for myself. If it is for some pur pose or someone else it is a different matter. Please dear Augustine I rely on you to see to it that I am saved the vulgarity of a public begging campaign.

I am luhching with Read tomorrow, by the way he gave me two hundred francs, he said I could use them for whatever I consider necessary so I am sending it to Michel who I know is starving, in tatters and living illigal in danger of being picked up any moment. He promise me another contribution which I will send you for the comrades in BOULOU.

Affectionately.

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Emma Goldman
Hon. Secretary

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

Telephone: GERrard 2636

13th March, 1939.

Dear Laurence Housman,

I see you have already been roped in on one of the committees for anti-Fascist Relief. Nevertheless I am taking heart to write you. I enclose a copy of excerpts from a letter from a very distinguished Spanish woman, poet and writer. She and some of her women friends were at the head of the organisation called "Mujeres Libres" for the emancipation of the Spanish women who were held down both by the State and the Church. In addition she is also the secretary of the Spanish Council of International Anti-Fascist Solidarity. Her letter speaks for itself. It is terrible to contemplate that a woman of her intellect and calibre, and many others like her, should now have to be in the frightful French concentration camps and dependent on whatever help and assistance they can get in order to save them from sure death.

I am enclosing a list of names both of some of the feminists and of Spanish colleagues of yours, dramatists, poets and other writers. They, too, are in a frightful condition in Camp Boulou.

It is very unfortunate that most of the Spanish Relief Societies in this country should be hidebound by political creeds. It is perhaps due to this that the feminists' organisation, the intellectuals and S.I.A. have never received a single copper for their work from these English organisations, or a tin of milk for their children for whom they organised 19 colonies. While these heroic people were struggling for freedom in Spain and for the emancipation of their people, they had at least the inspiration of an ideal. Now that they have been betrayed by the democracies and ignored by the intelligentsia in every country, exposed to the dreadful conditions in the French camps, they are also being shamefully neglected by those who are raising funds for anti-Fascist and Spanish relief.

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All this induces me to appeal to you, dear Laurence Housman, who as a creative artist can feel human suffering more than those whose very spirits are held captive by their political creeds. Will you help? Will you give me a letter of introduction to some of your colleagues in the writing world, or anyone you can think of who would help, and will you yourself come to the rescue of the most gallant people in the world whose defeat has set back the hand of time for libertarian ideas for fifty years.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 14 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Diego Abad de] Santill[á]n. — 4 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.
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return please. [enclosure]

(Translation of letter, dated 14th March 1939 - Esbly.)

Santillan.

Dear Emma,

Soon after I had posted my letter to you, Elise forwarded yours to me. I was very glad to hear from you.

Herrera is now in Narbonne. Everyone is now worried about their own position. The difficulties of movement render life well nigh impossible. Now is really the moment when one should endeavour to do something really substantial for the refugees, something also on behalf of the comrades of the other zones. Yet we find ourselves isolated by the police, and all good intentions remain futile.

Here are a few data throwing some light on the attitude of the FAI:

In all our communications to the Government, the CNT, and even in the Bulletin of the Militants we have made it clear, many months before, that Catalonia did not have a Reserve Army and that the first offensive of the enemy might prove fatal for us. Eight months before the final events, a group comprising the best officers and artillery men drew up a plan which was calculated to ensure the defense of Barcelona. Along with this group I went to submit that plan to the Military authorities,&to Companys to urge him also to do something in the matter. We were received with kind words; the plan was very interesting, they said, and it should be put into effect at once. But, no steps were taken actually to put it into operation, Why? Because I had something to do with it, and because it was not drawn up by Communists.

I have pondered much about this. If the Government were really concerned about the defence of Barcelona, eight months would have been quite sufficient time in which to prepare an invincible line of defense. Moreover, all we asked of the Government was the necessary material - we were ready and willing to give our work voluntarily. We even went so far as to offer to the Government the first voluntary army which was to occupy this line of defenee. All to no purpose: our plan was not given due consideration, and was turned down.

Finally we were called up by Negrin in our capacity as representatives of the various organisations and groups. He sang various "old tunes" to us; spoke to us of the enemy's offensive. Maybe, he said, some territory would be lost, but all measures have been taken to check the enemy's advance. We felt rather sad! The others seemed impressed by the President's fine words, and we - Herrera and myself - did not wish to cause a scandal just then. It was proposed immediately to call a meeting of the Popular Front. Negrin offered a glass of champagne to each of the persons present. All seemed proud of the fact that they were in Negrin's company. We left our glasses untouched, and whilst the others were uttering beautiful toasts, we suddenly took leave and departed. Negrin ran after us, for he realised that we, the representatives

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of the FAI showed by our gesture that we had no desire to take part in that comedy. He followed us to the outer door, repeating all kinds of beautiful words to me, but I knew how to appraise their value.

At the meeting of the Popular Front I expressed myself clearly and unmistakably. A scandal! I really do not know whether the people there were honest or simply stupid. Unanimously they declared themselves against the position of the FAI.

I ~~discussed~~ spoke on the following questions: 1) In all wars there had always been at the head of the army a responsible commander in chief. In the Spanish war we had but a staff major, but no commander. If we now demanded that a responsible chief be appointed, the headquarter staff will tell us that they cannot take it upon themselves. I insisted on the necessity of appointing at once such a responsible commander of the armies. 2) The army was in an almost hopeless state of demoralisation. The men were held together only ~~under~~ by being terrorised. ~~If~~ in Face of such a stituation, if the enemy were to begin its offensive, all would be lost.
3, Soldiers and officers were murdered because they belonged to certain organisations and refused to become Communists. I quoted some of these cases of murder, and I called upon the Popular Front to investigate these cases in order to ascertain the truth of my assertion.

4) The army was in the hands of a party - the Communist Party. It has received all deserters in its ranks. We have no confidence in most of them, because, (a) they are fascists at heart (I gave numerous instances); (b) common criminals; (c) inefficient persons. Each of my assertions I substantiated by names and facts. I declared that we will not be a party to having our people killed in a war which was no longer a war of the Spanish people, and I therefore proposed that the commanding positions should at once be handed over to those militarists who were persecuted because they refused to become Communists, and particularly should those be appointed as commanders who had fought with us in the July days . Among these were the best fliers (Sandino, for instance), the most famous Spanish artillerymen, the foremost Infantery leaders. Secondly, I proposed that all those who were responsible for the murder of soldiers and officers be brought to trial; and, thirdly, the removal from the command of all those who during the past two years had nothing but defeats to their credit. . . .

Unanimous vote against all these propositions. Even the CNT representatives were indignant: such trifling (?) matters should not be brought forward, as they are likely to jeopardise the harmonious working of the Popular Front!

On the following day the Government proposed that voluntary battalions be formed which were to be posted with machine-guns at

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the most dangeroue positions. The offensive had begun, and the army reacted as I had foretold. I said again that the FAI will offer more volunteers than the entire organisations and parties of the Popular Front put together, but unless they are given certain guarantees they could not offer a single volunteer. We did not want to fight under the command of incapable leaders, nor under those who were guilty of the murder of our comrades.

They attempt to form a volunteer battalion proved a complete fiasco. The FAI alone would have been capable of doing this.

Not content with our defeat in the Popular Front, we went to Azana. We submitted a Memorandum to him, in which we offered our entire Organisation as being prepared to make the last stand against the enemy. We said that we did not wish to become Italians, nor Germans, nor even Russians. We demanded a Government which was not coloured with Communist colours. As regards militarism, we clearly defined our attitude.

Azana agreed with us. But, said he, the FAI xxx, which did not even demand entry in the Government, was the first organisation which expressed its discontent with Negrin. Each time he tried to act in the way we proposed, he met with opposition from all the other parties and organisations who were ranged on the side of Negrin. What was he to do? Parliament was with Negrin. The Popular Front was with Negrin, all except the FAI. He could see no way out, unless we were able to get on our side some other party.

I had published a Review - "Espana en Armas" - chiefly written by the persecuted militarists. The political editors were: Araquistain, Albornoz and myself. After the first issue appeared, one of the editors, General Asensio, was sent to Washington. All kinds of difficulties and obstructions were put in my way; I was attacked both by the police and the press (the Communist press demanded my head!) .

When the Government decided to abandon Barcelona, the military position was as follows: there was no organised army; no artillery. The munitions were transported to Gerona and Figueras. What were we to do? I put the position before our people. There was still some talk about the defense of Barcelona, but they were mere phrases, while the official world had fled from Barcelona. I had a clear conception of the situation, especially through my contact with the militarists who were in sympathy with us. Notwithstanding this, when, after the departure of the Government, General Asensio (who had not yet left under some pretext) asked me whether one may rely on the FAI people for the defense of Barcelona, and although I saw clearly that there would be many more sacrifices to be made by our people, I said : Yes, if he or any one else of our friends will be in command. Asensio went to Negrin to ask to be given the command for the defense of Barcelona. He said he did not wish to leave Spain at such a critical hour. All in vain! With the weapons at our disposal we might have held out a few days. I was certain that in a few hours the position in Barcelona would change, but what then?
Against the views of some of our comrades, I was of the opinion that

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it were better not to cause further victims sacrifices in vain when even Asensio's offer to undertake the command for the defence of Barcelona was turned down.

It is impossible for me to tell all that has happened in this letter; even on the journey from Barcelona to the frontier much happened that is of interest. However, one must come to but one conclusion: namely that Catalonia was not conquered, but betrayed, sold! There was no contact with the enemy - therefore one cannot talk of a military defeat, but of a political debacle. Against this we were the only ones who protested and gave timely warning.

When the same people at headquarters wanted to carry on the work a storm of dissatisfaction broke out. It's a pity that the principal murderers escaped.

The people had grown weary of a war that was not their war. As I was on my way to the frontier, full of my recent disillusionments, I was thinking of a night in September or October 1936. The Catalonian people were then also going in large numbers towards the frontier, armed with all possible weapons. Why? Because they had learnt through us that the enemy intended landing at Rosas. In one hour the whole of Catalonia was up, and in special trains, in lorries, autos, etc. they were proceeding in the direction of Rosas, in order to meet the enemy when landing there. At that time the war was indeed the people's war. Now, too, there is a mass movement, but it is not for the purpose of meeting the enemy - this is a war.

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Of course, your journey to Canada must be made good use of, but we will discuss it later on.

My hearty greetings,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 14, London [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.— 2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.
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17067

Ethel Mannin Oak Cottage. Burghley Road. London, SW19

March 14th 1939

Dearest Emma,

I send you herewith a cheque on the SIA acc. for £10 - that will cover the £7 you have disbursed(I take it from yr own acc.) plus three pounds for you to have in hand for any other urgent case you may hear of. I have been wondering if I should not make the whole sum over to you to use as you think best on these individual cases ? Or do you think I should send some to Lucia in Paris as she says in her last letter ? Or should I write and ask her if I should send to her or to Camara, or let you have the money to use as you think best? Tell me what you think Emma.

Yes do let us give that comrade in hiding some more money; the odd £5 on this cheque perhaps, and certainly some more whenever you think. I am entirely in favour of using the money for this direct help to individuals in such circumstances. I don't think they can feel any loss of dignity in accepting such help given by 'comrades.' God knows its little enough we can do.

I would sooner make our evening out Friday of this week if its all the same to you, Emma . Let me know. (Over)

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17000

Please tell Lisa her biscuits are delicious and I congratulate her. Tell her also not to invite me just yet as I have a lot of things on hand, but that I am so glad she came here and want very much she should come when all the flowers are out. I shall certainly ask her. I do think she has a beautiful face, by the way, like an Italian Madonna, so gentle and sweet. I think she is really a beautiful woman, you know, and very sweet.

Haste. Love.

Have not received hand bills yet. Have met at the other. Go write those letters you asked me to write, yesterday.

You I have never seen look so fit as on Sat. You didn't look a day over fifty, and 'no blame.'

How am I to find out about these comrades in need when you are gone ?

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 15, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma Goldman.— 3 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

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Hon. Treasurer

Emma Goldman
Hon. Secretary

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

Telephone: GERrard 2636

15th March, 1939.

Dearest Rose,

While this letter will not sail away from here before Saturday, I am dictating it to-day because I have my very efficient Secretary with me. First of all I want to tell you that I am delighted to learn that you and the other comrades have finally conceived the idea to resurrect the old Anarchist Red Cross. If ever there was a time when this was desperately needed, that time is now. I quite agree with Molly that it is essential to try and save as many as we can of our leading comrades from the horrors of the French concentration camps or the frightful persecutions our people are enduring who have succeeded in getting away from the camps. But at the same time we must not overlook the rank and file, and they are hundreds of thousands. I am sending you a copy of a letter I have sent out here to a number of leading women in the Labour Party and in various positions, and also the letter of Lucia Sanchez from which I have made extracts. Can you not use this material in your own organisation and with individuals who might come to the rescue of the martyred people whose only crime was that they loved liberty too well. I know you are busy, but you still must find time to help our comrades. I myself have prevailed upon dear Ethel Mannin to let me have some money from the S.I.A. fund for individusl cases, such as Mercedes, seven comrades of the Spanish intelligentsia whom Souchy has discovered in one of the camps, and some members of the Mujeres Libres, either in camps or starving to deaht in small villages. And there are comrades who are living in hiding in Paris, have not a rag on their backs and are actually starving. Unfortunately our last appeal for S.I.A. has brought very poor results. Perhaps we will be the more successful at our meeting on the 24th of this month. I can tell you life has become a nightmare to me because of the heartbreaking letters I receive every day and my inability to come to the rescue of the heroid andgallant Spanish comrades.

As if the tragedy of our people were not enough, I have also been made aware of the slow but sure end of Emmy. She has finally

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reached the end of her madness for operation, from which I fear there is no recovery. I have had two telegrams from a mutual friend of Sasha's and mine, a doctor, who has been very kind to poor Emmy, and daily bulletins. He holds out no hope for her recovery from the fifth operation. In point of fact that unfortunate child is dying of starvation, because they have so butchered her intestines that all nourishment now goes into the stomach and almost immediately goes out again. Indeed, if her heart had not been so strong she probably would no longer be among the living. It goes without saying that I have immediately telegraphed whatever I could possibly spare from the amount my American friends have sent me for my trip and the few months' security in Canada, and more will be needed.

As you see, my life is far from a bed of roses.

I am definitely going to Paris the 26th of this month for a week. I will then come back here by the 4th of April to finish up odds and ends and sail for Canada on the 8th. I have no illusions about my chances of getting into America. In fact, I would give up the Canadian tour if I had the least hopes of doing anything here to help our people. Worse luck, I will arrive too late for many meetings before the summer sets in. Nevertheless I have got to go. The international Working Men's Association has sent me a credential to act as their representative in a canvas of Unions and to appeal for funds. I certainly hope that you will make it your business to send me addresses of all your organisations in every city in Canada, if possible with a ltter of introduction. You can tell your president that he need have no fear that I will talk on Anarchism. I do, however, intend to speak on the insidious and criminal forces that have brought about the defeat of Catalonia, &Barcelona. It seems that our comrades in Madrid, together with the other sincere anti-Fascists, have come to the point where they could no longer stomach the rotten actions of the Statlinists. If only our own people in Barcelona would have realised this, even as late as 8 months ago, they would not now be so terribly defeated. It is this which I mean to cry from the very housetops. I realise that most Labour organisations are honeycombed with Communists, but I am hoping there are a few left who still retain their sanity and their judgment.

Yes, I have received American Labour by Herbert Harris. I will read it on the boat. I have not a minute to spare now. My dear, I am delighted with the splendid showing for improvement of the members of your organisation. You should know that I do not belong to those who believe that the greater the poverty and squalor the sooner will the workers rise. But on the other hand, comforts and advantages are often as dangerous as poverty. They make people so self-satisfied and contented that they lose whatever revolutionary spirit they had. One must never foget that and guard against it. For the rest, I can appreciate all the

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improvements your organisation has made and the advantages gained. Who should appreciate it more than I who begsn my public career in a clothing factory working ten hours a day for 2.50 dollars a week, with only a half an hour to gulp down my dry sandwiches. I rejoice that those who have followed me in factories now work shorter hours, can attend educational classes and have the opportunity for a great deal of recreation. It is not that which I begruge them, I am sure, but I do know that such achievements often tend to atrophy the revolutionary feeling and capacity for fundamental changes.

You have but your own president to take as an example. You remember the laudatory speech he delivered at the banquet in Montreal about "my friend and teacher, Emma Goldman". He confessed that I had inspired him, and yet when he was approached about trying to get me into the States at a time when reaction was not quite as rampant as it is to-day, he refused pointblank. Don't you see, he did not want to be tainted with my name or to have it known that he was pleading for me. At least one hopes that the rank and file will not have grown so self-sufficient and self-centred as their leaders.

I should think you would be glad to be transferred to California. First because of the climate and also because you could do as much for our ideas on the coast as when you are stationed in Boston. Of course it will be a bitter disappointment to me not to find you near enough to visit me in Toronto. Unfortunately we none of us are permitted to choose what we like best. We are merely being moved about on the chessboard of life by very bad chessplayers.

I think you can still reach me, dear, if you wish. If not, write me care of Joe Desser, 759, Bathurst Street, Toronto.

With much love,

Emma

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[Letter] 1939 March 15 [London to] The Manchester Guardian, [Manchester, England] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.
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23368

15th March, 1939.

The Editor,
The Manchester Guardian:

Sir,

I am enclosing herewith an article by a Polish correspondent whom I have known for years as absolutely trustworthy and reliable. The article is unfortunately in German, but I feel confident that you have on your staff members who know the German language, or perhaps you yourself are conversant with it. I have seen nowhere such an account objectively and vividly described of the Polish situation and the motivation of Germany in regard to it and all the other countries Hitler is preparing to destroy. I thought therefore that the article would interest you and that you would be willing to print it in your valuable paper.

The writer asked me to place it in one of the dailies in London. I am sure I do not know a single paper, outside of the Manchester Guardian, whose liberal approach to the European situation allows its readers to learn what is going on behind the scenes. Naturally the writer expects a fee for the article, as he is living by his pen. As you will see, he signs it only J.Z. as he cannot afford to have his full name known in Poland; but for your personal information I wish to say that his full name/is H. Pilarska, Warszawa, Padewska 20m10. /and address However, I can absolutely vouch for the veracity of this author. I may say that he wants all transactions to go through me, as it is probably extremely dangerous for him to have any direct mail from newspapers outside Poland. Attached to the ~~[illegible]~~ article are three drawings.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully,

880726051

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 15 [London to] Laurence Housman, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

March 15th 39

Dear Laurence Housman.

While our good friend Ethel Mannin will ack nowledge your letter and your kind contribution I want to thank you very much indeed for your immidate response. I assure you the conditions in the French camps are harrowing. True I have not been there to see the suffering to which the refugees are being sub jected to but I have received discriptions from most reliable people about the physical and mental torment of the Spanish me, women and children.

Thank you again for your contribution

Sincerely.

786

881027116

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 15 [London to] Anita [Karfunkel Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24072

15th March, 1939.

My dear Anita,

I wrote you in great haste the day before yesterday, acknowledging your letter and telling you that I would send a letter of introduction for Mr. Fred F. Jackson to Dorothy Thompson. I enclose the letter, but Mr. Jackson will have to find out her address when he gets to New York. I hope it will help him and that it will appeal to Dorothy to write the preface to your new book. I must say you are tremendously prolific, both of you, in the number of literary children you create. I hope you are not doing it at the expense of their quality.

Some time ago I suggested that you should send a copy of your Bakunin to Herbert Read, hoping that he might review and that his review might incline a publisher to get the book out here. He has never mentioned a word to me about it, so I do not know whether it was ever sent or not. In point of fact I have been so distressed over the suffering of the Spanish refugees in the hellholes of the French camps, I have had no time, energy or inclination to look after anything else. I am very sorry, my dears. I know you will understand.

787

881027116

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 15 [London to] Anita [Karfunkel Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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I regret exceedingly that I never succeeded in doing for you what I wanted so intensely to do, and that is to help you get your books published in this country. But something has always come between, though I have tried very energetically.

As we shall meet soon I will not take time to write you a long yarn of all the horrible things that arehappening in the world. As I have already stated, I will arrive in Paris on the 26th.

With love to Fun and yourself,

788

880726373

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 15 [London to] Dorothy Thompson / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24077

15th March, 1939.

Dear Dorothy Thompson,

I feel sure you have not forgotten me any more than I have you. This is to be a letter of introduction for Mr. Fred F. Jackson who will bring you a manuscript entitled, "Das Dritte Reich als Sexualproblem". The author is a very dear friend of mine. His name is Mr. K.H. Kaminski. He was formerly on the Weld Buhne. Dr. and Mrs. Kaminski travelled with me extensively through Spain in 1936 and then wrote a most interesting book on Catalonia. He has also written a life of Bakunin. Both he and Mrs. Kaminiski are very eager that you should write a preface to the work which Mr. Jackson will bring to you. Naturally you will want to read the manuscript first.

I know you have become a very busy lady since we last met in this city, but I hope you will take time to go over the manuscript, and that you will write a preface.

Remember me kindly to Sinclair. Tell him I have not forgotten the many cocktails and the dinner he gave me in the Savoy.

I will soon be nearer to you, but yet very far. I am sailing for Canada soon. Please keep this to yourself.

Sincerely,

789

880726100

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 15 [London to] Miriam [Lerner?, London] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

28495

March 15th 39

Dear Miriam. I am sending you under seperate cover a dozen of the inlocsed handbill. Will you pelase send them out to your friends. I am also sending some to Mrs Fordham and Miss Barbaraworth. They seemed so interested I hope they will help as it is the only way we have inreaching people. We do some advertising but it is so lit little. We ajreddy ha an advert in Eynolds and we are havibg another the coming Sunday, then twice in the New Leader and once in the Chronicle. We can do no more but we have distributed ten thous and handbills. As you see we need all the help we can get to fill the hall.

I am sorry I will not have time to come to you again, I am terribly rushed with all the work I still have to do and people to see. I leave for Paris a week from Sunday. I will be back the 8th if April but only for a few days as I sail the 8th.

Remeber me kindly to Gabo.

Sincerely

790

880726099

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 15 [London to Mrs.] Fordham, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

March 15th 39

Dear Mrs Fordham,

You cannot imagine how much it meant to me to meet you and Barbara Hepwroth two such intered and vivitd women. I am sorry that it happened so late. My work would not have been so dis ecouraceing h ad we met before.

I am taking the liberty to send you some of the inelosed handbills perhaps you will be good enough to send them out to your friends. We simply cannot afford to spend a lot of money on ads and none of the papers will give us the least notices yet they give every other effort for Spain any amount of publicity. We will have an ad in the Chronicle, Sunday in Reynolds,and twice in the New Leader. We are only too painfully aware how insignificant this is. We there for depend on our friends for help.

Please see me after the meeting next Friday so I can say goodby at least. I leave for Paris the coming Sunday and while I am coming back April 4th I shall be frightfully busy before I sail. Sincerely.

880726098

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 15 [London to] Barbara Hepworth, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. – 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

March 15th 39

Dear Barbara Hepworth.

I have just written Mrs Fordham and I have told her that if I had met such women as she and you before my struggle here would not have been quite so painful. You interest and your clear conception to the need for real freedom for the individual have warmed my heart.

I am inclosing handbill of which I am sending you under seperate cover about 25 hoping you might send them out to your friends. As I have already explained there has been a deliber ate conspiracy of silence against us and as we cannot afford ex tensive advertising we have to decend on our friends and those int erested in our work to help by alling their attention of their friends to our meetings.

Please see me after the meeting next Friday I want at least to say goodby to you as that will be my only chance.

Sincerely

792

900615072

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 15, London [to] Lilian [Wolfe, Stroud, England] / Emma Goldman.– 2 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
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S · I · A

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Emma Goldman, Hon. Secretary

London Office:
21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

Telephone: GERrard 2636

March 15th 39

Dear Lilian. I did not answer you kind letter offering to storage My Spanish correpondence because I was waiting to hear from the Inst itute. I have only now received a letter from Arthur Muller- Lehn ing that the Institute wants me to send my additional material to the safe place to which everything of importance had been shipped, You see Holland is frightfully worried Hitler will march in one of these days which grows more likely every day. The Insititute has therefore decided to safeguard the archives by shipping them out of Holland, and all of my stuff has been sent along. In other words, I dod not need to load you with responsibility of taking care of my Spanish correspondence which has now become more valuable. Thank you just the same.

My dear I should like some of Freedom pamphl ets sent to Canada for me as I might have a chance to sell them. I do not know how many you have left, but I should like one dozen each shipped to Mr Mrs Dorothy Giesseckc Chine Drive, Scarboro Bluffs Ontario. I know that Tom always sent literature in small parcels and to different addresses in the same city. So perhaps you had better do the same, say three each to Dorothy, to Jo Desser 759 Bathurst Street, to Marion Seltzer 51 Law Street and to Mrs Esrther Laddon 132 Lytton Blvd. the last four are all in Toronto

900615072

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 15, London [to] Lilian [Wolfe, Stroud, England] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.
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Institutional Location: Heiner Becker Archive.

Ontario Canada. Send the literature as soon as you can although I shall not reach Toronto until about the 20th of April. I am sailing the 8th,I reach Montreal about the 16th will be there a few days and then proceed to Toronto. It will be alright to send the stuff the end of this month. Send me the bill.

As you see we have one more meeting,wish you could be with us. Sunday week I have to go to Paris for ten days to see about our suffering refugee comrades. I come back April 4th and sail the 8th.

I am so glad Donald Craik did return Toms copy of the A.B.C I knew he would but he is rather forgetful.

Affectionately

Emma Goldman

794

900615071

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1939 March 16, London [to] Lilian Wolfe, Stroud [England] / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 11 × 14 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.

Miss Lilian Wolfe
Whiteway Stroud
Glos.

795

900615071

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1939 March 16, London [to] Lilian Wolfe, Stroud [England] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 11 × 14 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.

K.G.Colton
6,Smeath Avenue
London N.W.11

796

880726097

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 15 [London to] Lilian Wolfe, [Stroud, England] / [Emma Goldman].– 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

March 15th 39

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880726097

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]39 March 15 [London to] Lilian Wolfe, [Stroud, England] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23492

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Affectionately

798

880726036

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 15 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Louis Golding.— 1 p.; 22 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

FROM LOUIS GOLDING, 16, HAMILTON TERRACE, N.W.8 CUNNINGHAM BOOK

March 15th.1939.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I am absolutely whacked to the world. I have been making a personal appeal, and organizing a Boxing Tournament, in aid of a camp for refugee boys and boys from slum areas. I have roped in absolutely everybody I know and made myself a stink in their nostrils. I simply daren't raise a finger for some time or I won't have a friend in the world.

Please forgive me.

Yours sincerely,

Louis Golding

799

880726052

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 March 15 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Laurence Housman.— 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Lonmeadow
STREET
Somerset

15th. March, 1939

Dear Emma Goldman,

I have your letter of yesterday's date, and am very sorry that numerous calls which have come upon me in the last year for Spanish relief, make it impossible for me to send as much as I would like in response to your appeal. But under a separate cover I am writing to our friend Ethel Mannin, your Treasurer, and sending her all that I can manage for the present.

I do wish that societies which ask for the use of my name would take the trouble to spell it correctly. You did so in your letter, but your notepaper does not.

Yours sincerely:

Laurence Housman

800

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 45

Correspondence

December 16, 1938, to March 15, 1939

Edited by
Candace Falk
Ronald J. Zboray
and
Alice L. Hall

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia Cambridge, England

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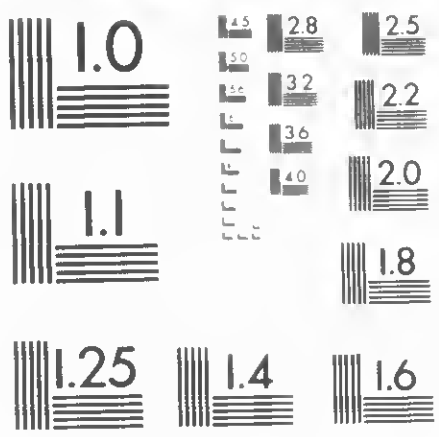
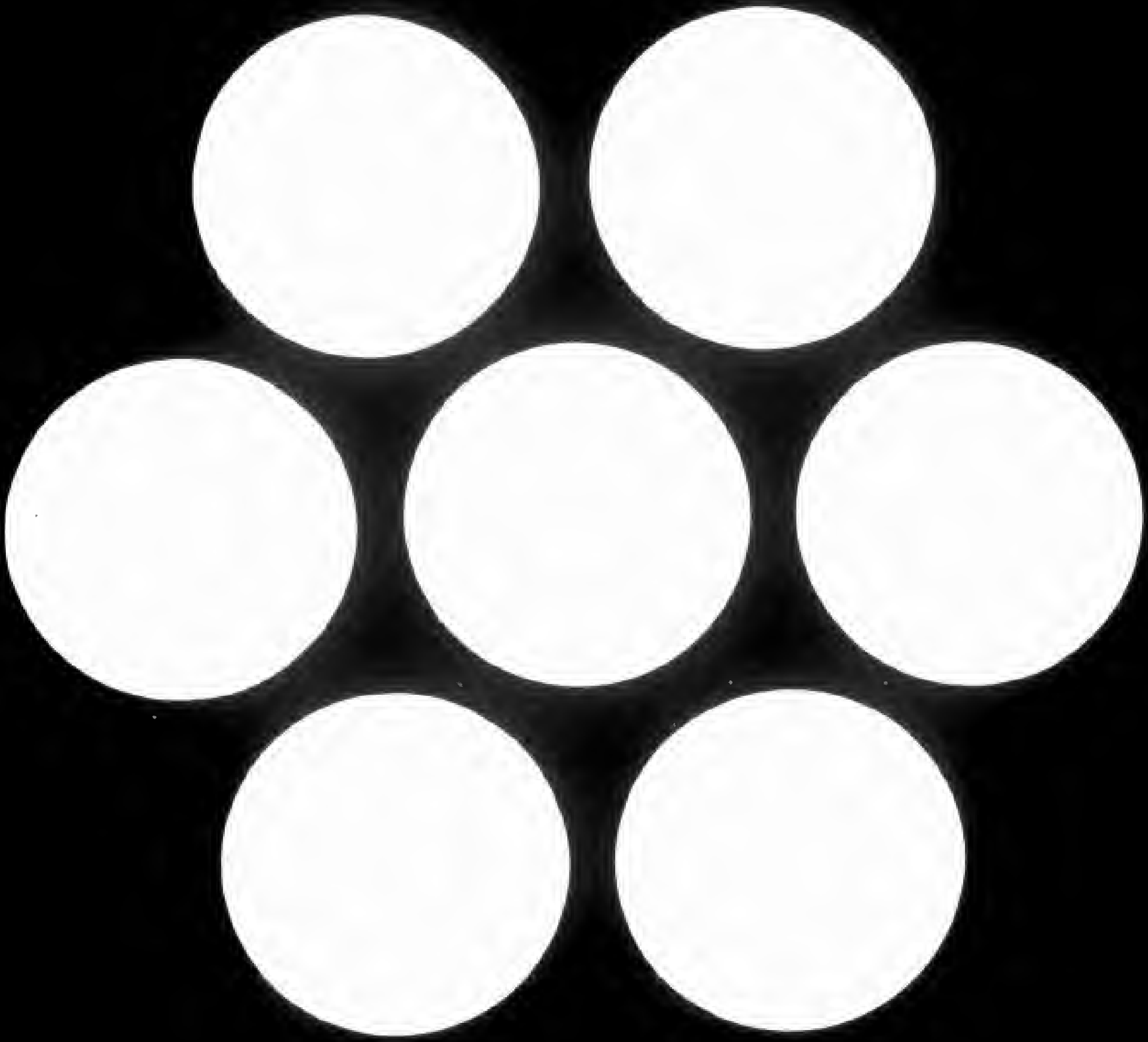
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